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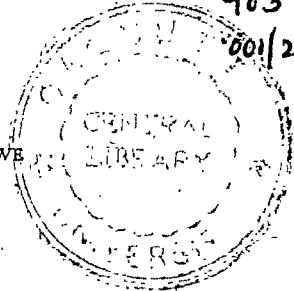
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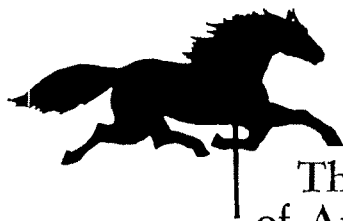
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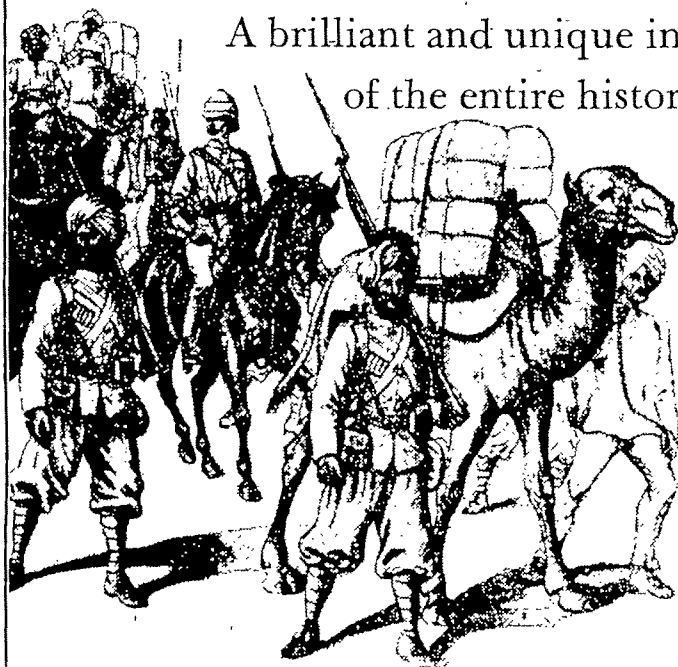


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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Guillaume Budé and the First Historical School of Law

DONALD R. KELLEY*

TO many persons "historicism" is a distasteful or a derogatory term, whether because it calls up Hegelian ghosts, because it suggests deterministic theories of history, or merely because it requires a level of generalization uncomfortable to most historians. Yet if the term lacks precision, it does have a certain utility. It serves to designate the conceptual basis of the historian's quest, ill-defined as this may be, and, more important, it is a way of emphasizing the deep-rooted traditions of historical scholarship. For at least a generation historians of science have been uncovering the roots of scientific thinking underlying the sensational achievements of the seventeenth century. It is time for historians to make similar excavations for their own discipline and to place the overcelebrated accomplishments of nineteenth-century historicism in some perspective.

About the major features of "historicism" there seems to be general agreement—not, certainly, about the idealizations of philosophers and sociologists, but about the character of historical scholarship in the past century and a half. In this limited sense historicism may be given a rather simple formula-

* An assistant professor at the State University of New York, Binghamton, Mr. Kelley is interested in the Renaissance and Reformation. He presented an earlier version of this article at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, San Francisco, California, December 1965.

tion. It is an attitude based upon an interest in the concrete and unique rather than in the abstract and typical, hence in the world of man's making; and upon an awareness of the irreversible—and irremediable—changes wrought by time, hence of the disparity between different societies and ages. In short, historicism is a way of looking at the world that encompasses the principles of individuality, development, and relativism.¹ From such a neutral point of view there seems to be no good reason to restrict the term to the nationalistic and organicist doctrines of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the contrary, it may meaningfully be extended to the whole tradition of historical scholarship, which (as such "historicists" as Barthold Niebuhr and Karl von Savigny realized) stemmed most directly from the humanist movement of the Renaissance. Or more precisely, as Eugenio Garin put it, "The modern conception of history arose specifically in the field of humanist 'philology.'"² As the historical schools of the nineteenth century reacted against the empty and inhuman concerns of natural law philosophy, so humanists reacted against the abstractions of Scholastic philosophy. Like their nineteenth-century counterparts, humanists adopted a kind of historical tolerance and became obsessed with quantitative erudition. Consequently, they turned to the investigation of human society in its most concrete institutional and intellectual manifestations, especially to the study of language, law, and religion. The similarities between these two schools of thought, and, more important, the vital links between them, have too long been neglected. It is for this reason that I am regarding historicism, in its broadest sense, as a product of the new science of "philology," one of the few original creations of Renaissance thought.

There is no better place to begin an investigation of the roots of historicism than with the ideas of that *enfant terrible* of the Renaissance, Lorenzo Valla. No one has more clearly expressed the basic attitudes of philology nor, before the time of David Hume, more formidably vindicated the study of history. Contradicting Aristotle, Valla proclaimed that history

¹ Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Entstehung des Historismus* (Munich, 1959), 2, and *Zur Theorie und Philosophie des Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1959), 217 ff.; Ernst Troeltsch, *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (Tübingen, 1922), 102 ff.; and Alois Dempf, *Sacrum Imperium* (Munich, 1957), 21. In the wake of Benedetto Croce, the practice of applying the term "historicism" (though in a less doctrinaire fashion) to Renaissance thought has become common: e.g., Vittorio Rossi, *Il Quattrocento* (3d ed., Milan, 1933), 78 ff.; Antonio Bernardini and Gaetano Righi, *Il Concetto di filologia e di cultura classica* (Bari, 1953), Chap. iv; Aldo Scaglione, "The Humanist as Scholar and Politician's Conception of the *Grammaticus*," *Studies in the Renaissance*, VIII (1961), 50; and George Huppert, "The Renaissance Background of Historicism," *History and Theory*, V (1966), 48–60. See also Domenico Maffei, *Gli Inizi dell'umanesimo giuridico* (Milan, 1956), 187; and Franco Gaeta, *Lorenzo Valla* (Naples, 1955), 84.

² Eugenio Garin, review of Franco Simone (see note 13, below), in *Rinascimento*, I (May 1950), 97; cf. his *L'Umanesimo italiano* (Bari, 1958), 9 ff.

was superior to philosophy and to poetry precisely because it rested upon concrete, literal truth.⁸ In his belligerent *Dialectical Disputations* Valla offered the first systematic humanist critique of the false school of philosophy that lived off the use and abuse of abstraction.⁴ What he did, in sum, was to reduce the three so-called "transcendentia" of Scholastic philosophy to a single category—thing (*res*)—and then reduce the ten "praedicamenta" to three—substance, action, and quality. In other words, having identified the world with concrete things, he went on—and this is the insidious part of his argument—to reduce man's understanding of the world to the "categories" of the grammarian, that is, to the principal parts of speech: the noun (substance), the verb (action), and the adjective or adverb (quality). In effect, Valla sealed off his system by assuming, after the fashion of modern semanticists, that there was a unique and unequivocal relation between words and things and that language (classical Latin, at least) was an exhaustive expression of reality. He even devised his own nominalist "razor": "assume no things diverse which are not diverse" (*nihil pro diversis ponens quae diversae non sunt*).⁵ The conclusion was self-evident: it was the philologist (Valla would say the rhetorician) not the philosopher or the lawyer, the amateur not the professional, who was best fitted to investigate and to interpret the world of man's making. Valla's arguments constitute at once a declaration of independence for philology and an epistemological justification for the study of history.

Appropriately, the real key to Valla's thought was not his theory of knowledge; it was his feeling for language, especially his view of "style" (*stilus, usus, consuetudo loquendi, verborum proprietates*)—style in the sense not merely of a literary ideal but of the recognition of individual historical modes of expression. Here is one of the main links between philology and history. The method of the philologist was "historical" not only because it required the literal interpretation of texts (the *sensus historicus*) but because it meant reconstructing a departed way of thought and of life. Valla clearly understood that style, which after all was a public rather than a private creation, was closely bound up with law and religion, with art and literature. Following classical distinctions, he recognized several stages of cultural style, including an early period (*vetustissima aetas, veteris stilus ro-*

⁸ Lorenzo Valla, *De Rebus a Ferdinando Hispaniarum rege*, "Proemium," in *Opera omnia*, ed. Eugenio Garin (2 vols., Turin, 1962), II, 5-6. In general, see Giuseppe Saitta, *Il pensiero italiano nell'umanesimo e nel rinascimento* (3 vols., Bologna, 1949), I, 193 ff.; and Gaeta, Lorenzo Valla.

⁴ Valla, *Dialecticae disputationes*, I, 1-2, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Garin, I, 645 ff.; see also Carl Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande* (4 vols., Leipzig, 1870), IV, 161-67; and Cesare Vasoli, "Le 'Dialecticae Disputationes' della Valla e la critica umanistica della logica aristotelica," *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia*, XII (1957), 412-33, and XIII (1958), 27-46.

⁵ Valla, *Dialecticae disputationes*, II, 14, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Garin, I, 751.

manis), the exemplary Ages of Cicero and Quintilian, the time of the classical jurists, especially Ulpian, and that of the grammarians (Priscian, Aelius Donatus, and Servius).⁶ From Boethius and Isidore of Seville down to his own age, Valla saw little but corruption (*degeneravit ab illa prisca*), though he admitted that barbarism was the fault of the times rather than of the men. From such stylistic judgments Valla drew those philological techniques which, illustrating in their own way the principles of individuality and of development, went into the making of modern historical method. This is shown not only in his notorious exposé of the Donation of Constantine and his emendations of Livy but, perhaps best of all, in his criticism of the New Testament and of Roman law.⁷ As one of the founding fathers of Biblical and of legal humanism, he was the intellectual ancestor both of Desiderius Erasmus and of Guillaume Budé, to name only the two most prominent sixteenth-century scholars.

Whether as an inspiration or as an irritant, Valla had an almost unparalleled influence. Representing (as Vittorio Rossi argued many years ago) the transition from humanism to historicism, he did more than anyone to bring about a "historical revolution." What he did, I would suggest, was to create a "paradigm" (in the sense that Thomas Kuhn applied this term to "scientific revolutions") for the cultural sciences. He established both an epistemology and a method for historical scholarship. Just as important, perhaps, he helped bring about a transformation of values that allowed philologists to follow their "trivial" calling without feeling inferior to the older professions. While it may be an exaggeration to regard Valla as the Copernicus of historical thought, he did come closer than any scholar to expressing the presumptions and methods of historical scholarship as it would be carried on for more than three centuries. Like Copernican astronomy, humanist philology became a "coherent tradition of scientific research," possessing a "consensus of scholarly values and techniques."⁸ As the founder of a tradition, of course, Valla could not be expected to do much more than set an example and advertise his product. The heavy work was in general carried on by his followers who, if they were less venturesome, were more learned, and if they did not care to examine the foundations of their discipline, were

⁶ Valla, *Antidoti in Poggium* and *Elegantiae Latinae Linguae*, II, 42, 49, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Garin, I, 288, 71, 74, *et passim*.

⁷ See note 29, below. On Valla as a textual critic, see Roberto Valentini, "Le 'Emendationes in T. Livium' di L. Valla," *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, XV (1907), 261-302; Giuseppe Billanovich, "Petrarch and the Textual Tradition of Livy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIV (No. 2, 1951), 137-208; Werner Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Bible Criticism* (Cambridge, Eng., 1955), 133-39; Paul Mestwerdt, *Die Anfänge des Erasmus* (Leipzig, 1917); and Anna Morisi, "La filologia neotestamentaria di Lorenzo Valla," *Nuova rivista storica*, XLVII Jan.-Apr. 1964), 35-49.

⁸ Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1962).

intensely devoted to the specific tasks of historical scholarship. These were the practitioners of "normal science" (in Kuhn's phrase) and included such men as Angelo Poliziano, Ermolao Barbaro, Pietro Crinito, Alessandro d'Alessandro, Erasmus, and Guillaume Budé. Although they were not quite discoverers, they were certainly pioneers in the territories claimed by the new science of philology. It is the work of such men that we must study in order to understand the beginnings of modern historical scholarship.

In the long and continuous tradition of humanist historicism—leading from Petrarch to Jacob Perizonius, from Lorenzo Valla to Giambattista Vico, and from Flavio Biondo to Niebuhr, Savigny, and Theodor Mommsen—one of the recurrent themes has been the invigorating effects of legal and linguistic studies upon historical thought. Never wholly at ease with one another, historians and lawyers have nevertheless profited greatly from their mutual labors, in the sixteenth perhaps more than in the nineteenth century. One remarkable phenomenon in the history of scholarship is the lasting value of Renaissance studies in Roman law, perhaps unparalleled in any other field: witness not only Edward Gibbon's famous fortieth chapter and Mommsen's edition of the *Corpus Juris Justiniani*, but the researches of a number of twentieth-century students of Roman legal science. On the whole, however, historians have fallen behind the lawyers in their appreciation of legal scholarship. About the contributions of the nineteenth-century "historical school of law," of course, much has been said (perhaps too much, since it relates so often to discredited notions of the *Volksgeist* and to crude biological analogies, which are hardly permanent features of historical interpretation).⁹ About the contributions of Renaissance philology, on the other hand, we know much less, and much of that is colored by nineteenth-century images of the Renaissance. The purpose of this paper is to suggest the significance of the sixteenth-century "historical school of law" for the philological investigation of the past and so to illuminate one of the more obscure phases of the history of historicism.

The real basis of the first historical school of law was Guillaume Budé's *Annotations on Twenty-four Books of the Pandects*.¹⁰ Like Savigny, Budé

⁹ A most interesting recent study is Hedwig Vonessen, *Friedrich Karl von Savigny und Jakob Grimm* (Cologne, 1958). In general, Otto von Gierke, *Die historische Rechtsschule und die Germanisten* (Berlin, 1903); Hermann Kantorowicz, "Savigny and the Historical School of Law," *Law Quarterly Review*, LIII (July 1937), 326-43; and Troeltsch, *Historicismus*, 277 ff.

¹⁰ Guillaume Budé, *Annotationes in quattuor et viginti Pandectarum libros* (Paris, 1535), first edition, 1508; revised, 1519; in 1526 he added a commentary on the last four books of the *Digest*. Essential for an understanding of Budé are Louis Delaruelle, *Études sur l'humanisme français, Guillaume Budé*, and his supplementary thesis, *Répertoire analytique et chron-*

had both ideological and archaeological motives for his antiquarian labors, and his book was at once a counterpart of Savigny's famous manifesto of 1814 and a pioneering contribution to classical scholarship. In fact, this work, published in 1508, did for Roman law what eight years later Erasmus' New Testament was to do for Biblical studies: it introduced a new method of historical criticism into one of the major professional domains in order to "reform" not only a university discipline but, by restoring ancient learning (*prisca doctrina*) in a neglected field, contemporary society in general.

Like Erasmus, his sometime friend and rival, Budé gave up plans for a professional career for reasons of personal taste. Turning his back on the practice of law as Erasmus had turned his on an ecclesiastical calling, Budé became a devout convert to the cause of "philology." For Budé's sake it is best not to pursue the inevitable parallel with Erasmus too far. Budé had both the arrogance of the wellborn and the vanity of the self-taught, without a saving touch of humor. His style was pedantic, sometimes inscrutable; even in private correspondence he gave a stuffy impression. His relations with Erasmus, who resisted Budé's attempts to draw him to Paris, grew increasingly cool. He was irritated at Erasmus' unkind criticism of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and, ludicrously, at Erasmus' passing pun on his name (Budaeus) and that of his printer (Badius).¹¹ As a self-proclaimed spokesman for the French monarchy, he tolerated criticism neither of himself nor of his countrymen. Budé was also active in Gallican politics, and his chauvinism became increasingly evident in his scholarly works. Worst of all, his growing piety and his devotion to the monarchy led him in his conservative old age to defend Francis I's policy of religious persecution.¹²

In one respect, however, Budé was Erasmus' equal, if not his superior. In the field of Hellenic studies he could claim to be a pioneer (καθηγητής), a man who almost singlehandedly brought the light of learning (*lampadem*) to France.¹³ And contemporaries agreed. Seconding the judgment of Erasmus, Cuthbert Tunstall compared his work in the renaissance of letters

ologique de la correspondance de Guillaume Budé (Paris, 1907); and Josef Bohatec, *Budé und Calvin* (Graz, 1950), though concerned with his religious development and alienation from philology rather than with his scholarship.

¹¹ Desiderius Erasmus, *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P. S. Allen (12 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1906-58), II, 544 ff.; III, 268; VII, 493; cf. Delaruelle, *Répertoire*.

¹² This accompanied Budé's rejection of historicism, that is, his movement from "minor philology" to theology, as reflected in his last work. See Daniel F. Penham, "*De Transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum*: A study of a Little-Known Treatise of Guillaume Budé Followed by a Translation into English," doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1954.

¹³ Guillaume Budé, *Epistolae* (Paris, 1522), fol. 3^v. Budé's legend was consecrated in his first biography, Louis le Roy's *G. Budaei viri clarissimi vita* (Paris, 1540), and made its way into French literary hagiography, starting with Étienne Pasquier's *Recherches de la France* (Paris, 1633), 838. See Franco Simone, *La Coscienza della rinascita negli umanisti francesi* (Rome, 1949), 108 ff., concluding that Budé was "the first historian of French humanism."

(*ad instaurandas litteras*) to Valla, Poliziano, and Barbaro; while Ulrich Zasius, his rival as a legal scholar and an almost sycophantic friend of Erasmus, found it difficult to choose between the two.¹⁴ Budé's carefully cultivated image as the archhumanist of France rested upon three major books—the *Annotations*, the *De Asse*, and the *Commentaries on Greek*—and upon the alleged role he played in the establishment of the regius professorships of the classical languages, the institutional embodiment of philology that became the basis of the *Collège de France*. No one, it seems, did more than Budé to broadcast that "chorus of muses" whose strains Petrarch first heard. Thus in popular opinion Budé was installed, beside Erasmus and Vives, in the great "triumvirate" of sixteenth-century learning. Indeed J. J. Scaliger, the ultimate judge in such matters, called him "the greatest Greek in Europe."¹⁵

For all his claims to originality, Budé did not deny the scholarly supremacy of Italy (*Italia omnium gentium magistra*)¹⁶ nor his specific indebtedness to such Italian scholars as Valla and Poliziano. From these men he derived not only his approach to Roman law but, if only unconsciously, the assumptions of Renaissance historicism. For Budé it was an article of faith that words reflected reality (*verba rerum imagines*),¹⁷ that only a close study of language revealed the contours of the historical world; it was perhaps only natural that he should have turned, though without discarding his historical method, from textual criticism to lexicography. From Italian philology, too, Budé adopted the view that each age, as well as each national group, had its own cultural configuration, its characteristic "style," of which literature was the most sensitive indicator, and learned opinion (*consensus eruditorum*) the final judge. Budé was following ancient convention when he characterized particular ages (*Ciceronis aetas*, *Ulpiani tempus*, *seculum Accursiani*, and so forth) and when he distinguished between "classical" and "proletarian" writers, but he went beyond this in adding a sense of progressive stylistic change, even suggesting a periodization roughly equivalent to our ancient-medieval-modern convention (*antiqui, intermedii, recentiores*).¹⁸ A sense of history appears also in his discussion of national

¹⁴ Erasmus, *Opus Epistolarum*, ed. Allen, II, 539; *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, ed. Alfred Hartmann (5 vols., Basel, 1942-58), II, 179.

¹⁵ *Scaligeriana*, *Thuana*, *Perroniana*, *Pithoeana et Colomesiana* (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1740), II, 145, referred to Budé's greatest work, the *Commentarii graeci linguae* (Paris, 1529), which was the foundation of Greek lexicography down to the present century. The phrase "musarum chorus" appears, for example, in Budé's *De Studio litterarum* and *De Philologia* (Basel, 1533), 8, 56, 147; also in Valla, *Opera omnia*, ed. Garin, I, 249, and in Petrarch, cited by Pierre de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* (Paris, 1892), 44. On this "triumvirate," an invention of Claude Chanossonette, see Budé, *Epistolae*, fol. 37^r.

¹⁶ Guillaume Budé, *De Asse et ejus partibus* (Paris, 1528), fol. 177^r.

¹⁷ *Id.*, *Annotationes*, fol. 8^r.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, esp. fols. 95^r, 102^r (cf. Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticae*, 19. 8. 15), and 118^r.

culture, hypostatized by such terms as "genius" (*genius* or *Minerva Franciae*).¹⁹ He plotted a life cycle beginning with childhood (*secula infantiae*), filled with superstition and poetry; then adolescence, characterized by learning and eloquence, that is, history and philology; finally a period of decline, arising from moral corruption and the vicissitudes of time (*inclinaciones temporum*).²⁰ And the key to these historical ideas, as well as to Budé's philological method, was the concept of style.

For Budé philology represented, in effect, a new world view. Like Valla, he had nothing but contempt for the educationists of that day, those "Scholastic doctors" who dominated the schools, including the University of Orléans, where Budé had wasted his time (to hear him tell it) before being converted to "good letters." And yet in a sense Budé shared the bias of these men, for what he really wanted was not to topple the medieval hierarchy of learning but only to promote the philological tradition (*ordo* or *natio philologorum*) to the level of the older disciplines.²¹ This is evident both in his minor writings and in his championing of the trilingual professorships. To Budé as to Erasmus, in short, philology was a real "science" based upon the *studia humanitatis*. It was a combination of grammar according to the famous definition of Poliziano and rhetoric according to the notorious views of Valla. In other words, philology involved the historical (that is, the literal) interpretation of texts in the light of the so-called "encyclopedia" of liberal arts; at the same time it depended upon eloquence, which "binds together this cycle of learning . . . like a living body," and without which (Budé added in Valla's words) "learning is blind, especially in civil law."²² As a literary ideal, philology stood above history—a possession of all the ages (*dicendi facultas ars sit omnium temporum et locorum*). In the sixteenth century, however, it had become rather a technique for resurrecting the past (*philologia olim ornatrix . . . hodie instauratrix et interpolatrix*).²³ For Budé, then, philology was both a "cornucopia" of classical learning and a historical method.

About the study of history in a formal sense Budé had little to say be-

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 67^r, and Budé, *De Asse*, "Praefatio," fol. 14^r.

²⁰ *Id.*, *De Studio litterarum*, 33 ff.

²¹ *Id.*, *De Philologia*, 81, 152, and (discussion of his conversion to philology) 90 ff. Extended discussions of "philology" appear also in *id.*, *Annotationes*, fols. 114^r–119^r, and *De Asse*, esp. fols. 141, 179. In general, see Scaglione, "Humanist as Scholar"; and the articles by Eugenio Garin and Augusto Mancini in *Il Poliziano e il suo tempo* (Florence, 1957), as well as Donald R. Kelley, "Legal Humanism and the Sense of History," *Studies in the Renaissance*, XIII (1966), 184–99.

²² Budé, *Annotationes*, fol. 7^r, citing Valla, *Elegantiae*, III, "Proemium," in *Opera omnia*, ed. Garin, I, 80. Budé modeled his description of the "encyclopedia" on the obvious classical sources (Quintilian, *De Oratore*, I, 10. 1. and Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, I, 1) and perhaps also on Angelo Poliziano, e.g., *Miscellaneae*, Chap. IV, in *Opera omnia* (Basel, 1553), 229.

²³ Budé, *De Philologia*, 81, 217.

yond the tired *topoi* of humanist rhetoric, rehearsed all too often by Valla and others. Thus in his *Institution of the Prince*, playing Aristotle to Francis I's Alexander, Budé advised the King to take history rather than any schoolteacher as his mistress (a reference to the Ciceronian formula, *historia magistra vitae*). "In this way," Budé concluded, "a wise prince can be like Janus, who is represented with two faces, seeing equally well forwards and backwards."²⁴ In Budé's view—"trivial" and "commonplace" in more than one sense—the function of history was didactic and commemorative (*exemplorum eventuumque memorabilium plena est historia*).²⁵ What is more significant, Budé made a conscious connection between the truthfulness and accuracy of narrative history and the literalness (*sensus historicus*) of the grammatical method, celebrating both as the "faith of history" (*fides historiae*).²⁶ This reinforces the view taken here that Budé conceived of history not as a literary genre but as an independent mode of thought. His purpose was not the fashioning of a narrative line but the investigation (*indagatio*) and restoration (*restitutio*) of ancient culture through philology.

Budé's most celebrated effort of reconstruction was probably his study of Roman coinage, a subject that had been the despair of such scholars as Flavio Biondo, Poliziano, and Barbaro. Budé did not limit himself merely to investigating the names and values of ancient moneys. He addressed himself to the larger question of the economic basis of the Roman Empire, comparing its wealth to that of modern Europe as well as of other ancient societies, discussing in detail such topics as usury, the beginning of coinage, and the incomes of the various professions (concluding, for example, that scholars were much better rewarded in ancient times).²⁷ He had no doubt that the splendor of Rome depended largely upon the wealth and the ideas wrested from other peoples and that its political and cultural degeneration was closely tied to economic factors, such as the progressive devaluation of currency. This awareness of the economic foundations of civilization gave a dimension to Budé's view of antiquity that was lacking in his Italian forebears.

²⁴ *Id.*, *De l'Institution du prince* (Paris, 1547), 65; see Milosch Triwunatz, *Guillaume Budé's de l'Institution du prince* (Munich, 1903), including (p. 67 ff.) parallels with Erasmus and Machiavelli.

²⁵ Budé, *De Philologia*, 232, echoing Cicero, *Brutus*, 114.

²⁶ Budé, *De Philologia*, 126, and *De Transitu*, 713; cf. Valla's letter to Biondo (Valla, *Opera omnia*, ed. Garin, II, 119), and Poliziano (*Opera omnia*, 471, 621). "Fides" was one of the qualities of a good historian, as indicated by M. P. Gilmore, *Humanists and Jurists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 87 ff.; it was also the first requirement of a good textual critic, according to the first handbook of this auxiliary discipline, Francesco Robortello's *De Arte sive ratione corrigendi antiquorum libros*, in Scioppius, *De Arte critica* (Amsterdam, 1662), 119.

²⁷ Budé, *De Asse*, esp. fols. 397, 26, 154, 46.

It was in the field of Roman law, however, that the quality of Budé's scholarship appears most clearly. Although civil law had long been one of the main preserves of Scholastic method, to humanists it was the greatest monument of Roman civilization.²⁸ As a locus of the most fundamental problems confronting the historian, moreover, it was an incomparable challenge to the historical imagination. Legal humanists had to consider such questions as the extent of cultural influence, especially of Greek philosophy; the effects of historical change, since Roman law was a growth of centuries and showed signs both of social and stylistic variation; the possibility of "interpolations" and other textual alterations, since Justinian's corpus was both fragmentary and corrupt; and finally the value of legal sources and methods for the study of history. These problems obviously called for the talents not of a lawyer but of a philologist.

How did Roman law come to be looked at in this light? Once again we must pay homage to Valla. Besides establishing the method of the historical school of law, Valla set down in unmistakable fashion the primary themes of legal humanism. Of these the three most prominent were "anti-Tribonianism," that is, the critique of the scholarship (as well as the moral and religious failings) of the Byzantine editor of the *Digest*; "anti-Bartolism," the bitter and often exaggerated attack upon the tangled growth of Scholastic interpretation; and "juristic classicism," the judging of the *Digest* in terms of such literary "authorities" as Cicero and Ulpian, who provided a Latin standard (*norma latina*) for the detection of later "depravities."²⁹ On such grounds Valla made a number of emendations of Roman law, especially in that favorite humanist target, the *Digest* title "On the Meaning of Words." For the most part Valla's criticism was limited to rejecting senseless distinctions, deriding imaginary "etymologies" (such as *testamentum* from "quod testatio mentis est"),³⁰ and pointing out inconsistencies (*antinomia*). Although lawyers took Valla's opinions to be quibbling, Budé usually took them seriously.

²⁸ The best survey is Maffei, *Inizi dell'umanesimo*; see also Michel Reulos, "L'Humanisme des juristes du xvi^e siècle," *Actes du Congrès de l'Association Guillaume Budé* (Paris, 1949), 301 ff.; and L. C. Stevens, "The Contribution of French Jurists to the Humanism of the Renaissance," *Studies in the Renaissance*, I (1954), 92-105. For general orientation, see Paul Koschaker, *Europa und das römische Recht* (Munich, 1953), and Fritz Schulz, *History of Roman Legal Science* (Oxford, Eng., 1953).

²⁹ Valla's emendations appear in *Elegantiae*, VI, 35-64, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Garin, I, 216-34, republished in C. A. Duker, *Opuscula varia de latinitate jurisconsultorum veterum* (Leiden, 1711), along with critical comments by Andrea Alciato, Francesco Florido Sabino, and an anonymous author. For Valla's general approach to law, see *Elegantiae*, III, "Præfatio," *Antidoti in Poggium*, and "Epistola in Bartoli de insigniis et armis libellum," in *Opera omnia*, ed. Garin, I, 293, 79, 633.

³⁰ Valla, *Elegantiae*, VI, 36, *ibid.*, 217, adding sarcastically about this "explosa et derisa etymologia": "What about 'mens' and 'ornament' . . . or 'pavement' or 'cement' . . . or a multitude of others?" (Cf. Valla, *Antidoti in Poggium*, *ibid.*, 385.)

More substantial was the textual criticism of Poliziano, who, though he lacked Valla's philosophic acumen, had a superior knowledge of Greek and, more important, access to the legendary Florentine codex, indispensable to the study of the *Digest*. Reverence for this manuscript bordered on idolatry, and, as François Hotman later remarked, "It was guarded as a holy and precious relic and shown only rarely by torch-light, as mystagogues formerly showed their sacred treasures."⁸¹ Every sixteenth-century scholar, of course, believed the "fairy story" (as C. H. Haskins called it) of the miraculous recovery of this treasure in Amalfi in the twelfth century. Budé himself was given the honor of seeing the manuscript but "only through a grating"; and so, like most jurists before 1443, he had to rely on the notes and commentaries of Poliziano.⁸²

Budé took up just where these two philologists left off. He approached the *Digest* not as a book of authority—which in Gallican France it could not be anyway—but as a historical monument, an "image of antiquity" (*effigies antiquitatis*). It was Valla's *Elegancies of the Latin Language*, he tells us, "that led me to read the *Digest* more carefully, wherein I found many things partly corrupted and partly mutilated, and so I turned my attention to many words of good and ancient coinage, transformed by the ignorance of the times into foreign usage."⁸³ Budé regarded the *Digest* as a priceless but ill-preserved anthology of literature that showed in a striking fashion the destructive effects of time and a neglectful posterity. Along with such like-minded contemporaries as Ulrich Zasius, he paid particular attention to the title "On the Origin of Law," an unusually corrupt but indispensable summary of legal history by Pomponius.⁸⁴ What was per-

⁸¹ François Hotman, *Antitribonian* (Paris, 1603), 124. This manuscript was published by Lelio Torelli (Florence, 1553); preserved in the Laurentian Library, it was reproduced photographically in this century: *Justiniani Augusti Digestorum seu Pandectarum codex Florentinus olim Pisanus phototypice expressus* . . . (Rome, 1902-10).

⁸² Budé, *Annotationes*, fol. 36^v. Poliziano's emendations appear in his *Miscellaneae*, esp. Chaps. xli, lxxviii, lxxxii, xcvi, and in his manuscript notes of his copy of the *Digest* (Florence, 1485), made available to him by Poliziano's disciple Pietro Crinito, later published by A. M. Bandini, *Ragionamento istorico sopra la collazione delle Fiorentine Pendette* (Leghorn, 1762). See Francesco Buonamici, *Il Poliziano giureconsulto* (Pisa, 1863), and the articles of Lino Sighinolfi in *La Bibliofilia*, XXIV (Sept. 1922), 165-202, and *Studie e memorie per la storia dell'U. di Bologna*, VI (1921), 187-308; also Carlo Angelieri's edition of Crinito's *De honesta disciplina* (Rome, 1955), 41 ff. Most valuable on Budé's predecessors is P. F. Girard, "Les préliminaires de la renaissance du droit romain," *Revue historique du droit français et étranger*, 4th Ser., I (1922), 5-46; superseding Dante dal Re, *I Precursori italiani di una nuova scuola del diritto romano nel secolo xv* (Rome, 1878), and the still interesting Karl von Savigny, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter* (7 vols., Heidelberg, 1834-51), VI, 419 ff., and Heinrich Brenckmann, *Historia Pandectarum* (Utrecht, 1722).

⁸³ Budé, *Annotationes*, fol. 7^r; "effigies antiquitatis" is the phrase applied by Cicero (*De Oratore*, I, 193) to the Twelve Tables.

⁸⁴ Zasius borrowed generously from Budé in his great commentary on "De origine juris" (*Digest*, I, 2, 2). This title is the real point of departure of legal history, as indicated by the work of the "first legal historian," Aymar du Rivail, *Historia juris civilis* (Paris, 1515), which is, however, quite innocent of the new jurisprudence; see Ernst von Moeller, *Aymar du Rivail, der erste Rechtshistoriker* (Berlin, 1907).

haps most offensive to jurists of the old school, Budé insisted that historians and poets should also be granted authority since they were cited in the *Digest* and were unquestionably necessary for its understanding. The result was that, in his desire to offer, as he put it, "obiter dicta relating to the restoration of the Latin language," he actually substituted for the authority of Roman law the "authority of antiquity," a literary concept and, at least potentially, a historical standard.⁸⁵

Like Petrarch, Budé wanted to return to the "fathers of jurisprudence," but in the case of the *Digest* this was easier said than done. The trouble had started with Justinian's editors, under the direction of Tribonian, who "in the manner of brutal surgeons cutting into living flesh," said Budé, "gave us a *Digest* not assembled but rather dissected." Many passages in one title, Budé pointed out, "were written by Greek authors and so left by Tribonian, as may be seen by the style, which is sordid and obscure compared to that of the classical jurists, and which was not so much translated as twisted from the Greek without knowledge of either language."⁸⁶ "Nor," he remarked elsewhere, "is the skill greater in many laws of the Code, as the style bears witness."⁸⁷ No less striking were the various contradictions (*antinomia*) in which Tribonian was "caught napping," such as the irreconcilable definitions of "veteran" and "novice" slaves, first noticed by Valla.⁸⁸ It was not surprising that these contradictions occasioned much sophistry on the part of medieval commentators since, as Budé added, "many *antinomia* cannot be explained without knowing many things of which Accursius was ignorant."⁸⁹ Budé looked upon these *antinomia* not as "dissonances" to be harmonized but as challenges to historical insight, and incidentally as evidence of the historical mutability of Roman law.

If Budé was critical of Tribonianism, he was outraged at Accursianism (*Accursianitas*). He adopted the bad manners and the bias of his Italian predecessors toward both the glossators (*Accursiani*) and the commentators (*Bartolisti*), who in his opinion were the essence of anti-intellectualism

⁸⁵ Budé, *Annotationes*, fol. 28^r, again echoing Valla's *Elegantiae*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Garin, I, 4. From the first edition of this phenomenally successful book (Paris, 1471), one of the first to be printed in France, Valla was styled (in the preface) "Latinae linguae restitutor." Cf. Budé, *De Asse*, fol. 11^r.

⁸⁶ *Id.*, *Annotationes*, fol. 117^r, referring to the "De excusationibus." Budé recognized thirty-seven (there are actually thirty-nine) authors in the *Digest* (fol. 9^r).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 31^r.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 144^v (*Digest*, 21. 1. 65), referring to Justinian's first preface ("Deo auctore"); cf. Valla, *Elegantiae*, VI, 59, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Garin, I, 232. Indispensable for this subject is Luigi Palazzini-Finetti, *Storia della ricerca delle interpolazioni nel corpus juris giustiniano* (Milan, 1953), and, more generally, Pietro Bonfante, *Storia del diritto romano* (2 vols., Milan, 1958-59), II, 141 ff.

⁸⁹ Budé, *Annotationes*, fol. 17^r.

(*verborum contemptores, Priscianomastiges*). He denied these "barbarians" any claim to philosophy, "unless we call philosophers those who have mastered no philosophy, who are accustomed to forbid themselves and their pupils all those arts which show no immediate profit, and who thus have a minimal knowledge of all the authors."⁴⁰ (We may hear a resonant echo of this in the complaint by one of Budé's admiring correspondents about "those fools who have studied less philosophy than a mule . . . , who have as much knowledge of the classics as a toad has feathers, although the law is full of these subjects and cannot be understood without them.")⁴¹ Roman laws, Budé concluded, "were propagated by men ignorant of Latin, and so it is not surprising that they have been covered by many layers of errors, some permanent . . . , some correctable, unless one believes that the authority of Accursius is sacrosanct—which I, as a disciple of the ancient jurists and as a grammarian [literator], am not accustomed to do."⁴² In short, Roman law had become an intricate palimpsest that only the most skilled philologist could decipher.

And yet if Budé lamented the "degeneration of jurisprudence from its ancient purity," he pointed out repeatedly that the deficiencies of Scholasticism were after all "the fault of the times rather than of the men" (*temporum magis quam hominum ignorantia; ignorantia Accursii vel seculi potius Accursiani*).⁴³ Dealing with "so much law through such a variety of ages," Budé asked of Accursius, "could his judgment be perfect?"⁴⁴ Thus, just as he admitted that his own achievements were owing, at least in part, to the excellence of his "golden age,"⁴⁵ so (like Valla) Budé had enough historical sense to recognize *Accursianitas* as a cultural rather than an individual failing. Commonplace as such an admission may seem, it indicates an important feature of Renaissance historicism: the replacing of a narrow and unhistorical classicism by an attitude of relativism.

The most concrete signs of Budé's historicism were displayed in his exegesis of the *Digest*. Instead of glossing over, he insisted upon the fundamental social changes reflected in Roman law, such as the decline of the Senate. "By the time of Ulpian," Budé remarked (apropos of the imperial formula, *princeps legibus solutus*), "nothing remained of that original public spirit [*prisca civilitas*], everything being ruled by the will of the

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 3^r et passim; cf. Valla, *Antidoti in Poggium*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Garin, I, 273.

⁴¹ François Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, II, 10, in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Jacques Boulenger (Paris, 1955), 216.

⁴² Budé, *Annotationes*, fol. 151^r; cf. *id.*, *Epistolae*, fol. 19^r.

⁴³ *Id.*, *Annotationes*, fols. 5^r, 40^r, and *De Studio litterarum*, 16; cf. Valla, *Antidoti in Poggium*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Garin, I, 295.

⁴⁴ Budé, *Annotationes*, fol. 17^r.

⁴⁵ *Id.*, *De Philologia*, 135; cf. Valla, *Antidoti in Poggium*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Garin, I, 321.

prince."⁴⁶ By appeal to history he was often able to correct Accursius, whose disregard of chronology led him to such misconceptions as confusing the Senate and the centumviral court.⁴⁷ Again, Budé complained, "Accursius imagines that an act of law [*legis actio*] means legitimate act of voluntary jurisdiction, but we think differently: 'act of law' is an ancient legal term . . . [meaning] petition."⁴⁸ Budé was also able to point out certain "hallucinations" of classical jurists, especially of Pomponius.⁴⁹ The practice of "controlling" sources—a lesson learned late indeed by conventional historians—was a permanent feature of Budé's method, that is, of legal humanism.

When history was silent, when manuscript authority was lacking, Budé resorted to a more precarious and yet a more characteristic technique: a kind of higher criticism based on his sense of style. Here again he was following a familiar humanist pattern, applying to the *Digest* those methods by which Valla had made his exposé of the Donation of Constantine.⁵⁰ Suspicious as Budé was of the "divinations" of other authors, he did not himself hesitate to make conjectural emendations of passages that seemed to him "depraved" or "mutilated," and he played enthusiastically that humanist game, the hunt for interpolations. He supplied Greek terms, corrupt or missing altogether in earlier editions, either with Poliziano's help or, as in the case of his celebrated restitution of "*decoctum ochetae*," by his own intuition.⁵¹ Typically, he would remark (here concerning the use of "*quanti*" instead of "*quanto*") that a particular term "was not a Latin construction, that is, it was alien to the style of the ancient jurists

⁴⁶ Budé, *Annotationes*, fol. 37^v (*Digest*, I. 3. 31). Reference is always to Mommsen's edition of the *Digest* (Berlin, 1954) for purposes of comparison.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 51^r (*Digest*, I. 8. 8). "Quasi centumviri, id est senatores," Accursius had said (*Digest*, 5. 2. 17; Code 3. 31. 12; 6. 28. 4).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 39^r (*Digest*, I. 7. 4).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 15^r, correcting Pomponius (by means of Livy) for making Tarquinius Superbus instead of Tarquinius Priscus the son of Demaratus; and fol. 32^v, for confusing Q. M. with P. M. Scaevola. Budé also took modern philologists to task, including (fol. 104^v) Barbaro, for confusing "polluctores" with "pollinctores." Elsewhere (Budé, *De Ase*, fol. 40^r) he scolded: "To divine is not to emend."

⁵⁰ Budé also had ambitions to be a Bible critic and pointed out a number of Nicolas of Lyra's "hallucinations" as well as errors in translation. He had no more patience than Erasmus with those who regarded the Vulgate as superior to the Greek original, which was like saying of a tree that "the branches are superior to the trunk from which they sprang" (Budé, *Annotationes*, fol. 31^r), and he agreed with Erasmus and Valla that the present translation should not, because of its corrupt condition, be attributed to St. Jerome. In 1516 Budé offered his notes on the New Testament to Erasmus (Erasmus, *Opus Epistolarum*, ed. Allen, II, 227-33) and later inserted them in the second (1519) edition of his *Annotationes* (e.g., fols. 31^r, 141^r). He offered emendations, too, of Cicero and Pliny, in the wake of Ermolao Barbaro's *Castigationes . . . in Plinium* (Venice, 1495).

⁵¹ Budé, *Annotationes*, fol. 108^v (*Digest*, 16. 3. 7). Budé accepted most of Poliziano's emendations, such as "*ad album*" for "*ad alium convenire*" (Budé, *Annotationes*, fol. 71^r; Poliziano, *Miscellaneae*, Chap. LXXXII, on *Digest*, 2. 13. 1), and changed one important passage to read, "The legate has [instead of does not have] legislative authority in his jurisdiction" (Budé, *Annotationes*, fol. 68^r; Poliziano, *Miscellaneae*, Chap. LXXVII, on *Digest*, I. 16. 12).

and especially abhorrent to Ulpian"; or again that "neither the authority nor the examples of Accursius will persuade me that Ulpian would speak so ineptly" ("venditores mansisset" instead of "venditio res mansisset").⁵² Budé offered many such corrections: some significant ("tergeminos" for "tres geminos" or "causa" not "casu"); some comic ("aedilitas," aedileship, for "edulitas," hunger), some simply misprints ("iudico" for "indico," "angustus" for "augustus," and so forth).⁵³ Admittedly, Budé's conjectures were sometimes wide of the mark (suggesting "pastillatum" for "pusillatum" instead of, correctly, "pusulatum") and often more daring than later standards of scholarship would permit; nor has his work left much trace, at least ostensibly, in Mommsen's edition.⁵⁴ The significant thing, however, is the method that Budé sanctioned and developed.

In Budé's view most misunderstanding about the *Digest* arose not from the Byzantine compilers but from Scholastic tradition, and so the *Gloss* of Accursius became his primary target. This book, assigned reading for every law student, was filled with grammatical imprecisions (such as confusing "praestandum est" with "praestitum est") and absurd etymologies (deriving the word for a legal claim, *vindiciae*, from the man Vindicius mentioned in the same passage).⁵⁵ Classical culture was, in general, quite beyond Accursius' ken; at least Budé deduced this from countless misinterpretations of words, such as regarding *sella* as a chariot instead of a magistrate's chair, failing to recognize such idioms as *obtruere luminibus* or *sarta tecta*, and defining *intercalare* as taking out instead of inserting.⁵⁶ Like Valla, Budé also objected to Accursius' artificial and arbitrary distinctions, and so he took time to demonstrate from classical usage that Ulpian's famous definition of law (*ars boni et aequi*) was really a single concept, corresponding to the Greek "equity" (ἐπιείκεια).⁵⁷ If Budé's remarks often

⁵² Budé, *Annotationes*, fols. 121^r (*Digest*, 19. 1. 11), 143^v (*Digest*, 19. 1. 25).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, fols. 83^r (*Digest*, 5. 4. 3); 92^r (*Digest*, 10. 4. 8), which Mommsen puts in a note; 106^r (Accursius had said, "Edulitatis, id est famis," on *Digest*, 16. 2. 17); and 152^r ff., where Budé lists many such corrections.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 133^v (*Digest*, 19. 2. 31). Mommsen thus accepts but one of Budé's many suggestions for "quanti" (*ibid.*, fol. 120^v, on *Digest*, 18. 1. 75); accepts "injuriosam" for "incuriosam" (*ibid.*, fol. 148^v, on *Digest*, 22. 1. 33), but credits it to Gregory Haloander, editor of the first humanist edition (1529); accepts without comment "illuvie" for "ingluvie" (*ibid.*, fol. 140^r, on *Digest*, 21. 1. 12); and finally notes, though without accepting, Budé's suggestion of "referre" instead of "deferre in commentarios," made as usual on stylistic grounds. Obviously, a good nineteenth-century editor would be forced to regard many of Budé's emendations as themselves "interpolations," though they were not intended as such.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, fols. 69^v (*Digest*, 1. 22. 4), 18^r (*Digest*, 1. 2. 2).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, fols. 88^r (*Digest*, 8. 3. 7), 86^r (*Digest*, 7. 1. 10), 84^v (*Digest*, 7. 1. 7), 76^r (*Digest*, 4. 4. 3).

⁵⁷ On the subject of ἐπιείκεια, see Guido Kisch, *Erasmus und die Jurisprudenz seiner Zeit* (Basel, 1960), presenting a critical edition of Budé's commentary (*Annotationes*, fols. 1^r-10^v [*Digest*, 1. 1. 1]). Cf. Budé's criticism of Accursius "fourfold" interpretation of "allegat" (*ibid.*, fol. 76^r, on *Digest*, 4. 4. 18).

seem trivial or beside the point, on the whole they reveal a new conception of scholarly precision and a familiarity with ancient society that, useless as it might be to a lawyer, was essential for a student of history.

One subject that held particular fascination for Budé was that of anachronism. It is important to note, however, that awareness of anachronism was by no means an innovation of Renaissance humanism; it was, in fact, an important feature of Roman legal science, which was forced to recognize certain laws, such as the Twelve Tables, as antiquated. While proclaiming his respect for antiquity (*antiquitatis reverentia*), Justinian had specifically instructed Tribonian not to include laws that had fallen into disuse (*in desuetudinem*). Budé, too, was careful to point out obsolete laws (*de prisca nimis et obsoleta antiquitate*).⁵⁸ He followed ancient jurists again in recognizing the deliberate use of antiquated words: "Those who collect old and unused words are called antiquarians . . . , or, by the Greeks, philarchaists."⁵⁹ According to Pomponius, this kind of anachronism appeared in the writing of the jurist Tubero; in modern times, Budé added, it had been affected by such scholars as Theodore Gaza. Finally, there was a type of anachronism due to ignorance, and once more Accursius became the scapegoat. Budé ridiculed his farfetched comparison of the Roman pontifical college with that of the Christian pope, and he exploded the legend, sanctified by canon law and perpetuated by the *Gloss*, about the Greek wise men who, coming to give laws to the Romans, made a gesture signifying the Christian Trinity.⁶⁰ Accursius displayed a similar lack of perspective in matters of language and was capable, for example, of defining *camera* as "bed-chamber" (*cubiculum*), "which meaning," Budé interjected, "Ulpian never knew."⁶¹ The inference is that Budé's philological method required not only encyclopedic learning but a sense of anachronism.

Budé's obsession with the vicissitudes of language becomes most apparent in his treatment of Ciceronianism, which, in spite of Erasmus' suspicions, was not a doctrine that claimed his allegiance but simply an issue that attracted his interest. It was also, which is more important, a standard of historical judgment. "Many words and phrases came into currency after Cicero," Budé observed at the beginning of one of his periodic digressions, "some of which I shall set down as they occur to me."⁶² "Quintilian

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 18^r.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 33^r (*Digest*, 1. 2. 2). Justinian's statements appear in the constitutions "Deo auctore" and "Tanta." One of Budé's charges against Accursius was that he violated this prohibition "contra enarratores," permitting only "paratitla" (*ibid.*, fol. 58^r).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, fols. 17^r, 5^r; cf. Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, N. J., 1957), 126.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 133^r (*Digest*, 19. 2. 19).

⁶² *Ibid.*, fol. 77 ff. The classic works are Eduard Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1958), II, and Remigio Sabbadini, *Storia del ciceronianismo* (Turin, 1885); also

and his contemporaries say 'praesumere,' for example, "while Cicero and his age say 'praecipere.'" Or again: "It was only after the time of Cicero that the term 'fisc' acquired that meaning which it has today." Other words survived only in attenuated form, such as *justus*, which Leonardo Bruni took to mean "exact" but which also had other connotations ("true," "full," and so forth).⁶³ "There are many old words," Budé concluded, "whose usage today should be multiple for those who want to recover the ingenuity of antiquity and restore it to our practice."⁶⁴ In general, while such lexicographical sport may seem beneath notice, it illustrates one of the major components of Renaissance historicism. Budé realized that the transformations of vocabulary, archaisms as well as neologisms, constituted the most concrete evidence of historical change, and his documentation of this point had a profound effect upon later scholarship, historical as well as legal and philological.

One point where Budé departed significantly from the Italian tradition of philology was his adoption of a conscious comparative method. He despised modern jargon—he would have been horrified, for example, at being called a "humanist"⁶⁵—and yet he was fascinated with vulgar counterparts of ancient terms. He was disgusted with the Accursian practice of introducing barbarisms (such as *guerra* for *bellum*),⁶⁶ and yet he almost compulsively made parallels between ancient institutions and those of modern France. In some cases, where his religious or political convictions were not at stake, Budé pretended to recognize certain "vestiges of ancient custom." From this point of view he compared the Roman *gentilitas* with the French noblesse, *mancipium* with seizin, insignia with *arma*, formula with *stilus*, *praefectus* or *tribunus militum* with the *maréchal*, and the ancient *colonus* with the villein.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, in his distaste for barbarism, Budé sometimes fell into a kind of anachronism the reverse of Accursius', that is, replacing vulgar terms with their supposed classical equivalent. Thus, for the sake of respectability, he identified vassalage with the ancient

Izora Scott, *Controversies over the Imitation of Cicero* (New York, 1910), and the remarks of Gilmore, *Humanists and Jurists*, 102 ff.

⁶³ Budé, *Annotationes*, fol. 110^r.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 104^r.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 118^r, complaining about the use of such "sesquipedalian" words as "legista," "canonista," and "ultramontanus."

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 7^r; cf. Valla, *Elegantiae*, IV, 64, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Garin, I, 148.

⁶⁷ Budé, *Annotationes*, fol. 20^r ff. Budé's "comparatist" remarks usually take the form of contrasting ancient and modern custom, or rather terminology, as for example: "'refellere testimonia' . . . is what we call 'contradicere' and 'reprochiare,' while 'sublevare testimonio' should be what we vulgarly call 'exonerare.'" Such discussion forms much of the subject matter of his posthumous *Forensia* (Paris, 1544). The comparative study of institutions in the Renaissance needs fuller investigation, though there are interesting remarks in Jean Moreau-Reibel, *Jean Bodin et le droit public comparé* (Paris, 1933), 34 ff., mentioning contributions by some jurists but not Budé.

clientele, which, for a change, brought down upon his head the reproaches of the jurists of the old school.⁶⁸

For the most part, however, Budé was protected from the fallacies of classicism by his nominalist cast of mind and by his Gallican ideology. He borrowed Valla's philological tools, in short, without adopting his monolithic Romanism. He assumed that most institutions, ancient and modern, were unique, if not autochthonous. In his famous discussion of the Parlement of Paris, for example, he arrived at the conclusion that "it has everything in it that is in the Senate and the centumviral court, as far as power and jurisdiction are concerned," but that in spite of "accidental" resemblances, it was quite wrong to liken the French court to the Roman institutions.⁶⁹ He was quite willing to trace the Parlement back to the old feudal assemblies, but the notion of a link with Roman antiquity offended not only his national sensibilities but his sense of history. He had no use for those renegades (*misopatrises*) who in their fondness for Roman antiquity neglected their own heritage.⁷⁰ Inevitably, Budé stood with the moderns in their age-old quarrel with the ancients. Besides rejecting the mindless mimesis of the rigid Ciceronians, he pointed out "unheard of" developments in military science (*res inauditas . . . ut machinas belli*) and in bookmaking (*l'invention des impressions, qui est l'instauration et perpetuation de l'antiquité*).⁷¹ According to the Italian formula, the moderns were emulators not imitators (*non imitatores . . . sed etiam aemuli*) of the ancients.

What is perhaps most significant about Budé's essays in comparative history is that he often took a greater interest in French institutions than in their ancient counterparts. The Roman praetor, for example, reminded him of the French chancellor, and he went on to trace this office from its "most ancient" (that is, twelfth-century) origins to modern times. Discussion of the word *libellus* led him to consider the French *arrêt* and the office of *maître des requêtes*, which he himself came to hold; while the Roman *scrinium* introduced the subject of the royal *trésor des chartes*, of which his family had long held the charge. He also considered one of the favorite topics of historians, the peers of France, which he compared to the Roman *patres* and patricians. In these monographic digressions Budé referred not only to his administrative experience but to historians (such as Paolo Emilio and the chroniclers of Saint-Denis) and to archival records (such as

⁶⁸ Budé, *Annotationes*, fol. 146^r (*Digest*, 21. 2. 63). On this, see Donald R. Kelley, "De Origine Feudorum," *Speculum*, XXXIX (Apr. 1964), 218.

⁶⁹ Budé, *Annotationes*, fol. 51^r (*Digest*, 1. 9. 12).

⁷⁰ *Id.*, *De Asse*, fol. 18^v; also "Gallomastiges" (*ibid.*, fol. 141^r) and "Francomastiges" (*ibid.*, fol. 170^r).

⁷¹ *Id.*, *De Philologia*, 226 ff., and *Institution du prince*, 63.

royal edicts and the unpublished journal of Pierre Barrière), especially in the *trésor des chartes*.⁷² All these "monuments" he treated with the same reverence and archaeological enthusiasm, and with the same philological acumen, as he did the *Digest* itself.

In this rather desultory fashion Budé began to apply the new science of philology to the vulgar and vernacular problems of medieval history. The result was not only to widen the range and to deepen the perspective of historical inquiry but, through the teachings of philology, to improve historical method. Budé's researches—his pioneering work on the history of French institutions and his restitution of the *Digest*—were fully recognized by later generations of historians and jurists, as was his view that, whatever aid might be derived from classical scholarship, modern society had to be interpreted in its own terms: the nature of any culture, ancient or modern, could be grasped neither through philosophic categories or even classical ideals, but only through an effort of philological learning and philological understanding. The relativism in Budé's point of view represents another important step in the rise of historicism.

If Budé was the Columbus of the historical exploration of Roman law, he was also, like that rather uncertain navigator, soon surpassed in his achievements. Yet Budé left not only a legend but a legacy of considerable proportions. Before his death in 1540 the methods and attitudes that he made famous had helped to create a new school of legal scholarship. This was shown both in the infiltration of certain law faculties by philology and by increasing cries of dismay from the Bartolist camp, beginning with Matteo Gribaldi's *Method of Studying Law* and culminating in Alberico Gentili's *Interpreters of Law*, which dismissed as superfluous both the study of history and Budé's vaunted encyclopedia.⁷³ In France, too, legal humanism had its critics, and Étienne Forcadel, with a professional arrogance hardly in keeping with his modest accomplishments, set the "patricians" of the old school above the "plebeian" grammarians.⁷⁴ By the second half of the sixteenth century, in short, philology had become a real threat to the profession of law. How had this come about?

Although Budé shared some of the blame, in fact the "French method of teaching law"—the *mos gallicus juris docendi*, as distinguished from the

⁷² *Id.*, *Annotationes*, fols. 53^v–67^r, applying the term "effigies antiquitatis" (see note 33, above) to Pierre Barrière's journal. On the archival office of the Budé family (*ibid.*, fol. 67^r), see Louis Dessalles, *Le Trésor des chartes* (Paris, 1844), 78–89.

⁷³ Alberico Gentili, *De Juris Interpretibus* (London, 1582), esp. the dialogues "Pomponius" and "Scaevola"; Matteo Gribaldi, "De Methodo ac ratione studiendi in jure," in *Cynosura juris*, ed. Nicolas Reusner (Speyer, 1588), 110–17 (1st ed., 1541).

⁷⁴ Étienne Forcadel, *Sphaera legalis* (Lyons, 1569), 71.

old-fashioned *mos italicus*—was none of his doing. A promoter, even a prophet he may have been; a teacher he was not. Indeed, despite the urging of friends throughout Europe, he never even completed his work on the *Digest*. Growing “a bit disgusted” with the subject and with secular learning in general, Budé decided to leave the task to a younger generation.⁷⁵ One scholar in particular attracted his attention. “I perceive,” Budé wrote to Andrea Alciato in 1521, “that you are capable of equaling and surpassing what I have begun in this century, the revelation of the corrupt and hidden meaning of the Pandects. . . . [If you have the necessary talents] I desire the glory of this task for you.”⁷⁶ Alciato, who had made his mark on the world of humanism just three years before with a somewhat ostentatious display of erudition, justified this choice. He did not, indeed, finish the job of “cleansing the Augean stables” of law (a job that is still going on). In the eyes of contemporaries, however, he did something quite as significant: he brought philology into the classroom, though perhaps not, as he himself boasted, for the first time in a thousand years.⁷⁷ It is true that he did this at the urging of his students, who were probably attracted as much by the economy as by the elegance of the method, but this did not detract from his achievement. The story was told, and few disbelieved it, that in 1529 at the University of Bourges Alciato laid the foundations of humanist jurisprudence. For this reason as much as for his works, Alciato was installed, along with Budé and Zasius, in another of those sixteenth-century “triumvirates,” this one of legal scholarship. At the end of his life Alciato himself modestly claimed a place between those “men of eternal fame,” Budé and Erasmus.⁷⁸

About Alciato's scholarly credentials there is no doubt. Erasmus saw in him the most complete synthesis of eloquence and legal learning since Cicero's renowned friend Crassus. Not only did he display most of the characteristics of legal humanism as popularized by Budé, but, to judge from certain of his writings—his youthful history of Milan, his letter “in praise of history,” and his survey of the changing “forms of the empire”—

⁷⁵ Budé, *Epistolae*, fol. 97^r (to Cuthbert Tunstall in 1517) and fol. 10^r (to Juan Vives in 1520). Budé had expressed doubts about his ability to continue as early as 1511 in a letter to Nicole Bérault (*ibid.*, fol. 19^r).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 66^r (to Alciato, Mar. 17, 1521).

⁷⁷ Andrea Alciato, *Paradoxa*, I, “Proemium,” in *Opera omnia* (4 vols., Frankfurt am Main, 1617), IV, 1; see also Louis Raynal, *Histoire du Berry* (3 vols., Bourges, 1844), III, 377, 173; and Quirinus Breen, *John Calvin: A Study in French Humanism* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1931), 43 ff. The best biography is Paul Viard, *André Alciat 1492–1550* (Paris, 1926), but this must be supplemented by the recent studies of Gianluigi Barni and especially of Roberto Abbondanza (see his bibliography in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* [7 vols., Rome, 1960–], II, 69–77), who promises a biography of the young Alciato. See also *Pédagogues et juristes*, ed. Pierre Mesnard (Paris, 1963), 93–118. Alciato's three great works of 1518 were the *Paradoxa*, the *Prætermisssæ*, and the *Dispunctiones*.

⁷⁸ Preface (1549) to Paolo Giovio, *Historiarum sui temporis* (Venice, 1553); cf. *Amerbachkorrespondenz*, ed. Hartmann, V, 268.

he had a deeper interest than Budé in formal history, which Alciato once called the "most certain philosophy."⁷⁹ Like Budé, Alciato took part in the search for interpolations and in the criticism of the *Gloss*. He also contributed to the auxiliary sciences of history, and his unpublished collection of inscriptions led Mommsen to remark that "Alciato not only reformed jurisprudence, he laid the foundations of epigraphy."⁸⁰ Yet Alciato, while he never denied Budé's pioneering role, was far from being a docile disciple. Their friendship was at best tenuous. Alciato was hardly pleased by the suggestion that he had plagiarized Budé's work on coinage, and he found insufferable the French assumption that "none but Budé had a knowledge of literature."⁸¹ What is more, Alciato had a noticeably reserved attitude toward philology which, admirable as it was, he had no intention of raising above its subordinate status. Conscious of his professional position, he admonished those *literatores*—Budé himself was only a "master," he recalled—who failed to show a proper respect for the science of law and its practitioners, including the Bartolists.

Where Alciato departed most radically from Budé's views was in his estimate of Valla, who though he may have been the "emperor of grammarians" was the despair of lawyers. It was Poliziano who "first restored the *Digest* to light, soon followed by others."⁸² Valla, on the other hand, he took as a scapegoat for all the literal- and literary-minded excesses of philology. Besides objecting to his amateurism and arrogance—"Valla, who once spared no one, is stilled," he recited; "now all he does is bite the dust"—Alciato attacked in detail his emendations of Roman law.⁸³ Sometimes Alciato seems to score a point, as in resolving one of the alleged *antinomia* discovered by Valla (the apparent disagreement about identifying *pignus* and *hypotheca*) by distinguishing between customary (*de usu*) and proper usage (*de proprietate*).⁸⁴ Sometimes he seems to play the quibbler himself, as in arguing, against Valla's criticism of the *testamentum* derivation ("quod testatio mentis est"), "that Justinian adduces not an etymology

⁷⁹ Andrea Alciato, "Encomium historiae" (1517), which appeared first as the preface to his edition of Tacitus, in *Le Lettere*, ed. G. L. Barni (Florence, 1953), 222. His *De Formula Romani imperii libellus* (Basel, 1559) was actually completed at the same time as his greatest work, the commentary on "De Verborum significatione"; of these he remarked that "the one was more learned, the other fuller of history." (*Lettere*, ed. Barni, 73). His *Rerum patriae . . . libri IIII* (Milan, 1625) appeared only posthumously.

⁸⁰ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, ed. Theodor Mommsen (Berlin, 1877), 624.

⁸¹ *Amerbachkorrespondenz*, ed. Hartmann, III, 407.

⁸² Alciato, *Prætermissa*, II, 1. Like Budé, Alciato was deprived of the use of the Florentine manuscript, except through the notes of Poliziano and Ludovico Bolognini. (*Amerbachkorrespondenz*, ed. Hartmann, III, 442.)

⁸³ Alciato, *Dispunctiones*, IV, 7.

⁸⁴ In his commentary on the "De Verborum significatione" (Alciato, *Opera omnia*, I, 1025 ff.), more conveniently consulted in Duker, *Opuscula*, 234; cf. Valla, *Elegantiae*, VI, 57, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Garin, I, 231. Similar criticisms were made by Alessandro d'Alessandro, *Genialium dierum libri sex* (2 vols., Leiden, 1673), I, 50, 162, 767.

but an allusion, which grammarians call *paranomasia* . . . [and which] refers not to the origin of the word but to the similarity of the sounds."⁸⁵ Alciato went so far as to dismiss Valla's critique of the Donation of Constantine on the grounds that it touched merely upon a historical question and did not affect the legal claims of the pope.⁸⁶ In general, Alciato was skeptical about Valla's uncompromising historicism, believing that a critic had to take into account the intention (*voluntas* or *mens*) as well as the words of an author.⁸⁷ Like Erasmus he hoped to pass from the letter to the spirit of a text, ultimately, in fact, to the "spirit of the laws" (*mens legum*). It was an error, for Valla no less than for Accursius, to reduce things to present-day standards (*ad nostri temporis normam*).⁸⁸ In this way, despite the polemical tone, Alciato helped to give maturity and further perspective to the philological method.

Ideologically, Alciato could not have felt at home in France. This is evident both from his letters and from the reactions of some of his students, John Calvin among them. One of his favorite formulas, representing Rome and the common fatherland (*Roma communis patria*), was a standing insult to all good Gallicans, while his opinion that the French king was subject to the emperor was almost seditious.⁸⁹ Alciato's scholarly influence, resulting from only four years at Bourges, was, nevertheless, unprecedented. For the rest of the century the law faculty of this university, in spite of professional squabbles and bitter ideological conflict, was the home of the reformed jurisprudence. It was largely Alciato's intellectual progeny, his "new sect," as Gentili called it,⁹⁰ that made up the historical school of law of the second half of the sixteenth century. Of Alciato's—and Budé's—French disciples, the most prominent were François le Douaren, François Baudouin, François Hotman, and Jacques Cujas. Together with a few other scholars they brought about a "golden age of Roman law," lasting roughly from 1550 (the year of Alciato's death and of the beginning of Le Douaren's dominance) to 1590 (the year of Cujas's and Hotman's deaths). The fact that each of these men (except perhaps Cujas) had ambitious schemes of "reform" and ideological commitments that went far beyond the needs of philology did not detract from their scholarly work; so, after all, had Budé and Erasmus. Despite their involvement in politics, partly no doubt because of it, they preserved and extended the ideals of legal humanism and thereby contributed to Renaissance historicism.

⁸⁵ Duker, *Opuscula*, 24; cf. Valla, *Elegantiae*, VI, 37, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Garin, I, 217.

⁸⁶ Alciato, *Practermis*, VII, 19.

⁸⁷ *Id.*, "De Verborum significatione," in *Opera omnia*, I, 1025.

⁸⁸ *Id.*, *Dispunctiones*, IV, 21.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 21 (*Digest*, 50. 1. 33). See Fritz Schulz, *Principles of Roman Law*, tr. Marguerite Wolff (Oxford, Eng., 1936), 109.

⁹⁰ Gentili, *De Juris Interpretibus*, 4.

More cautiously and more methodically than Budé, as befits those who follow a course already charted, these history-minded jurists carried on the restoration of the *Digest* and, which is more interesting, began their own pioneering operations in the field of pre-Justinianian law. According to Pierre Bayle, Le Douaren, a protégé of Budé in his last years, was "the first of the French jurists to chase the barbarism of the glossators from the chairs of law."⁹¹ He was also the first to issue (in 1544) a "method" of legal humanism, largely a reformulation of Budé's views.⁹² Like Alciato, however, he held that it was necessary to understand the spirit as well as the letter of laws (*scire leges non hoc esse verba earum tenere: sed vim et potestatem*).⁹³ Particularly interested in the "origin of law," he distinguished eleven different sources, beginning with custom and ending with judicial interpretation (*responsa prudentum*). He was careful also to separate "old law" from "new law," that is, classical from Byzantine.⁹⁴ "Although the compilers of the Pandects placed the names of the ancient jurists at the heads of individual chapters . . .," he explained, "many things in these writings were added or subtracted, so that we cannot tell for sure which opinions were taken from the books of the ancients."⁹⁵ The solution to this problem, which had become perhaps the primary goal of the historical school of law, lay in *Quellenforschung* and in the further cultivation of philology.

The man who best illustrates what has been called the "historicization" of law was Baudouin. In 1545 he published what was perhaps the first historical survey of Roman legal science: from classical beginnings, through its medieval eclipse and recovery (by the miraculous, and mythical, discovery of the Florentine manuscript), through the "degeneration of jurisprudence" caused by Accursius, down to the "renaissance" of the past century, from Valla to Alciato.⁹⁶ In 1551 he also published the first comprehensive reconstruction of the Twelve Tables.⁹⁷ More illuminatingly than Le Douaren, he took up that anti-Tribonianist theme that was com-

⁹¹ See "Duaren," in *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (4 vols., Rotterdam, 1720), II, 1037. See also Émile Jobbé-Duval, "François le Douaren," *Mélanges P.-F. Girard* (Paris, 1912); and A. P. Th. Eyssell, *Doneau*, tr. Jules Simonnet (Dijon, 1860), discussing also Baudouin, Hotman, and Cujas. For bibliography on all these men, see Alexandre Cioranescu, *Bibliographie de la littérature française du seizième siècle* (Paris, 1959).

⁹² "De ratione docendi juris," in *Cynosura juris*, ed. Reusner, 17-37. The "methods" of Baudouin and Hotman appear also in this collection; for Cujas, see Jacques Flach, "Cujas, les glossateurs et les bartolistes," *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 3d Ser., VII (1883), 205 ff.

⁹³ François le Douaren, "In primam partem Pandectarum, sive Digestorum, methodica enarratio," in *Opera omnia* (4 vols., Lucca, 1765), I, 10 (*Digest*, I. 3. 2).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 7 (*Digest*, I. 2. 2).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2, commenting on Justinian's prefaces.

⁹⁶ François Baudouin, "Praefatio de jure civile," in *Jurisprudentia romana et attica*, ed. J. G. Heineccius (3 vols., Leiden, 1738-41), I, 3 ff.

⁹⁷ François Baudouin, *Commentarius de legibus XII tabularum*, *ibid.*, 55 ff.; the work was continued by his student Louis le Caron.

ing to dominate legal humanism. In his *Justinian, or the New Law* he argued that in the translation "from the Roman forum to the Constantinopolitan palace" the Roman Empire "changed not only its seat but its form and face, having a different jurisdiction, different religion, different customs, and a different government."⁹⁸ It was only natural that Justinian had "wanted to accommodate the Pandects to the usage of his age and of his courts," but the result was to leave modern scholars with a most difficult task: "determining what is old and what new . . . , for often what in a particular passage is said to be Ulpian's . . . is really Justinian's or Tribonian's."⁹⁹ Thus, in a passage noted also by Budé and Valla, "Ulpian says in the Pandects that a dowry must be fulfilled 'annua die,' but this is to be attributed rather to Tribonian. . . . Ulpian actually wrote 'annua, bima, trima die.'"¹⁰⁰ In general, the subject of the book was anachronism or obsolescence: how to distinguish *jus antiquum* from *jus novum*, that is, sources that had only antiquarian interest (such as the Twelve Tables, which were "more fact than law") from those that had legal authority (such as the novels of Justinian). It was precisely this circumstance, that Roman law was a mélange of *de facto* and *de jure* texts, that led Baudouin to his major contribution to the study of history: his program for a permanent alliance between law and history.

Baudouin's *Institution of Universal History and Its Conjunction with Jurisprudence* was therefore more than a variation on that hackneyed humanist theme, the "art of history"; it was an original essay on legal humanism and its significance.¹⁰¹ Like Budé, Baudouin sang the praises of philology, and, like Alciato, he advocated a grammatical mode of interpretation that took into account the *voluntas* as well as the *verba* of the law. According to Baudouin, however, the real key to jurisprudence was history, by which one could determine both the original meaning and the chronological development of laws. Conversely, legal sources and procedures were valuable, though as yet hardly touched, auxiliaries to the study of history. Although each of these fields had been restored in Baudouin's time, as shown in the achievements of Alciato and Paolo Giovio, it still remained to unite the two. Such was the basis of Baudouin's ideal of "integral history," which he celebrated in much the same organic terms as Budé had represented his "encyclopedia," likening it to "a body whose parts

⁹⁸ François Baudouin, *Justinianus, sive de jure novo* (Halle, 1728), 201 ff.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 171 (*Digest*, 13. 7. 8).

¹⁰¹ François Baudouin, *De Institutione historiae universae et ejus cum jurisprudentia conjunctione*, also in *id.*, *Jurisprudentia*, ed. Heineccius. In general, see Julian Franklin, *Jean Bodin and the Sixteenth-Century Revolution in the Methodology of Law and History* (New York, 1963), and Donald R. Kelley, "François Baudouin's Conception of History," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XXV (Jan. 1964), 35-57; neither stresses adequately Baudouin's earlier legal investigations.

may not be separated." For Baudouin "universal history," deriving from Pomponius, Polybius, and Eusebius, involved more than geographical and temporal scope. It meant also the study of institutions instead of merely dynastic and military affairs (*arma cedant togae*); it required chronological order (*ordo temporum*), corresponding to the sequence of legislation; and it suggested the need for investigating barbarian customs as well as Roman law. Although Baudouin was not sure which was the senior partner in his alliance of law and history, he himself came to abandon legal for historical scholarship. For this reason, too, he seems to represent the culmination of legal humanism.

The most original feature of the historical school of law—and here the example of Budé rather than of Alciato was most effective—was the growing interest in medieval institutions, both ecclesiastical and feudal. This is apparent from the work both of Baudouin, who from the beginning was concerned with customary law and with Church history, and of Le Douaren, who in the last decade of his life plunged into the study of canon and feudal law.¹⁰² This shift in interest, due partly to the pressures of the Reformation and the Council of Trent, was accompanied by a significant change in ideology: French jurists, while clinging to the ideals of philology, broadened its scope to include vernacular culture and came to throw off altogether that classicist bias which had infected even some of Budé's judgments. As Alciato himself had stipulated, "All peoples are accustomed to take their terms from their own rather than from a foreign idiom, and so they . . . err who are led to ascribe Latin roots to barbarous words," such as the Latin for "brothers" (*germani*) to the Germans.¹⁰³ The point was that institutions and their terminology were indigenous and had to be understood by empirical study, not by classical analogy. This was the position, too, of Le Douaren. Rejecting the Ciceronian fallacy, he argued that new customs continually created new words; reversing the opinion of Budé, he defended the Germanic origin of feudal law on the grounds that *feudum* (a barbaric term which, legal convention notwithstanding, had no connection with the Latin *fides*) could be traced back no further than to the Lombards.¹⁰⁴ This revisionist thesis had weaknesses of its own, but it served as a valuable corrective to the natural classicist bias of Renaissance scholarship.

During the religious wars the clash between the Romanist and Ger-

¹⁰² On the canonist studies of Le Douaren, Baudouin, and Hotman, see Donald R. Kelley, "Fides Historiae: Charles Dumoulin and the Gallican View of History," *Traditio*, XXII (1966), 347-402.

¹⁰³ Alciato, *Parergon*, V, 12.

¹⁰⁴ Le Douaren, *De Sacris ecclesiae ministeriis* and *Comentarii in consuetudines feudorum*, in *Opera omnia*, IV, 195; II, 314.

manist points of view, so portentous for historical thought, was much intensified by the polemics of French Protestants, who tended to associate classicism (hence Roman law) with Jesuitism, ultramontanism, and other such Italianate excesses. This is illustrated, indeed almost caricatured, in the transformation of Hotman from a conventional humanist (in his *Jurisconsult* of 1559) into an aggressive Germanist (in his *Franco-Gallia* of 1573). The pivotal work of his career, however, was his *Anti-Tribonian*, written in 1567, when he was royal historiographer as well as professor of law at Bourges. Hotman's point of departure was the usual complaint about the condition of the *Digest*, in particular the existence of "tribonianisms" (*emblemata Triboniani*, he called them in his scholarly work), including the whole section "On the Origin of Law" attributed to Pomponius, and about the ineradicable differences between classical and Byzantine law.¹⁰⁸ How much less relevant, Hotman argued, was Roman law to the French monarchy! This indeed was his primary message: that Roman law, with its rigid formulas and litigious tendencies, had little place in French law schools and less in French society. There is no doubt, moreover, that Hotman developed this thesis in the context of a broader conception of the relativity of legal systems. Under the influence perhaps of his own rootless existence, the feudist tradition, and the program of vernacular humanism, he suggested that it was ultimately impossible to transplant any custom or institution—or, for that matter, any language—from one social environment to another. This is the rationale not merely of Hotman's "Germanism" (which is after all only the function of his particular ideological position) but of his historicism. It may be too much to contend (as did Gibbon) that Hotman was the founder of the anti-Tribonianist sect, but he certainly gave a sharper and most systematic formulation to these views, and it is no wonder that his work produced a shock of recognition among nineteenth-century legal historians.¹⁰⁹

Yet in the final analysis the most positive contribution to historical scholarship was made by a man who hardly ever strayed from the confines of philology—unlike Hotman he was proud of the title "grammarian"—

¹⁰⁸ Hotman, *Antitribonian*, 96, *passim*, esp. 136 ff.; cf. *id.*, *Operum* (Geneva, 1599), cols. 80, 254, 354, *et passim*; see J. G. Heineccius, "De Secta Tribonianomastigum," in *Operum* (8 vols., Geneva, 1744-49), III, 171 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Including Julius Baron, *Franz Hotmann's Antitribonian: Ein Beitrag zu den Codificationsbestrebungen vom xvi bis zum xviii Jahrhundert* (Bern, 1888); and Étienne Fournol, "Sur quelques traités de droit public du xvi^e siècle," *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 3d. Ser., XXI (1897), 298-325. Modern discussions include J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law* (Cambridge, Eng., 1957), 11 ff.; Pierre Mesnard, "François Hotman (1524-1590) et le complexe de Tribonien," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, CI (1955), 117-37; and Julian Franklin, *Jean Bodin and the Sixteenth-Century Revolution in the Methodology of Law and History* (New York, 1963), 46-58.

and who managed to avoid the *Kulturkampf* of Romanism and Germanism: Cujas, the greatest legal humanist of them all.¹⁰⁷ His importance lay not only in his massive *Observations and Emendations*, a worthy successor to Budé's *Annotations*, and in his editions of legal texts but, perhaps more important, in the influence he exerted upon the next generation of scholars. It was no accident that his disciples, especially Pierre and François Pithou, Antoine Loisel, Étienne Pasquier, Louis le Caron, Pierre Ayrault, and Papire Masson, were the leading figures in that antiquarian revival that occurred during the civil wars in France, thus fulfilling the demand made by Baudouin in 1561 for a synthesis of law and history. These men, lawyers by training but historians by method, classicists by taste but medievalists by persuasion, formed a kind of unofficial society of antiquaries devoted to the reconstruction of French culture and institutions in the critical spirit of philology.¹⁰⁸ Although a number of traditional motives may be found in their work, their true point of departure was not formal historiography but legal humanism. They counted themselves supremely fortunate to be living in the heroic age of modern legal scholarship, which they hardly expected to survive the century. The epitaph composed by one of them reads: "Here lies Baudouin. Remember this, Cujas, and take care, for once you are both dead, jurisprudence will fall into a deep sleep."¹⁰⁹

Thus, indeed, it turned out, in this sense, at least, that the true successors of the "Cujacians" (Gentili's phrase again) were not the university jurists but pioneering antiquaries like Masson and his contemporaries. Theirs, of course, is another story, but it deserves mention here as the most significant product, at least for historians, of the historical school of law. These men, doing for the French Middle Ages what had already been done for Roman antiquity, shared with legal humanists a fascination for the monuments as well as the methods of the new jurisprudence. They even retained Roman law as a historical standard, as a kind of compass in the wilderness of institutional history: witness the works in comparative law by

¹⁰⁷ Cujas, *Observationum et emendationum libri XXVII* (1557-95); see P. Mesnard, "La Place de Cujas dans la querelle de l'humanisme juridique," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4th Ser., XXVIII (1950), 521-37; Emilio Albertario, "I Tribonianismi avvertiti dal Cuiacio," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Rom. Abt., XLIV (1910), 158-75; and C. W. Westrup, "Notes sur Cujas," *Studi in onore di Pietro Bonfante* (3 vols., Milan, 1930), III, 133, which incidentally points out Baudouin's priority in seeking out "elements of continuity in the evolution of Roman law."

¹⁰⁸ There are no adequate studies of the scholarly work of these men, still less of the group as a whole. The best introductions to the pioneering work of this generation of scholars remain Pierre Ronzy's biography of Baudouin's disciple, *Un humaniste italianisant, Papire Masson (1544-1611)* (Paris, 1924), and Janet Espiner-Scott, *Claude Fauchet, sa vie, son œuvre* (Paris, 1938). Masson wrote the earliest biographies both of Cujas and of Baudouin and a notorious attack upon Hotman's *Franco-Gallia*.

¹⁰⁹ Papire Masson, *Elogium Francisci Balduini* (Paris, 1573), 5.

Ayrault, Le Caron, Pasquier, and Loisel.¹¹⁰ Yet like their mentors, and on identical philological grounds, they regarded each society as unique. They assumed that the world of man's making was the product not of a universal logos but of a Tower of Babel, that human culture was irremediably pluralistic, radically unstable, and accessible only through concrete investigation of specific institutions and ideas. They assumed too, perhaps, though they did not quite say so, that they alone had the proper qualifications for explaining man's temporal nature.

In short, they were, within the limits of the original definition, historicists. They accepted the principle of individuality in the sense that, in nominalist fashion, they regarded language not only as a reflection of a particular culture but as a copy of reality in terms of that culture. If they believed in a suprahistorical world, they left it to the philosophers. They accepted the principle of development in the sense that they acknowledged—indeed tried to chart—the temporal changes to which every society was subject, especially in language and customs; for such (in the phrase of Cicero made famous by Montaigne) was the human condition. Finally, they accepted the principle of relativism in that they insisted upon the uniqueness, without denying the comparability, of individual cultures. Ultimately, it is the work of these men, alumni of the first historical school of law, that justifies the conclusion that legal humanism was one of the major steps in the rise of historicism.

¹¹⁰ In particular, Pierre Ayrault's *De l'ordre et instruction judiciaire, dont les anciens Grecs et Romains ont usé en accusations publiques, conseré à l'usage de nostre France* (Paris, 1576); Louis Le Caron's *Pandectes ou digestes droit françois* (Paris, 1596); Étienne Pasquier's *L'Interprétation des Institutes de Justinien* [1609], ed. M. le duc Pasquier (Paris, 1847); and Antoine Loisel's *Institutes coutumières* [1607], ed. Michel Reulos (Paris, 1935). The great product of this generation was, of course, Étienne Pasquier's *Recherches* (Paris, 1596), which includes not only pioneering studies of French language, laws, and institutions but a history of Roman law and legal education in France.

Ex parte McCardle: Judicial Impotency? The Supreme Court and Reconstruction Reconsidered

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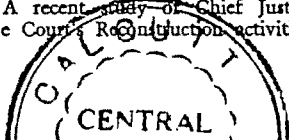
Ex parte McCardle is one of those rare Supreme Court cases, like *Marbury v. Madison* or *Dred Scott's*,¹ that has had profound political implications in its contemporary setting and persistent relevance to the nature of judicial power in the American system of government. The *McCardle* decision has often been used to clinch the common interpretation that during Reconstruction the Court was utterly impotent against the will and excesses of the Radical-dominated Congress. For longer range institutional purposes, the case has been taken as a key example of the absolute and potentially dangerous power of Congress to limit the exercise of judicial authority.

The familiar historical rendition of the *McCardle* affair is simple and blunt. After the Supreme Court accepted jurisdiction in the case in 1868, the so-called Radical element in Congress, fearing that the justices would invalidate the Reconstruction Acts, repealed the particular jurisdictional authority. A year later the Court "ignominiously" abandoned its earlier doctrines and "meekly submitted" to what was "an abominable subterfuge on the part of Congress and a shameful abuse of its powers." Historical judgments have differed little from contemporary views which, illogically, both belittled the courage of the Court and scorned the aggressiveness of Congress.² The Reconstruction period aside, the incident has been used to

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¹ *Ex parte McCardle*, 6 Wallace (73 US Reports) 318 (1868) [motion on jurisdiction], 7 Wallace (74 US Reports) 506 (1869) [opinion]; *Marbury v. Madison*, 1 Cranch (5 US Reports) 137 (1803); *Scott v. Sandford*, 19 Howard (60 US Reports) 393 (1857).

² See, e.g., the traditional Reconstruction accounts in William A. Dunning, *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Torchbook ed., New York, 1965), 137-38, and *Reconstruction, Political and Economic: 1865-1877* (Torchbook ed., New York, 1962), 256-57; John W. Burgess, *Reconstruction and the Constitution: 1866-1876* (New York, 1903), 197; James G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1953), 804-805; and E. Merton Coulter, *The South during Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, La., 1947), 122. Sever L. Eubank, "The *McCardle* Case," *Journal of Mississippi History*, XVIII (Apr. 1956), 111-27, is standard. The newest account of Reconstruction implies the same idea: Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (New York, 1965), 146, n. But compare Harold M. Hyman's perceptive generalization on judicial power after *Dred Scott* in his review of Stampp's book. (*Journal of American History*, LII [Sept. 1965], 401.) A recent study of Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase is more thorough in its treatment of the Court's Reconstruction activities,



demonstrate that the authority of Congress to provide exceptions to appellate jurisdiction is the Court's "Achilles' heel" and that this power constitutes a threat to individual liberties.³

But both the historical and contemporary uses of the *McCardle* case are quite removed from reality. The actual circumstances and limited nature of the repeal, Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase's opinion for the Court, and ensuing judicial and congressional developments indicate an altogether different picture. The whole affair, moreover, challenges the traditional idea of an impotent and quiescent judiciary and suggests, instead, a beginning of the boldness and vitality that characterized the Court in later years.

When the Supreme Court handed down its opinions in *Ex parte Milligan* in December 1866 the justices unanimously opposed the operation of military tribunals in areas where the civil courts were open and functioning.⁴ The case involved the legality of a military commission established by presidential order, but five members of the Court seemed to go beyond the appropriate limits and deny the power also to Congress.

After Congress reassembled for the second session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, Thaddeus Stevens used the *Milligan* decision as a wedge to push

but, for the most part, accepts the traditional views of judicial quiescence vis-à-vis Congress. (David F. Hughes, "Salmon P. Chase: Chief Justice," doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, 1963, 251-60, 331.) Charles Warren, *The Supreme Court in United States History* (3 vols., Boston, 1922), III, 195-219, concentrates on congressional chicanery. The constitutional history texts and the biographies of Andrew Johnson blend their criticisms of Congress and the Court. (Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison, *The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development* [3d ed., New York, 1963], 480; C. Herman Pritchett, *The American Constitution* [New York, 1959], 109; Carl B. Swisher, *American Constitutional Development* [2d ed., Boston, 1954], 324-26; George F. Milton, *The Age of Hate: Andrew Johnson and the Radicals* [New York, 1930], 541-45; Lloyd Paul Stryker, *Andrew Johnson: A Study in Courage* [New York, 1936], 553-58, 601-20; and Milton Lomask, *Andrew Johnson: President on Trial* [New York, 1960], 240-42.) Contemporary comments essential to the above interpretations are cited in notes 25 and 34, below.

³ The "Achilles' heel" remark was used by the late Justice Harold H. Burton in "Two Significant Decisions: *Ex parte Milligan* and *Ex parte McCardle*," *American Bar Association Journal*, XLI (Feb. 1955), 176; see also James M. Beck, "The Supreme Court—Today and Tomorrow!" [Boston] *Bar Bulletin* (May 1936); Owen J. Roberts, "Now Is the Time: Fortifying the Supreme Court's Independence," *American Bar Association Journal*, XXXV (Jan. 1949), 1-4; and Arthur John Keeffe's column ("Practicing Lawyer's Guide to the Current LAW MAGAZINES"), *ibid.*, L (1964-65), 500, 596, 787, 1095. Keeffe's interest in the *McCardle* case reflects the ABA's long-standing desire for a constitutional amendment to abolish the power of Congress to make exceptions or regulations of appellate jurisdiction. (See *ibid.*, XXXIV [Nov. 1948], 1072-73; S. J. Resolution 44, 83 Cong., 2 sess. [1954].) There have been some notable attempts to restrict appellate jurisdiction in the last number of years, such as the Jenner-Butler bill in 1957-1958 which would have withdrawn jurisdiction in cases involving state subversive legislation and congressional investigatory powers, among others. More recently, in the Eighty-eighth Congress, Representative William M. Tuck proposed abolishing jurisdiction in reapportionment cases. (H. R. 11625, 88 Cong., 2 sess. [1964].) In general, see Leonard G. Ratner, "Congressional Power over the Appellate Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, CLX (Dec. 1960), 157-202, for a thorough statutory analysis.

⁴ 4 Wallace (71 US Reports) 2 (1866).

his pet reconstruction schemes. The Court's ruling, he claimed, made immediate action by Congress "absolutely indispensable." Playing on lingering enmity toward the Court, he warned of the decision's dire consequences: "If the doctrine enunciated in that decision be true, never were the people of any country anywhere, or at any time, in such terrible peril as are our loyal brethren at the South. . . ." Stevens' ally, James M. Ashley of Ohio, made it quite clear that Congress need not allow any court decision to impair or abridge its authority. He reminded his audience that if the Court again issued a "political decision," Congress could take advantage of the constitutional mode of getting rid of the Court, as well as the President. The power of Congress to do so, Ashley concluded, indicated that the Constitution intended the legislative branch to be "master of the situation."⁶

The Democrats, sensing the value of the Milligan case for their argument against a vigorous Republican reconstruction program, staunchly defended the Court. Senator Reverdy Johnson of Maryland said that the decision was "not to be surpassed," and he applauded the Court's restriction of the prevailing latitudinarian conceptions of the war power. Representative Charles A. Eldridge of Wisconsin, who usually adhered to his old-line Democratic antecedents to oppose expansive judicial power, nevertheless rejoiced that the decision "may save us from just such usurpation as this Congress . . . would inflict upon us." The Democrats indeed had come a long way from Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson as Eldridge solemnly proclaimed that the Supreme Court's "voice of authority" had settled "the question finally and fully as to what laws are to be executed . . . in the government of the United States."⁸

Democratic protests and presidential vetoes notwithstanding, in 1867 the Republicans pushed through their series of Reconstruction Acts. The laws were based on a system of military enforcement, and thus inevitably revived the constitutional debate while both parties anxiously eyed the Supreme Court. The 1867 program was the ultimate expression of Republican policy, and it had been secured only with great labor and great strain on party unity.⁷

The Republicans' determination to protect their reconstruction legislation lay at the heart of Court-Congress relations during the late 1860's. The Milligan decision, coupled with the results in the test-oath cases,⁸ sent a

⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 39 Cong., 2 sess., 251-52 (Jan. 3, 1867). Stevens' latest biographer splendidly captures the implications of legislative supremacy in this performance. (Fawn M. Brodie, *Thaddeus Stevens: Scourge of the South* [New York, 1959], 292.)

⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 39 Cong., 2 sess., 562-63 (Jan. 18, 1867).

⁸ Eric L. McKittrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1960), Chap. xiv; David Donald, *The Politics of Reconstruction, 1863-1867* (Baton Rouge, La., 1965), Chap. iii.

⁸ *Cummings v. Missouri*, 4 Wallace (71 US Reports) 277 (1867); *Ex parte Garland*, 4 Wallace (71 US Reports) 333 (1867).

wave of alarm through the party, although there was no immediate, concrete reprisal. The boldness and vitality of judicial power certainly gave pause for thought; even more important, the Democratic opposition persistently exploited the Milligan decision to label the Reconstruction Acts unconstitutional. Whatever Republican differences existed during the debates on the measures, it is clear that for the next few years the party stood united in its willingness to enforce and protect that program. It is in this context that some Republican congressmen sought insurance against an unfavorable verdict from the Supreme Court. But it was the proximity of danger that was crucial to the fate of each proposal dealing with the Court. That is, as long as there seemed to be no real threat from the justices, such measures were easily thrust aside; when, however, a threat seemed imminent and substantial, as it did in February 1868, almost all Republicans joined to withstand the ostensible judicial assault.

Between December 1867 and mid-February 1868 the most noteworthy Republican effort to prevent judicial action centered on a proposition requiring a two-thirds vote of the Court to invalidate acts of Congress. Although some of the more radical element in the House preferred a requirement for judicial unanimity, a moderate bloc headed by James F. Wilson of Iowa, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and John Bingham of Ohio, secured House passage of the two-thirds proposal. The bill went to the Senate in January 1868. Before referral of the bill to Lyman Trumbull's Judiciary Committee, Charles Sumner attempted to rouse support for a more thoroughgoing reform. The idea that a bare majority of the Court could void acts of Congress, he said, was "contrary to reason, almost contrary to common sense." He went on to advocate the requirement of a three-fourths or possibly a unanimous vote by the Court. There was no response, either on the Senate floor or, more significantly, in the committee.⁹

The Republicans were unable, however, to agree on any legislation to prevent an unfavorable Court decision. They could arrive at no consensus on judicial reform so long as they felt no need to react against an obvious transgression on the part of the judiciary. They had a basic respect for judicial power and particularly for the judicial review of congressional acts. There was, in any event, an ambiguous and unreal quality to the two-thirds proposal, for it amounted to saying that six justices might do what five could not.

Given the activities of the Supreme Court, the advocates of restrictive

⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., 19 (Dec. 4, 1867); *ibid.*, 478-88 (Jan. 13, 1868); *ibid.*, 504 (Jan. 14, 1868); *ibid.*, 668 (Jan. 21, 1868). For an analysis of how a judicial issue fragmented the Republicans, see Stanley I. Kutler, "Reconstruction and the Supreme Court: The Numbers Game Reconsidered," *Journal of Southern History*, XXXII (Feb. 1966), 43-45.

devices on judicial power truly seemed to be making much ado about nothing. During the first half of February 1868 the dominant elements in Congress could comfortably reflect that their moderate course had been proper and successful. The Court on two occasions had admitted an unwillingness, or, more properly, a lack of power, to interfere with the congressional program. In *Mississippi v. Johnson*, on April 15, 1867, the tribunal had refused to enjoin the President's execution of the Reconstruction Acts, and, on February 10, 1868, in *Georgia v. Stanton*, the Court similarly declined to interfere. Whether the justices had been prompted by the latent hostility of Congress or by a genuine determination that no jurisdiction existed is an intriguing question that must be raised in a fuller discussion of the cases. For the present purpose, it is only relevant that a direct confrontation with Congress was avoided.¹⁰

Those who thought the Court quiescent, compliant, or even cowardly must have been surprised when, a week after the Georgia case, the tribunal announced it would take jurisdiction in *Ex parte McCardle*.¹¹ William McCardle, a Vicksburg, Mississippi, editor, had been arrested and held for trial before a military commission under authority of the Reconstruction Acts for publishing inflammatory and insurrectional articles. He petitioned the United States Circuit Court for a writ of habeas corpus, contending that according to the Milligan doctrine he had been charged and held illegally. The circuit court denied McCardle's plea and remanded him to military custody. McCardle appealed the judgment to the Supreme Court under authorization of the Habeas Corpus Act of February 5, 1867.

Ironically, the Republicans had sponsored this act to further their "Southern policy." Passed as an amendment to the Judiciary Act of 1789, the law of 1867 provided, "in addition to the authority already conferred," that all federal courts and judges could grant a writ of habeas corpus to any person restrained of liberty in violation of the Constitution or laws of the United States. The law also provided for specific appellate procedure: appeals were allowed to the circuit court from any inferior court, and

¹⁰ 4 Wallace (71 US Reports) 475 (1867); 6 Wallace (73 US Reports) 50 (1868). These decisions often are linked with the McCardle decision as further evidence of the Court's submissiveness. The opinions, however, can be interpreted as properly mindful of the principle of the separation of powers. It should be noted that Henry Stanbery, Johnson's Attorney General, vigorously opposed issuing an injunction against the President in spite of his and Johnson's known opposition to the Reconstruction Acts. Incidentally, the two opinions are not identical. Justice Samuel Nelson's opinion in the Georgia case significantly hinted that jurisdiction might be granted if the pleas involved personal or property rights, rather than political rights. (6 Wallace [73 US Reports] 50, 76-77 [1868].) But as it turned out, the Court divided equally on the property issue when it was raised in a companion case. (*Mississippi v. Stanton*, *The Minutes of the Supreme Court*, May 16, 1867; *Docket*, December 1866 Term, National Archives.) I would suggest that the Court's even division precluded any rulings on the constitutionality of the Reconstruction Acts.

¹¹ 6 Wallace (73 US Reports) 318 (1868).

from the judgment of the circuit court to the Supreme Court. As pointed out by the bill's sponsor, Representative William Lawrence of Ohio, and by Trumbull in the Senate and before the Court in McCardle's case, this act had been designed primarily to protect freedmen who were being reduced to new forms of slavery because of state vagrancy and apprentice laws; the statute's original purpose was directed at state laws, actions, and courts. Trumbull appeared in behalf of the War Department and unsuccessfully urged the Court to dismiss McCardle's plea because the act of 1867 "expressly" exempted appeals from persons in military custody charged with a military crime.¹²

The congressional response to the Court's action began slowly and inconspicuously. On March 11 Senator George Williams of Oregon introduced a bill to amend the Judiciary Act of 1789 so as to provide that judgments against or for any act committed by a revenue officer in the performance of his duties could be re-examined and reversed or reaffirmed by the Supreme Court upon writ of error. The Secretary of the Treasury urged passage so that the highest court could pass upon any great principle that might be involved in a particular case. There was no debate, and the bill passed the same day.¹³ The measure went the next day to the House, where Robert Schenck of Ohio brought it up. Just before the final reading, however, Schenck allowed James F. Wilson to present an amendment. Wilson unobtrusively proposed a repeal of as much of the Habeas Corpus Act of 1867 as authorized appeals from the judgment of a circuit court to the Supreme Court, "or the exercise of any such jurisdiction by said Supreme Court on appeals *which have been* or may hereafter be taken [*italics mine*]." The amendment and the bill passed without debate or division.¹⁴

In the Senate on the day following the action of the House, some Democrats seemed bewildered by the new amendment and requested a one-day postponement. This was denied, and the Senate promptly accepted the amendment by an overwhelming majority. Six Democrats, ad-

¹² 14 US Statutes at Large 885. For the congressional debates, see *Congressional Globe*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., 4150-51 (July 25, 1866), 4228-30 (July 27, 1866); *ibid.*, 2 sess., 730 (Jan. 25, 1867), 790-91 (Jan. 28, 1867), 899 (Jan. 31, 1867), 935, 945 (Feb. 1, 1867). Trumbull served as special counsel for the government in the McCardle case, and his argument denying jurisdiction is summarized in 6 Wallace (73 US Reports) 318, 321-23 (1868); *File Copies of Briefs*, 1868, VI, 28-29, United States Supreme Court Library. The War Department hired Trumbull and Senator Matthew H. Carpenter of Wisconsin as counsel when Attorney General Stanbery refused to appear. Recent Supreme Court decisions expanding powers of federal courts to issue writs of habeas corpus have relied on the 1867 statute. In turn, there have been a number of scholarly criticisms of the Court's historical interpretation. (See, e.g., Lewis Mayers, "The Habeas Corpus Act of 1867: The Supreme Court as Legal Historian," *University of Chicago Law Review*, XXXIII [Autumn 1965], 31-59.)

¹³ *Congressional Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., 1807-1808 (Mar. 11, 1868).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1859-60 (Mar. 12, 1868).

mittedly ignorant of the bill's meaning, nonetheless followed their Pavlovian instincts to oppose any Republican measure.¹⁵

Two days later the House Democrats suddenly divined the Republicans' strategy. Representative Benjamin M. Boyer of Pennsylvania objected to the amendment as not germane to the original bill and accused Schenck and Wilson of devious methods. He recognized that the purpose was to protect the Reconstruction Acts from the apprehended fear that the Court would declare them unconstitutional. At first Schenck was amused that the Democrats—the “vigilant watch-dogs on the walls of liberty,” as he sarcastically characterized them—had been so inattentive a few days earlier as to fail to rush to the Court's defense. But then he frankly admitted that the amendment was designed to thwart the judiciary. “I have lost confidence in the majority of the Supreme Court . . .,” he snapped. “I believe that they usurp power whenever they dare to undertake to settle questions purely political, in regard to the status of the States, and the manner in which those States are to be held subject to the lawmaking power.” He had no hesitation, he continued, in resorting to repeal when the Court abused its “proper powers” by operating under a statute that happened to be on the record. He insisted that it was his right and duty as a representative “to clip the wings of that court wherever I can, in any attempt to take such flights.”¹⁶

Wilson returned to the subject a week later to defend himself against Democratic charges that he had conspired to sneak through the measure, yet he readily admitted the real purpose of the amendment. Wilson also had the better of the debate as to the bill's legality. One Democrat contended that Congress had no “right” to withdraw previously granted jurisdiction once a cause was pending. Wilson retorted that Congress rightfully could take away what it had granted, and, following Supreme Court doctrine, he claimed that jurisdiction could be withdrawn anytime prior to judgment. The Democrats finally were reduced to calling the action “indecent” and “a misuse and an abuse” of legislative power.¹⁷

Wilson incidentally offered an interesting revelation of Republican motivation. He noted the flood of press reports insisting that the McCardle case was to be a vehicle for the Court's majority to declare the Reconstruction Acts unconstitutional. Had the reports only stated that the Court would pass upon the return of the writ and simply decide that McCardle could or could not be lawfully detained by the military authorities, Wilson

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1857.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1881–86, 1883–84 (Mar. 14, 1868).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2059–65 (Mar. 21, 1868).

claimed there would have been no cause for Republican apprehensiveness. But, he complained,

when we were told day by day that the majority of the court had practically made up its judgment, not only to pass upon the sufficiency of the return to the writ, which involves the only question properly before them in the McCordle case, but also to do as the court did once before in the Dred Scott case, go outside of the record properly involving the questions really presented for its determination, undertaking to infringe upon the political power of Congress, and declare the laws . . . unconstitutional, it was our duty to intervene by a repeal of the jurisdiction and prevent the threatened calamity falling upon the country.¹⁸

In short, the Republican leader in the repeal drive confessed that his party acted entirely on the basis of talk circulating in the community—and inspired in great part by Democratic politicians and newspapers. The Democrats certainly could thank themselves for the precipitate Republican move. Although the Republicans lacked direct evidence that the Court intended to void the Reconstruction Acts, they acted because of a climate of opinion that accentuated a determination to protect their southern policy. The three weeks' hiatus between the Court's acceptance of jurisdiction in the McCordle case and Wilson's amendment seems to support further a conclusion that the rumors, gathering momentum, had prompted Republican fears.

The repeal measure was enrolled on March 13; the full constitutional allotment of ten days, Sundays excepted, passed before Andrew Johnson vetoed the bill. The President's dilatoriness hardly justified the unctuous defense of the Court offered in his veto message. Justice David Davis, along with other members of the Court, expected Johnson to sign the bill. Perhaps Johnson even took his Democratic supporters by surprise. They later admitted no knowledge or forewarning of his intention, and surely the President's known antipathy to judicial power fully warranted the surprise. But Johnson's political posture and need for consistency regarding congressional policy made a veto imperative.

For once, Johnson's constitutional interpretation did not vary much from that of his Republican opponents. By his silence he conceded the constitutional question, preferring to twit the Republicans on their reluctance to allow a judicial ruling on the Reconstruction Acts. In this veto message, for

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2062. McKittrick, *Andrew Johnson*, 465-66, notes how southern newspapers staked their hopes on the Court as early as 1866. In late 1867 the idea snowballed, and after the Court assumed jurisdiction in the McCordle case, the hopes became firm convictions. When a newspaper reported the "fact" that at a private gathering one of the justices (Stephen J. Field) asserted that the Court would void the Reconstruction Acts, Wilson's committee promptly launched an investigation. Aside from the comical overtones—it was a case of mistaken identity—the incident reveals the Republicans' apprehensiveness. (*Congressional Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., 862-65 [Jan. 30, 1868]; House Judiciary Committee Files, 40A-F13.3, National Archives; Stephen J. Field, *Personal Reminiscences of Early Days in California, with Other Sketches* (Washington, D. C., 1893), 186-217.

probably the only time of his career, Johnson discovered the desirability of judicial power over congressional legislation.¹⁹

Congress wasted little time in overriding the veto. In the Senate Trumbull offered the most significant defense of the repeal. He maintained that the Democrats were unduly concerned about the Habeas Corpus Act of 1867, as the nation had survived quite well since 1789 without any statute authorizing appeals from the circuit court to the Supreme Court in habeas corpus cases. The original Judiciary Act of 1789, he continued, authorized the issuing of all such writs to persons deprived of their liberty under authority of the United States. This explanation is crucial to understanding precisely what did happen to the Court in the McCardle affair, and what it did later. Trumbull concluded that the repealed measure originally had been intended to protect federal officers and other citizens from spurious state prosecutions under laws that operated to subject the freedman to new forms of bondage, such as the Maryland apprentice system. The Court, Trumbull believed, had misconstrued the proper meaning of the 1867 law and thus had made repeal necessary.²⁰

Throughout the Senate and House debates on overriding the presidential veto, the Democrats chided the Republicans for their cowardice and arbitrariness. The Democrats insisted, moreover, that the Court was the proper constitutional arbiter and that the reconstruction legislation was a proper subject for judicial review. While the Democrats fulminated, the affair moved on to its inevitable conclusion. On March 26 the Senate overrode Johnson's veto by a comfortable thirty-three to nine margin, and, the next day, the House Republican majority easily secured the requisite two-thirds majority.²¹ Despite internal differences during the passage of the Reconstruction Acts, the party's behavior over the McCardle repealer is a striking example of its ability to unite against outside threats once policy had been formed.

Earlier in March, the Court had heard four days of arguments on the

¹⁹ *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, comp. James M. Richardson (21 vols., New York, 1897-1929 [?]), VIII, 3844-46. Johnson's attitudes toward the judiciary are analyzed in Kutler, "Reconstruction and the Supreme Court," 45-47. Davis' thoughts on the presidential action are in Davis to Julius Rockwell, Apr. 22, 1868, David Davis Papers, Willard King Collection, Chicago Historical Society. For indications that Johnson's veto surprised the Democrats, see *Congressional Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., 2095 (Mar. 25, 1868). Apparently Thomas Ewing influenced Johnson's veto. After Ewing learned of the repeal, he urged his close friend, Orville Browning (who was then in the cabinet), to press for a veto. Ewing also prepared a draft veto message that was used to moderate a more strident one written by Browning. (*The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning*, ed. Thomas Pease and James G. Randall [2 vols., Springfield, Ill., 1925-33], II, 188-89; Ewing to Browning, Mar. 18, 1868, cited in Ralph J. Roske, "The Post Civil War Career of Lyman Trumbull," doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 1949, 88; Maurice G. Baxter, *Orville H. Browning, Lincoln's Friend and Critic* [Bloomington, Ind., 1957], 208.)

²⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., 2096-97 (Mar. 25, 1868).

²¹ *Ibid.*, 2117-28 *et passim* (Mar. 26, 1868).

merits of McCardle's plea. By the time the justices had assembled for their consultations, Congress had passed the repealer, but the President had not yet signed it. Despite objections from Justices Robert C. Grier and Stephen J. Field, the Court decided to stay its hand; it was, as Justice Davis said, "unjudicial to run a race with Congress, and especially as the bill might be signed at any moment by the President." After Johnson's veto was overridden, the Court announced a postponement until the next term and called for new arguments on the jurisdictional question.²²

Finally, in April 1869, on the same day that the Court decided *Texas v. White*,²³ Chase announced the Court's final opinion in the McCardle case. The Chief Justice conceded the right of Congress to make exceptions and regulations to the Court's appellate power; in this case, he admitted, "it is hardly possible to imagine a plainer instance of positive exception." He refused to analyze legislative motivation and seemingly left little doubt as to the effect of the repeal: "Without jurisdiction the Court cannot proceed at all in any cause. Jurisdiction is power to declare the law, and when it ceases to exist, the only function remaining to the court is that of . . . dismissing the cause." Appropriately, Chase cited one of his recent opinions to the effect that no judgment could be rendered in a suit after repeal of the act under which it was prosecuted. With a final bow to legislative power—but not as a close to his opinion—Chase concluded that "judicial duty is not less fitly performed by declining ungranted jurisdiction than in exercising firmly that which the Constitution and the law confer."²⁴

Shortly after the withdrawal of jurisdiction by Congress, Orville Browning learned that Justices Field and Grier had been eager to proceed in the case before Congress acted, but had been overruled by the other justices who "did not wish to run a race with Congress"—precisely the same idea that Chase and Davis were expressing in private letters. Browning went on to write in his diary that the "exhibition of cowardice on the part of the Court, and their readiness to surrender the inalienable rights of the citizens to the usurpation and tyranny of Congress is among the alarming symptoms of the times[.]" Gideon Welles, in the "privacy" of his diary, mourned that

²² Davis to Rockwell, Apr. 22, 1868, Davis Papers. Chase expressed an idea similar to that of Davis: ". . . [I]t would not become the Supreme Court to *hasten* their decision of an appeal for the purpose of getting ahead of the legislation of Congress." (Chase to John D. Van Buren, Apr. 5, 1868, Salmon P. Chase Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Field, *Reminiscences*, 208–11.) Grier bitterly dissented in open court when the justices decided to postpone the case; Field concurred in Grier's remarks.

²³ 7 Wallace (74 US Reports) 700 (1869).

²⁴ 7 Wallace (74 US Reports) 506, 514–15 (1869). See Chase's earlier opinion on repealed jurisdiction. (*Insurance Company v. Ritchie*, 5 Wallace [72 US Reports] 541, 544–45 [1867].) When the McCardle case was postponed in 1868, Chase privately expressed some doubt as to whether Congress could oust an appeal already taken and perfected. (Chase to Van Buren, Apr. 5, 1868, Chase Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

"the Judges of the Supreme Court have caved in, fallen through, failed, in the McCardle case." And, finally, former Justice Benjamin R. Curtis, in an often quoted letter, resignedly noted "that the legislative power, . . . with the acquiescence of the country, conquered one President, and subdued the Supreme Court. . . ."²⁵

Historians almost unanimously have followed the tenor of these criticisms. In order, most writers berate Congress for having resorted to such chicanery in the first place; then uncritically and ignoring the logical contradiction, they cite the above remarks to show the weakness and cowardice of the justices. But in view of subsequent events, such conclusions by contemporaries and historians alike might profitably be reconsidered.

To understand properly the whole story and meaning of the McCardle case, we must begin with Chase's closing remarks in his 1869 opinion and then turn to another Supreme Court decision announced some six months after the McCardle denouement. In a final, rarely quoted paragraph in the McCardle decision, Chase directed a bit of advice toward McCardle's attorneys, and perhaps as well toward Congress: "Counsel seems to have supposed, if effect be given to the repealing act . . . that the whole appellate power of the court in cases in *habeas corpus* is denied. But this is an error." The repealing measure, he concluded, excepted only appeals emanating from the act of 1867.²⁶ Chase's words become more meaningful when we examine that other decision of half a year later, *Ex parte Yerger*.

Like McCardle's, Yerger's case similarly arose under the Reconstruction Acts. A civilian, Edward M. Yerger petitioned for his freedom from an army prison in Mississippi under a writ of habeas corpus. It is fascinating how so many accounts of Reconstruction and constitutional history ignore, or are unaware of, this case.²⁷ To be unmindful of it, of course, allows for a convenient exploitation of *Ex parte McCardle* as a focal point of conceptualization to "prove" how Congress intimidated the Court, and the latter submitted.

Yerger had been arrested and detained for trial by a military commission

²⁵ *Diary of Browning*, ed. Pease and Randall, II, 91-92; *The Diary of Gideon Welles*, ed. Howard K. Beale (3 vols., New York, 1960), III, 320; Benjamin R. Curtis, *A Memoir of Benjamin Robbins Curtis* (2 vols., Boston, 1879), I, 421.

²⁶ 7 Wallace (74 US Reports) 506, 515 (1869).

²⁷ 8 Wallace (75 US Reports) 85 (1869). The failure of Reconstruction historians to take note of the Yerger case is curious, particularly because Warren, *Supreme Court*, III, 213, mentions the case, albeit briefly. Warren's work, along with Dunning's, is a staple item for Reconstruction historians anxious to illustrate congressional aggressiveness or judicial weakness. Charles Fairman, *Mr. Justice Miller and the Supreme Court, 1862-1890* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), 142-44, and Bernard Schwartz, *A Commentary on the Constitution of the United States* (3 vols., New York, 1963), I, 375-77, are rare exceptions in their treatment of the McCardle and Yerger cases. Coulter, *South during Reconstruction*, 122, briefly mentions the Yerger case, but incorrectly states that the "judges were relieved of the uncomfortable duty of making a decision. . . ."

in Mississippi for killing an army officer. He thereupon applied to the United States Circuit Court for the Southern District of Mississippi for a writ of habeas corpus, charging that proceedings before a military commission were unlawful. The circuit court, however, declared Yerger's imprisonment to be lawful and dismissed the plea.²⁸ Yerger subsequently appealed to the Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari to review the circuit court proceedings, and for a writ of habeas corpus.

Before the high court, Yerger's distinguished counsel, Philip Phillips and James M. Carlisle, and his brother, William Yerger, took their cue from Chase's hint in the McCordle case. They argued that, as an amendment to the original Judiciary Act of 1789, the Habeas Corpus Act of 1867 had been intended to augment the Court's powers to hear habeas corpus cases. When Congress repealed the latter a year later, it merely negated the increased jurisdiction without disturbing the original grant of authority. More ingeniously, Phillips and Carlisle contended that if the 1867 law repealed the pertinent section of the 1789 act, while the 1868 law repealed that of 1867, then the 1789 act automatically was renewed because a repeal of a repealing act revived the original law!²⁹

Speaking for a unanimous court, Chief Justice Chase eagerly accepted the plaintiff's argument and affirmed the Court's jurisdiction to issue the writ of habeas corpus. Aside from the verdict, which in itself testified strongly to the Court's determination and independent will, Chase's opinion made it emphatically clear that the Court would not tolerate any interference with its proper constitutional functions. Chase wrote:

It would have been, indeed, a remarkable anomaly if this court, ordained by the Constitution for the exercise, in the United States, of the most important powers in civil cases of all the highest courts of England, had been denied, under a constitution which absolutely prohibits the suspension of the writ, except under extraordinary exigencies, that power in cases of alleged unlawful restraint, which the Habeas Corpus Act of Charles II expressly declares those courts to possess.³⁰

²⁸ Judge Robert A. Hill's circuit court opinion is in *Transcript of Records*, December Term, 1868, VII, 19-22, United States Supreme Court Library. A copy of the charges and specifications against Yerger are in the Chase Papers, Legal File, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In a letter to his good friend, Judge Hill, Chase seemed to prefer that Hill deny Yerger's application so that an appeal could be taken to the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice sounded most anxious to test his own views on appellate jurisdiction under the act of 1789. (Chase to Hill, June 22, 1869, *ibid.*) Chase made similar remarks to Justices Samuel Nelson and Nathan Clifford on the same day. (Chase to Clifford, June 22, 1869, *ibid.*)

²⁹ 8 Wallace (75 US Reports) 85, 89-92, 94 (1869). *File Copies of Briefs*, December Term, 1869, I, 2 ff., United States Supreme Court Library. Copies of Chase's orders granting a hearing on the writ and the Court's jurisdiction are in the Chase Papers, Legal File, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³⁰ 8 Wallace (75 US Reports) 96, 102 (1869). Welles's *Diary*—upon which historians have been excessively reliant—might be cited again in order to demonstrate the origins of historical interpretation: "By trick, imposition, and breach of courtesy an act was slipped through both houses repealing the laws of 1867 and 1789, the effect of which is to take from the Supreme

Chase then went on to balance delicately a liberal interpretation of the Court's habeas corpus powers with a narrow construction of the 1867 statute and its subsequent repeal. Basically, Chase believed that the constitutional provision on the writ of habeas corpus necessarily implied judicial action; accordingly, Congress had implemented the constitutional sanction with positive legislation. Section 14 of the Judiciary Act of 1789 provided that federal courts had the power to issue "writs of *scire facias*, *habeas corpus*, and all other writs, not specially provided by statute, which may be necessary for the exercise of their respective jurisdictions, and agreeable to the principles and usages of law." Further provision was made that either Supreme Court justices or district court judges could have "the power to grant writs of *habeas corpus* for the purpose of an inquiry into the cause of commitment; provided that writs of *habeas corpus* shall in no case extend to prisoners in jail, unless they are in custody, under, or by color of the authority of the United States, or are committed for trial before some court of the same, or are necessary to be brought into court to testify." Incidentally, no review as of right to the Supreme Court was available, but, in 1807, John Marshall's court construed the section so as to allow normal appellate jurisdiction.⁸¹

In the *Yerger* case Chase believed that the constitutional and statutory intentions regarding habeas corpus were to guarantee that "every citizen may be protected by judicial action from unlawful imprisonment." The "general spirit and genius" of American institutions had, moreover, tended to widen and enlarge habeas corpus jurisdiction through the years. Indeed, Chase warned, the denial of jurisdiction in such cases would "greatly weaken the efficacy of the writ, deprive the citizen in many cases of its benefits, and seriously hinder the establishment of that uniformity in deciding upon questions of personal rights which can only be attained through appellate jurisdiction. . . ."

Turning to the repealing act of 1868, Chase noted the specific language that affected only appeals authorized by the act of 1867. It did not, he said, "touch the appellate jurisdiction conferred by the Constitution, or to except from it any cases not excepted by the act of 1789." He refused to accept a current argument that the 1867 statute by implication repealed the relevant

Court certain powers, and which is designed to prevent a decision in the *McCardle* case." (*Diary of Welles*, ed. Beale, III, 314.) The repeal was neither a "trick" nor an "imposition." The Republicans had the votes; they had no need for such tactics. Welles, moreover, must have had a news source in that 1868 version of the Ministry of Misinformation, for there was no repeal of the 1789 law.

⁸¹ 8 Wallace (75 US Reports) 85, 95-96 (1869); 1 US Statutes at Large 81 (1789); *Ex parte Bollman* and *Ex parte Swartout*, 4 Cranch (8 US Reports) 75, 100 (1807); Mayers, "Habeas Corpus Act of 1867," 41, n. 43.

section of the 1789 law. "Repeals by implication are not favored"; moreover, Chase tartly concluded, "addition is not substitution."⁸²

The *McCardle* and *Yerger* opinions are filled with complicated jurisdictional and habeas corpus questions; to be sure, Chase may have overstated the constitutional basis of habeas corpus jurisdiction. In the *Yerger* case, too, subtle behind-the-scenes political maneuverings between the Grant administration and Mississippi state authorities form a large part of the story.⁸³ But one important consideration stands out: the Court's full position in the *McCardle* case and its later behavior in the *Yerger* case are clearly inconsistent with the usual charges of judicial impotency and cowardice. When the Court postponed action in the *McCardle* case after the repeal measure, Jeremiah S. Black, one of the plaintiff's attorneys, bitterly complained that "the court stood still to be ravished and did not even hallo while the thing was being done." Former Justice Curtis bitterly complained that Congress had "subdued" the Court.⁸⁴ But the Court did "hallo" and was anything but "subdued"; indeed, in the light of prevailing political passions, the Court's counterresponses in the two cases indicate the quintessence of judicial independence and courage, besides being a clever bit of judicial strategy. Accordingly, this should alter the general picture of a moribund and intimidated Supreme Court during the Reconstruction era. And whatever merit there may be to changing the exceptions and regulations clause regarding appellate jurisdiction, the narrow use of the *McCardle* decision as an example and a prophecy simply does not fit the historical record.⁸⁵

The congressional action against the Court in 1868 cannot be justified; it can, however, be understood. And it must be comprehended within the con-

⁸² 8 Wallace (75 US Reports) 85, 102-106 (1869).

⁸³ Fairman, *Miller*, 142-44.

⁸⁴ Black to Howell Cobb, Apr. [?], 1868, *The Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb*, ed. Ulrich B. Phillips, *Annual Report, American Historical Association*, 1911 (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1913), II, 694; Curtis, *Memoir*, I, 421. The judicial attitudes toward the merits of *McCardle's* plea and the Court's views on the constitutionality of the Reconstruction Acts are important and will be treated at length in a future study. Briefly, it might be noted that the habeas corpus and constitutionality issues can and should be considered as separate questions. In all probability, the Court would have granted the writ to *McCardle* if Congress had not intervened; invalidating the Reconstruction Acts, however, was another matter. (See Chase to Hill, May 1, 1869, Salmon P. Chase Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.) Justice Davis, who wrote the wide-ranging majority opinion in the *Milligan* case, did not seem to think that that decision *ipso facto* voided the Republican legislation. He noted that there was "not a word said in the [Milligan] opinion about reconstruction, & the power is conceded in insurrectionary States." Compare, however, a recent historical judgment that the Reconstruction Acts were "palpably unconstitutional under the *Milligan* doctrine. . . ." (Davis to Rockwell, Feb. 24, 1867, Davis Papers; Robert G. McCloskey, *The American Supreme Court* [Chicago, 1960], 111.) Finally, Justice Field, who did believe that the acts were unconstitutional, later rejected the contemporary view that the Court was anxious to void the laws if an opportunity presented itself. "Nothing," he wrote, "could have been more unjust and unfounded." (Field, *Personal Reminiscences*, 191.)

⁸⁵ The case of *United States v. Klein*, 13 Wallace (80 US Reports) 128 (1872), is worth noting as another example of the Chase Court's determination to resist congressional abuses of the power to make exceptions in appellate jurisdiction.

text of the party's determination to defend its reconstruction program which had been formulated at the cost of great internal strain. Accordingly, the Republicans stood ready to maintain their policy at all costs. This included the most extreme measure of all: impeachment and trial of a President who, they believed, by design and indirection, had obstructed their avowed aims. Convinced that the Supreme Court would emasculate their program, the Republicans reluctantly utilized a valid constitutional power to prevent judicial action. The irony is that their response may have been misconceived for it seems far from certain that the Supreme Court intended to invalidate the Reconstruction Acts.⁸⁶

There is, of course, an ethical and policy question here as Congress used its authority to affect specific litigation, and not to define the general bounds of federal jurisdiction as probably intended by the Constitution's framers. Driven as they were to an extremist response, as in the impeachment of Johnson, the Republicans again played havoc with the substance of the principles of separation of powers, while remaining within the bounds of constitutional procedure.

In many respects *Ex parte Yerger* represented as significant a challenge to Congress as did the majority dicta in *Ex parte Milligan*. And what of the legislative response? Considering that Congress acted so vigorously at the time of the McCardle hearing, the Republicans might have been expected to pursue further restrictions with the same degree of intensity and success. But this time only isolated congressmen offered menacing, yet fruitless, proposals. Charles Sumner, Chase's good friend, ally, and ardent booster for the chief-justiceship, proposed abolishing the Court's appellate jurisdiction in causes commenced by the writ of habeas corpus. Sumner's bill directly challenged Chase's position. Trumbull's Judiciary Committee favorably reported the bill two weeks later, but with an amendment denying the Court power to act in cases involving "political questions." The Illinois senator clearly specified that his amendment covered the Reconstruction Acts. On the same day that Sumner submitted his bill, Senator Charles D. Drake of Missouri, a prominent Radical, proposed the outright abolition of judicial review of congressional acts.⁸⁷ Thus, in a three-pronged attack, some elements within the Republican party again tried to secure the southern policy from possible judicial destruction. But all of the 1869-1870 pro-

⁸⁶ See note 10, above, for an indication of the Court's line-up on the constitutional issue. The subject will be discussed more fully in my forthcoming book on the Supreme Court in the Reconstruction era.

⁸⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., 3 (Dec. 6, 1869); *ibid.*, 45 (Dec. 9, 1869); *ibid.*, 2 (Dec. 6, 1869).

posals failed, and it is significant that the failure occurred against the backdrop of a direct challenge by the Supreme Court.

Apparently most senators were satisfied that the Court had no intention of abandoning its basic position on "political questions" as expressed in the Mississippi and Georgia cases of 1867 and 1868. Unlike the interim after the Court agreed to hear arguments in the McCardle case, moreover, Congress now found itself faced with a *fait accompli* in *Ex parte Yerger*. Some senators admitted that there was no pressing need for any legislation. The Court was about to adjourn, and as military reconstruction was being abandoned, even in Mississippi, there were few challenges against the Reconstruction Acts. Accordingly, the Senate moved, in December 1869, to postpone action and, six months later, buried Sumner's original bill with Trumbull's amendment.⁸⁸

Senator Drake's bill abolishing judicial review received even more brusque treatment. Unlike most of his party colleagues, whose fears concerning the Court centered on the Reconstruction Acts alone, Drake seemed disturbed by the possible fate of other important measures, such as the legal tender acts, the cotton tax, and the state bank notes tax. Drake's assault upon the "hoary error" of judicial review followed traditional lines: the power existed only by implication; the Constitution established legislative supremacy; and Congress had to assert its right of final judgment of its own acts or accept a subordinate status to the courts.⁸⁹

Congress chose not to assert its "rights," and the bill never came out of Trumbull's committee. Before it was sent to committee, however, some of Drake's fellow senators passionately defended the Court. The outstanding rebuttal came from a Republican, George F. Edmunds of Vermont. He admitted that the Court sometimes unfortunately tended to interfere in political questions, but Drake's proposal was another matter. Borrowing his text from his Whig predecessors, and perhaps unwittingly from the Democrats of the Reconstruction period, Edmunds confidently declared that history demonstrated that the "greatest safeguard of liberty and of private rights . . . is found, not in the legislative branch of a government, not in the executive branch . . . , but in its fundamental law that secures those private rights, administered by an independent and fearless judiciary. There is the security of liberty; there is the security of progress in society; there is the anchor that holds together the wishes of all good men." Edmunds' defense of judicial review here was a fitting overture to many of his later appearances before the Supreme Court, most notably in the income tax cases when he invited

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 167-69 (Dec. 16, 1869).

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 86-96 (Dec. 13, 1869).

the Court to submit its wisdom for the judgment of Congress. A Democratic colleague, Willard Saulsbury of Delaware, argued from virtually the same premise—that congressional powers were enumerated and not absolute—and concluded: "I should have supposed that it was too late in the day . . . to attempt to overturn the settled judgment of the American people and of the legal profession."⁴⁰

The conjunction of the Supreme Court's defense by Edmunds—surely a respected and prominent Republican and one who still had a long and intimate future with the party, unlike Sumner and Trumbull, for example—and Saulsbury—a leader of the states' rights, conservative Democratic bloc—symbolically prefigured the bipartisan consensus that benignly regarded judicial power throughout the rest of the century and beyond. As Reconstruction drew to a close, neither major political party again exclusively rationalized an antijudiciary posture. Whatever the danger to the Court's security, the threat had failed to materialize. Thaddeus Stevens indeed had his notions of legislative supremacy. As a recent biographer states, the Court "would have been made truly impotent as far as the legislation on Reconstruction was concerned" if Stevens had had his way.⁴¹ But there is the rub: Stevens and his like-minded compatriots found few who shared their preconceptions, and this suggests the true picture of the Court-Congress relationship between 1865 and 1877. In the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Supreme Court unquestionably exercised power and commanded prestige as it never had done before; yet, this development did not mark a sharp break in judicial history. Examination of the Court's whole range of activities and its status during the Reconstruction era demonstrates only a relative and quantitative difference with the later period.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 94-95. For Edmunds' fully developed views on judicial power, see Gerald G. Eggert, "Richard Olney and the Income Tax Cases," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVIII (June 1961), 33-34. Incidentally, Congress restored the revoked appellate jurisdiction in 1885. (23 US Statutes at Large 437.) There was no debate in either house at the time.

⁴¹ Brodie, *Thaddeus Stevens*, 323.

Economic Growth, Capital Investment, and the Roman Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland

EMMET LARKIN*

"Our poverty may appear contemptible, and even sordid," wrote Patrick Curtis, the archbishop of Armagh, to his agent in Rome in 1825, "but it is not really so." "We are, indeed, very poor, and I believe you know," he explained, dignifying the twenty pounds he enclosed for the rebuilding of St. Paul's Basilica in Rome, "that my Mitre, though Primatial, is one of the poorest in Ireland: and yet the claims on us are increasing. . . ."¹ Seventy-five years later, almost to the day, in 1900, his successor in the primatial see of Armagh, Michael Cardinal Logue, cleared over thirty thousand pounds in a single bazaar for the purpose of decorating the interior of his cathedral, and could afford to send regularly every year some six hundred pounds in Peter's pence to Rome.² What happened in those seventy-five years to account for this remarkable increase in the resources of the Church? This question might not prove nearly as interesting or even important, if Ireland, like Belgium, had experienced the full effects of an Industrial Revolution in the nineteenth century. Instead, by the turn of the century, well over five million people had fled the country, as Ireland remained one of the more economically backward areas in Western Europe. The anomaly, therefore, of a church that appeared to be growing ever more wealthy in a seemingly stagnant and chronically depressed economy raises a further question: what effect did the acquisition by the Church of a considerable amount of property over a relatively short period of time have on capital investment and economic growth in Ireland?

To begin to answer these questions it is first necessary to know something about the larger economic frame within which the Church itself existed. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were actually two

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¹ Patrick Curtis to Michael Blake, July 23, 1825, *Scritture riferite nei congressi, Irlanda*, XXIV, fols. 470-71, Archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Rome.

² *Freeman's Journal* (Dublin), June 3, 1901, quoted in Michael J. F. McCarthy, *Priests and People in Ireland* (Dublin, 1903), 35.

economies in Ireland, one maritime and the other subsistence.³ They are easily identifiable in that the former was based on money, and the latter was not. The real problem, however, is not in identifying these two economies, but in locating them. A straightforward geographical analysis will not do since it is not enough to point out that the relatively prosperous metropolises, like Dublin, Cork, and Limerick, and the lesser Irish ports, all with their available hinterlands, made up the maritime economy, while the mountains and bogs of Kerry and Connemara were typical of the subsistence economy. Actually, the subsistence economy permeated everywhere so that within each maritime area there was a subsistence sector. The relative size of this subsistence sector was an excellent indication of how healthy economically a maritime area really was.⁴ The reason the Irish economy was so sick, and progressively growing more vulnerable before the Great Famine, was that the steady increase in population was continually enlarging the subsistence sectors within the maritime areas.⁵

These subsistence sectors were made up of a class of paupers, cotters, and marginal farmers, who lived in hovels on their potato patches, paid their rent every year with a pig, and sold their labor or begged for those absolutely necessary amenities over and above their shelter and food. Anywhere from one-quarter to one-third of the people subsisted on this level, and as the population increased, they began to make up a terrifyingly larger proportion of the total. When the potato failed in 1846, this class was wiped out. In five years some two million people had either left the country or were dead of disease and hunger. Ironically enough, the effect of this awful catastrophe on the Irish economy was beneficial, for the subsistence economy was dealt a blow from which it never recovered, and within fifty years it was almost extinct. The countless number of potato patches, and the marginal farms of less than five acres, which had depended on the potato for their existence, were ruthlessly consolidated into economic holdings. The remain-

³ The best available discussion of this problem of maritime and subsistence economies is in Patrick Lynch and John Vaizey, *Guinness's Brewery in the Irish Economy, 1759-1876* (Cambridge, Eng., 1960), 9-17.

⁴ An Irish priest asked Alexis de Tocqueville in Galway in July 1835: "Sir, do you know what it is that prevents the poor from starving to death in Ireland?" "It is the poor," the priest answered, and added, "A farmer who has only thirty acres and who harvests only a hundred bushels of potatoes, puts aside a fifth of his harvest annually to be distributed among those unfortunates who are the most terribly in need. . . . In order to give alms the farmer will stint his land of manure and wear rags, and his wife will sleep on straw and his children not go to school." (Alexis de Tocqueville, *Journeys to England and Ireland*, ed. J. P. Mayer [London, 1958], 164-65.)

⁵ With regard to the increase and the distribution of population in Ireland before 1847, respectively, the best discussions are K. H. Connell, *The Population of Ireland, 1780-1845* (Oxford, Eng., 1950), and T. W. Freeman, *Pre-Famine Ireland: A Study in Historical Geography* (Manchester, Eng., 1957). Freeman presents a detailed series of population density maps constructed from government ordnance survey maps (six inches to one mile) published between 1833 and 1844.

ing congestion was further relieved by repeated failures of the potato crop in the early 1850's, the early 1860's, and the late 1870's. By the early 1880's, therefore, that large class, which had made up the subsistence economy before the famine, had virtually been liquidated through emigration.⁶

The thirty years after the Great Famine, then, were among the most prosperous in Ireland's dismal economic history. The repeal of the corn laws in 1846 ushered in a golden age in British and Irish agriculture. The harvests, except for the potato, were bountiful year after year, and continued industrial expansion and population growth in Britain assured the Irish farmer of strong and steady prices for his products. With emigration hardening into a tradition, the Irish farmer also found the burden of providing for a poverty-stricken peasantry lighter every year, and his gradual shift from tillage to profitable grazing enabled him to meet the problem of a decreasing labor supply.⁷ This almost idyllic situation came to an end in the late 1870's with the general collapse of British and Irish agriculture in the face of competition from the New World. A revolution in transport—railroads, refrigeration, and steamships—made it possible for American and Canadian grain, Argentine beef, Australian mutton, and New Zealand butter to undersell the local product in the home market.

The competition from the New World was made vivid by Thomas Nulty, bishop of the very wealthy diocese of Meath, in a letter to the rector of the Irish College in Rome. Nulty wrote on May 29, 1879:

I never remember to have seen such a depression in trade and such universal poverty among the farming and grazing classes in this Diocese. We have scores of the most respectable farmers and graziers in this Diocese who have become bankrupt. Only think of plenty of the finest American beef for sale this moment in Mullingar! Probably I will dine on some of it today. Mullingar was famous for the superiority of its Beef and Mutton and only imagine these Americans underselling us even here.⁸

Tariff barriers were quickly erected in most European countries to protect the farmer, but in Britain, where free trade had almost become a religious truth, no such protection was forthcoming for fifty years. Three bad harvests in succession in the late 1870's marked the beginning of the end of Irish agricultural prosperity.⁹ The agricultural depression deepened in the 1880's, though there were partial recovery and some improvement between 1890 and 1914. But the prosperity of the mid-Victorian heyday was not to be experi-

⁶ See Appendix A.

⁷ See Appendix B.

⁸ Nulty to Kirby, May 29, 1879, Tobias Kirby Papers, Archives of the Irish College, Rome.

⁹ The best general discussion of the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Ireland is still Michael Davitt's *The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland* (London, 1904).

enced again, except for a brief interlude during the First World War, until more recent times.

This, then, was the general economic frame within which the Irish Church had to make its financial way in the nineteenth century. As the legal position of Catholics improved in the late eighteenth century, the Church had quietly begun to gather economic strength. By the turn of the century, however, the improvement in the Church's economic fortunes was still rather modest. In making his required report to Rome on the state of his diocese on November 29, 1802, John Young, bishop of Limerick, wrote that he had fifty-eight priests, ten of whom were regulars, for a population of about sixty thousand, which included some eight thousand Protestants.¹⁰ In the city of Limerick, he added, there were four parish priests, fourteen curates, and nine regulars ministering to some five thousand families of which one thousand were Protestant. There were three schools for poor Catholics, which accommodated forty children and which the bishop assured Rome were as good as the apostate school in his diocese. He also reported that he had twelve students in his seminary who studied logic, metaphysics, and theology. The confraternity established by his predecessor, the bishop noted, was doing well and was preventing the proselytizers from being as effective as they might. He then went on to report:

2. Besides the City, the Diocese of Limerick has five districts and some villages. In many of the rural Parishes there are two Chapels in both of which the Parish Priest celebrates Mass on Feast Days with Apostolic Indulgence for the comfort of the faithful who live there.

3. All the Chapels and Churches are well supplied with holy and precious furnishings, and especially that of the Mensal Parish of the Bishop, to which has been recently donated by one not of the faith a crystal candelabra of twelve lights of great value in thanks for having recovered his health.

4. After the loss of the National Colleges [on the Continent] a pious benefactor has given the Bishop a House for the founding, already under way, of a seminary in his Diocese for the Education of young men called to the Ecclesiastical state.¹¹

This *relatio status* of the bishop of Limerick is important not only because there are fewer of them than one might expect during this period but because the diocese of Limerick was a limiting case. Limerick was a relatively wealthy maritime center with a reasonably prosperous Catholic merchant class, and if this modest statement in terms of property and personnel is one

¹⁰ *Acta*, CLXIX, 135-44, Archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Rome.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

of the optimum cases, it is not difficult to imagine what the situation was in those dioceses less economically fortunate than Limerick.

Toward the other end of the spectrum was the *relatio*, dated November 23, 1804, of James Murphy, bishop of Clogher. After reporting at great length on the geography and places of religious interest in his diocese, as well as on the number, character, and learning of his clergy, Murphy wrote:

Our illiterate laity, for nine tenths of our people owing to their great poverty are such, have made astonishing progress in acquiring a competent knowledge of the Christian Doctrine within a few years back. . . . I have to add to this that, in many Parishes; where not long ago we had the most wretched Cabbins of Chapels not half equal to contain the Congregation; and in others where there was no covering whatever for the People and scarcely a shed to shelter the Priest and Sacrifice; we have lately got many good Chapels erected and covered with the best of slate. We have at present six more nearly finished, and if God in his mercy is pleased to grant this Empire an honorable Peace shortly, I hope with his assistance and that of our Protestant Neighbors; for indeed they have been very kind to us on these occasions, we shall get Chapels round the whole Diocese in a few years.¹²

The main burden of meeting the Church's early capital needs, of course, fell on that class of laity who were relatively wealthy: the merchants and farmers who had made large sums of money during the wars of the French Revolution and the imperium by shipping foodstuffs to Britain and Wellington's army in the peninsula. On this economic well-being the Church was able to build a new, though modest, establishment where hardly any had existed before. The severe depression, which followed the end of the war in 1815, was a serious blow to Irish prosperity in general and to the agricultural sector, which was the mainstay of the Catholic middle classes, in particular. By 1825, however, there was a mild recovery, which continued until 1830, when the improvement was so rapid that the peak of the war years was nearly passed in the late 1830's. This upward trend, though modified in the early 1840's, continued until the shock of the Great Famine in 1846.¹³

The Church, of course, shared in the increase in wealth of its laity. In the half century before the famine, the cost of building and maintaining the Church establishment was about £30,000,000 or £600,000 per year on the average. Some £5,000,000 of this total, or £100,000 per year, went into capital improvements, mainly building, which included cathedrals, churches, chapels, convents, seminaries, schools, and housing for the clergy, while the larger part, £25,000,000, or £500,000 per year, went to support the clerical population. These calculations are based, in part, on an estimate made by the archbishop of Tuam, John McHale, and the bishop of Ardagh, William Hig-

¹² *Scritture riferite nei congressi, Irlanda*, XVIII, fols. 262-63.

¹³ See Appendix C and accompanying graph and table.

gins, in 1847.¹⁴ The estimate by these prelates of the Church's income in Ireland for the thirty years preceding 1847 was the result of a most violent division among the Irish bishops as to whether they should accept the Queen's colleges which were endowed by the state. In their *ex parte* statement to Rome condemning the state-endowed colleges as godless, McHale and Higgins also argued that Ireland could afford to build its own system of Catholic higher education without state aid and adduced as their reason that the Church in Ireland over the previous thirty years had been able to raise a considerable sum for its own support and maintenance through the voluntary offerings of the faithful. In summing up, McHale and Higgins presented the following breakdown of the major items in the budget of the Church between 1817 and 1847:

Building of Churches	£3,000,000
Parochial Houses	100,000
Convents for Nuns	240,000
Monasteries for Monks	200,000
Colleges	200,000
Schools for the Poor	200,000
Maintenance of the Clergy	18,000,000
Total	£21,940,000 ¹⁵

These figures are open to question, of course, because there is an obvious reason for McHale and Higgins to be partisan in the presentation of their case to Rome. Their estimate with regard to the maintenance of the clergy, for example, is too high. The figure of £600,000 per year assumes that there were 4,000 priests in Ireland and each received on the average an income of £150 per year. While the income is plausible enough, the number of priests was closer to 3,000 than 4,000, and the yearly cost of maintaining the clergy was closer, therefore, to £500,000 than £600,000. Further, while the other estimates in the above list are all too high, however, no allowances are made for maintenance and upkeep of these establishments and for either the Catholic contribution to the expenses of the National System of Education, which was largely administered by the clergy, or for the system of schools established by the Irish Christian Brothers. When, therefore, what is left out is balanced against what is overestimated, McHale's and Higgins' "statistics" are not as partisan as they might seem at first glance.

A most useful support and corrective for and to the above figures was presented in a thirty-four-page pamphlet published in Dublin in 1865. Major Myles O'Reilly, who had the confidence of nearly all the Irish bishops, maintained that:

¹⁴ *Scritture riferite nei congressi, Irlanda, XXX, fols. 132-35*: "Brevi Rilievi sopra il sistema d'insegnamento misto che si cerca di stabilire in Irlanda nei collegi così detti della Regina."

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

In twenty-five of the twenty-eight dioceses of Ireland, embracing 944 out of the 1,085 parishes into which Ireland is divided, there have been built in the sixty-three years since 1800:

1. 1805 Churches which have cost	£3,061,527*
2. 217 Convents which have cost	1,058,415
3. 40 Colleges or seminaries which have cost	308,918
4. 44 Hospitals, or Asylums, or Orphanages which have cost	147,135

Making a total expenditure for these objects of £4,575,995

If the expenditure in the other one hundred and forty-one parishes was at the same rate it would make a total for Ireland of more than £5,274,368: but to this we may add the cost of erection of 2,990 National Schools erected without any Government aid, and under Catholic management. Now I have ascertained the cost of about four hundred schoolhouses in different parts of Ireland, and I find that the average is £100; the cost of these 2,990 schools will, therefore, amount to £299,000, which, added to the foregoing, makes £5,573,368. Yet, even thus, we are far from having a complete estimate of the amount expended by the Catholics of Ireland in buildings for religious, charitable, and educational purposes during the century. We have taken no note of the many schools, such as those of the Christian Brothers,** and others not in connection with the National Board; we have not included the cost of parochial houses for the clergy with which, perhaps, about one-third of the parishes in Ireland are provided. All these and many other heads I would have wished to include in these returns, but it would have been impossible to have given them with accuracy.

*In very few instances have the value of materials and labour given been included; consequently this item is considerably understated. It is also to be observed that in several instances a church was built soon after 1800, which has since been pulled down and another handsomer substituted: thus, in the Parish of Askeaton, Diocese of Limerick, two thatched churches were built in 1804, about 1850 they were replaced by two handsome stone ones which cost £3,700. In these cases only the cost of the last erections is given.

**The sixty-eight schools of the Christian Brothers alone must cost at least £68,000.¹⁶

Most of this income was contributed in dues by the laity in money and kind at Christmas and Easter, and from offerings at baptisms, marriages, and funerals, as well as for dispensations and the saying of Masses. The larger sums came in the form of gifts, subscriptions, and special collections; as Catholic wealth accumulated, the number of charitable and pious bequests also increased. This increase in clerical income was graphically described by a Carlow priest, James Maher, in the early 1840's in a letter to his

¹⁶ Myles O'Reilly, *Progress of Catholicity in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, 1865). These various estimates on what property the Church acquired before 1850 are further supported by an independent estimate of what was acquired in the all-important archdiocese of Dublin between 1822 and 1852. "An estimate made out with great care represents the amount of property moveable and immoveable acquired by religion in the Catholic Archbishopric of Dublin, during his [Daniel Murray] incumbency, as exceeding considerably £1,200,000." (William Meagher, *Life of Archbishop Murray* [Dublin, 1853], 116.)

nephew, Paul, later Cardinal, Cullen, who was then the rector of the Irish College in Rome.

In travelling thru the Country I have observed with pain that the relative position of the people and Clergy has been greatly changed. The people have become very much poorer. And the Clergy have adopted a more expensive style of living. The best Catholic house in each Parish and the best style of living appears to be the Priests. Time was when both parties were more upon an equality. The demands of the Priests on the People have greatly multiplied and the laity are beginning to complain. Dues, dues is the perpetual cry, the constant Sundays theme of some. The Altar is occupied for an hour every Sunday, for the transactions of the Priests and oats and turf, and all the arrears of Baptisms and unctions. What a desecration! . . . The people of some parts of Connaught, have combined to resist the payment of dues to the Priest, unless according to a scale which they themselves devised. This is a bad sign of the times. The movement however at present is nearly hushed, but I fear it will again break out.¹⁷

With the approach of the famine, then, the Church actually appeared to be getting poorer and poorer, while its clergy were getting richer and richer. The reason for this strange variation on a Marxian theme was the rapid rise in population. While clerical incomes naturally increased as births, deaths, and marriages increased, there was at the same time a consequent need to expand the Church establishment to minister to this increased population, but the capital necessary for this expansion was not available. The best example of the Church's capital needs not being met before and during the famine are the statistics relating to the "Sums Expended on the Erection and Repairs of Buildings at Maynooth College" between 1796 and 1852.¹⁸ Maynooth had been established by an act of Parliament in 1795 to provide for the education of priests for the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. A grant of £8,000 was then made, later increased to £9,000 per year, and in 1845 increased to £26,000 per year to support faculty, administration, and 500 free places for seminarians. From time to time provisions were also made by Parliament for the cost of building and repairs, but mainly Maynooth was expected to rely on the subscriptions of Catholics for new building and repairs. In 1807 Parliament voted £5,000 for new buildings and in 1845 again voted £30,000, while between 1846 and 1852 it voted some additional £7,000 for repairs. Significantly, between 1836 and 1845, absolutely nothing was spent on new buildings at Maynooth, and the decreasing sums spent on repairs between 1840 and 1843 become even more interesting when they are related to the three successive bad harvests in the early 1840's because they reflect the dependence of the Church on the farming and merchant classes for supplying its capital needs. By the early 1840's then, the Church was act-

¹⁷ Maher to Cullen, Feb. 21, 1843, Paul Cullen Papers, Archives of the Irish College, Rome.

¹⁸ John Healy, *Maynooth College: Its Centenary History* (Dublin, 1895), Appendix XVIII, 740-41:

ually income rich and capital poor because the class that had been meeting the capital needs of the Church was itself financially embarrassed.

The Catholic merchants and farmers also seem to have been regularly investing the largest part of their surplus capital in land, which improvident Irish landlords were mortgaging to the maximum, thus reducing their ready supply of money. In the summer of 1835 Alexis de Tocqueville, who was touring Ireland, asked William Kinsella, bishop of Ossory, for example, "Is it true that the Protestant aristocracy is very much in debt?" Kinsella replied:

Yes. Nothing is more true. Most of them give way under the burden of their commitments. Every day we see the rich Catholics of the towns lend money to Protestants, and the latter are finally obliged to break the "entail" and to sell their land. In this way much land gradually falls into the hands of the Catholics.

SUMS EXPENDED ON THE ERECTION AND REPAIRS OF BUILDINGS
AT MAYNOOTH COLLEGE

FROM ITS ESTABLISHMENT IN 1795, TO JANUARY 1ST, 1852

Year	New Buildings			Repairs			Year	New Buildings			Repairs		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1796	—	—	—	89	3	1	1829	—	—	—	256	17	6
1797	5,524	2	2	67	17	8	1830	—	—	—	453	15	1½
1798	4,000	0	0	32	12	10½	1831	5,842	4	0	251	7	0
1799	3,869	15	3	65	18	6	1832	452	16	8	229	12	3½
1800	4,827	8	7½	51	3	8½	1833	6,573	13	10	242	13	1
1801	1,806	16	7½	62	13	7	1834	380	7	10	341	19	8½
1802				77	7	2	1835	1,527	13	8	354	19	7½
1803	541	12	6	248	6	0	1836	1,176	3	8	515	0	5½
1804	—	—	—	778	16	4	1837	—	—	—	499	3	8½
1805	—	—	—	728	4	4½	1838	—	—	—	400	15	4
1806	2,469	19	10	114	3	5½	1839	—	—	—	291	12	8
1807	2,530	0	2	76	2	4	1840	—	—	—	340	16	0½
1808	6,241	10	5½	280	16	11½	1841	—	—	—	269	9	4
1809				189	6	8	1842	—	—	—	206	6	10
1810	—	—	—	161	19	11½	1843	—	—	—	189	18	10
1811	121	2	8	533	3	1½	1844	—	—	—	311	12	7½
1812	—	—	—	796	4	5½	1845	30,737	17	5	308	12	10½
1813	—	—	—	218	1	1	1846				1,189	7	10
1814	—	—	—	206	18	5	1847				1,047	3	4½
1815	—	—	—	252	14	1½	1848				1,540	3	2
1816	4,043	10	0	454	12	0	1849				1,292	7	10½
1817	—	—	—	288	2	8	1850				1,129	10	9½
1818	—	—	—	511	3	10½	1851				1,009	9	4½
1819	—	—	—	163	8	10½							
1820	—	—	—	285	12	3							
1821	100	0	0	443	18	9							
1822	—	—	—	597	1	3½							
1823	6,500	0	0	319	5	0½							
1824				301	18	3½							
1825	1,351	7	7½	254	10	4½							
1826				226	18	10							
1827	1,120	10	4	261	17	8½							
1828				252	6	4							

Recently in this county two Catholics, Mr. X and Mr. Y, bought land, the one for £20,000 and the other for £30,000.¹⁹

A few days after this interview with the bishop of Ossory in Kilkenny, and on his way to Cork, Tocqueville again noted:

At Mitchelstown there is a splendid mansion belonging to Lord Kingstown. He has 75,000 acres round the house. He lives there. I was shown a huge clearing which he has had made, and which is covered with fine crops; and a row of clean and convenient cottages which he has had built for his tenants. It is said that he has made money out of doing this. The town of Mitchelstown does not look as wretched as the rest of the country.

I ask where the "Lord" is. I am told that he went off his head two years ago. Why? I am told that it is because he found himself burdened with £400,000 of debts without hope of ever being able to pay them off. The money had been lent him by Catholic merchants in Cork on mortgage of the huge estates which I had seen, and absorbed almost all his income. It is like that almost every where in Ireland. Witness the finger of God. The Irish Aristocracy wanted to remain separated from the people and be still English. It has driven itself into imitating the English Aristocracy without possessing either its skill or its resources, and its own sin is proving its ruin. The Irish were turned out of their lands by force of arms. Hard work is bringing them back again into these estates.²⁰

The burden on this Catholic middle class by the 1840's, however, was growing intolerable, for every year they had to face an increase in the number of the poor and meet the rising cost of the agitation for repeal, as well as the mounting capital needs of the Church. All this occurred, moreover, when they themselves were greatly reduced in circumstances by three successive bad harvests. Maher wrote Cullen in Rome:

The labouring classes were never so poor, or so unemployed as in the present year. The farmers by a succession of bad harvests have been drained to the last penny and can give no employment. The potato crop has been most defective; and things now would be at famine price but for Peel's Corn Law Bill, and Foreign Cattle Bill; the people are emigrating in great numbers. Even those who have some means in their hands, are going, and others of the same class are speaking of following them.²¹

In the early 1840's, therefore, the Church was forced to consider other courses than its impoverished middle classes, if it were not to be financially swamped.

After its laity, however, it could go only to the banks and the British government. Credit without collateral, whether the bank was Protestant or Catholic, was not easily obtained. The British government, on the other hand, for political reasons, was a somewhat less reluctant source. Parliament

¹⁹ Tocqueville, *Journeys to England and Ireland*, ed. Mayer, 142-43.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 158-59.

²¹ Maher to Cullen, Apr. 18, 1842, Cullen Papers.

passed a Charitable Bequests Act, which better secured property bequeathed to the Church, and thereby strengthened its credit position. It also voted £30,000 to the seminary at Maynooth to provide for necessary capital improvements and nearly tripled the annual grant of £9,000 to that institution. Some of the capital strain on the Church was also relieved when an increasing number of the clergy began to plow large sums, which they had saved out of their clerical earnings, back into the Church establishment. Maher bitterly wrote his nephew:

Father Kearney's clerical savings (about £10,000, some say £12,000) although bequeathed to charitable purposes have given little edification: how did [he] scrape together and hoard up everyone asks, such an enormous sum? Legacy duty (it is now 10 per cent when property is bequeathed to those who are not next of kin) will be £1000. What a waste! It could have been avoided by a transfer of the property to trustees upon a pound stamp. . . . Besides Kearney's £10,000 the Church has had another windfall in the Death of the Rev^d Nicholas Sharman of Kilkenny. He left £3,000 to charitable purposes, the poor of his parish, and £500 to a sister. He had had some private property, and nobody therefore censures the bequest to his sister. . . . Another rich priest (Tracy) died in Ossory a year or two since, intestate, leaving a large sum, several thousands, to be scrambled for, by his next of kin: you have heard already of the £1500 which the late Parish Priest of Allen (Dunne) died possessed of, and of the £1000 which the niece of Father O'Rourke of Calbridge relieved him of. I had nearly forgotten old Prendergast's £6,000. What do you think of this merchandize in the Church: All the cases I have mentioned, are of recent occurrences, and within a very circumscribed circle. The economy of these money savers in the midst of a poor people has damaged the character of the clergy exceedingly.²²

Still, this combination of what the Church could politely borrow from the banks, genteelly beg from the British government, and informally levy from its clergy was not nearly enough to meet its capital needs.

Then suddenly and dramatically the whole situation was changed by the Great Famine, and the Church, which had been straining at every financial nerve for nearly a decade, now found itself growing stronger instead of weaker every year. The reason for this startling change, of course, was that the Catholic merchants and farmers had partially come into their own again. The landed estates, in which they had been investing heavily before the famine, were put up for sale in the Encumbered Estates Court. They proceeded to buy out these mortgaged estates as freeholders and were no longer merely the renters, but the owners, of the means of production.²³ The

²² Maher to Cullen, Jan. 2, 1842, *ibid.*

²³ G. Locker Lampson, *A Consideration of the State of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1907), 265: "Between October 1849 and August 1857 the number of purchasers of new landlords amounted to 7,489, of which 7,180 were natives of Ireland, and 309 Englishmen, Scotchmen or foreigners. The total sum realized by these sales amounted to £20,475,956 of which £17,639,731 was Irish capital." See also O'Reilly, *Progress of Catholicity*, 19-20: "It was only a very few years before the close of the eighteenth century that Catholics acquired the power of purchasing land; and consequently the only Catholic landed proprietors in Ireland were those few whose property had escaped confiscation during

really important point, however, is that the Catholic population had substantially increased its share of the national income.

The Church almost instinctively started to gear its administrative apparatus to the new and more favorable economic situation. At the National Synod of Thurles in 1850, the Church began to rationalize its own economic position. Measures were enacted, for example, to make it more likely that clerical savings would be plowed back into the establishment rather than be dissipated among numerous relatives.²⁴ The title to ecclesiastical property, furthermore, was to be vested in trustees, of whom the bishop was to be one, to prevent it from falling into the personal estate of deceased clergymen. In order to channel the entrepreneurial activities and talents of priests into ecclesiastical rather than secular pursuits, restrictions were also placed on the priests owning or farming land, though many continued to do so in the names of their brothers and nephews.²⁵ Twenty-five years later, in 1875, the statutes approved at Thurles were strengthened and reinforced at the Synod of Maynooth.²⁶ The statutory improvements at Thurles, meanwhile, were invigorated by a gradual reform in the Irish episcopacy. A greater emphasis in episcopal appointments after 1850 was laid on administrative talents and business capacity. Most of the new bishops had received their administrative training as presidents and rectors of seminaries and colleges, and this proved to be an excellent apprenticeship for the men who eventually would have to undertake the more complex problem of managing a diocese.

the three hundred years of the penal laws. The famine of 1845 ruined an immense number of proprietors; and of their estates which were sold a large portion was purchased by Catholics who had become rich. In 1861 the number of landed proprietors in Ireland was 8,412, of whom forty-two per cent were Catholics." Two questions naturally arise out of the Lampson quote: how many of the Irish purchasers were Catholics, and how much land did they buy? For example, they could have made up 90 per cent of the purchasers and bought only 10 per cent of the land on the market. Though 42 per cent of the Irish landlords, therefore, were Catholic in 1861, as O'Reilly points out, the real question is how much land did they own. The question becomes even more complicated when one asks where they owned it, for ten thousand acres in Meath would be quite different from ten thousand acres in Connemara. A shrewd contemporary observer, Cullen, however, who had been promoted to the archbishopric of Armagh in 1848, writing Alessandro Barnab , secretary of the *Congregatio de propaganda fide* in Rome, on October 10, 1851, from Drogheda, explained that though the mass of the people were still miserable in their poverty, £3,000,000 in land had already changed hands, and that in the long run it would tell to the advantage of the Catholics who were buying in. (*Scrittura riferite nei congressi, Irlanda, XXX, fols. 725-26.*) Until, however, we know much more about Irish land purchase in the nineteenth century than we know now, it would be a hardy man who would assert too much.

²⁴ See section on "De Bonis Ecclesiasticis," esp. Arts. 5-9, *Decreta, Synodi Nationalis Totius Hiberniae Thurlesiae Habita Anno MDCCCL* (Dublin, 1851), 50-51.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 40: "De Parochia"—"16. Cum nemo militans Deo negotiis saecularibus se implicat, cumque periculum sit ne ii qui latifundia conducant, tempus in iis colendis quod spirituali populi curae debitum est, impendant, vetamus ne quis parochus conducat aut retineat plusquam quindecim jugera terrae sine consensu Episcopi./17. Vicarii autum parochorum non conducant ullam portionem agrorum, nisi accedat Episcopi consensus."

²⁶ *Decreta, Synodi Plenariae Episcoporum Hiberniae, Habita apud Maynooth, An. 1875* (Dublin, 1877), III, 126-27.

The lead given by this new generation of bishops had an almost contagious effect on their priests; nowhere was this more evident than in the ambitious building programs undertaken by the clergy, high and low, between 1850 and 1880. "There is still a great deal of poverty in the Country," Michael Kiernan, archbishop of Armagh, wrote Tobias Kirby, rector of the Irish College in Rome, "but the condition of the people is on the whole improving, and there is hardly a Diocese in Ireland in which there are not two or three magnificent Churches in the course of erection, not to speak of convents, schools which are rapidly spreading in every direction over the land."²⁷ The most ambitious building project undertaken by the Church in nineteenth-century Ireland was undoubtedly the cathedral at Queenstown, now Cobh. It was begun in 1868 in a most optimistic and enthusiastic spirit. "The priests and people," wrote William Keane, bishop of Cloyne, to Kirby, "have taken up the collection in the most cheerful and generous manner; Mistleton Parish giving 450 £; Cloyne 250 £; Aghada 230 £ & c. Nearly a hundred men have been at work at the building for eight or nine months past. It is pleasant to see the walls rising up."²⁸ Some ten years later, John McCarthy, Keane's successor in the see of Cloyne, reported that the cathedral had already cost £65,000, and £20,000 more would be necessary before Mass could be said in it. "It was commenced," he complained, "on too magnificent and costly a scale for the resources of the Diocese, but it was so far advanced when it fell into my hands that I could make no change without spoiling it."²⁹ "I have got," McCarthy then added, "nearly £3,000 from the priests I sent to Australia. I am now thinking of sending out two more to America to collect." More than thirty years later, in 1910, McCarthy's successor, Robert Browne, was still complaining about the cathedral to another rector of the Irish College.³⁰ He noted that since the foundation stone had been laid, the cathedral had cost £150,000 and was still £3,000 in debt. He lamented, moreover, that the end was not in sight because the cathedral still lacked a tower and spire. His people were financially exhausted, and he did not know where to turn because collections had been taken up in America three times and in Australia once.

Meanwhile cathedrals, churches, chapels, convents, monasteries, seminaries, parochial houses, episcopal palaces, schools, colleges, orphanages, hospitals, and asylums all mushroomed in every part of Ireland. This energy was supplemented by an ingenuity, a perseverance, and a confidence that would make the most hardheaded exponent of the Protestant ethic gasp.

²⁷ Kiernan to Kirby, Feb. 28, 1868, Kirby Papers.

²⁸ Keane to Kirby, Feb. 20, 1869, *ibid.*

²⁹ McCarthy to Kirby, Feb. 6, 1877, *ibid.*

³⁰ Browne to O'Riordan, Nov. 29, 1910, Michael O'Riordan Papers, Archives of the Irish College, Rome.

Bazaars, pilgrimages, shrines, altar societies, sodalities, confraternities, special collections on almost every Sunday and holiday of the year, and clergy collecting and canvassing the far-flung Irish missionary empire became an integral part of the Irish Catholic way of life. Fortunately for the Church, this revolution in church building was largely complete by the time the agricultural depression hit Ireland in the late 1870's, and the period between 1880 and 1914 was mainly devoted to consolidation. The financial apparatus and techniques, however, developed to meet the costs of building were not greatly impaired by the depression, and, in fact, as Catholics' share of the national income declined, the Church's share of it appeared to increase.

One unmistakable sign of the continued and developing prosperity of the Church between 1850 and 1900 was the impressive increase in the clerical population. In 1850 there were about 5,000 priests, monks, and nuns for a Catholic population of 5,000,000, while in 1900 there were over 14,000 priests, monks, and nuns for some 3,300,000 Catholics, or a ratio increase from 1:1000 in 1850 to 1:235 in 1900.⁸¹ These figures become even more impressive when it is understood that the Church continued to export a large number of clerics at an increasing rate over this whole period.⁸² By 1900 the Church had

⁸¹ See McCarthy, *Priests and People*, 625, for appendix comparing clerical population to Catholic population using the censuses of 1861 and 1901. In 1861 there were 5,955 priests, monks, and nuns for a Catholic population of 4,505,265; in 1901 there were 14,145 clergy for a population of 3,308,661.

⁸² P. J. Brophy, "Irish Missionaries," *The Carlowian, The Carlow College Magazine and Annual Review* (1951), 7, Table B, "Showing the Destination of Theological Students of Carlow College":

Year	Number of Ecclesiastical Students for Service In Ireland	Number of Ecclesiastical Students for Service Outside Ireland
1836-37	43	—
1837-38	39	1
1838-39	49	—
1839-40	45	—
1840-41	58	—
1841-42	70	—
1842-43	66	—
1844-45	—	10
1845-46	47	14
1846-47	47	22
1847-48	55	26
1848-49	51	31
1849-50	38	28
1850-51	24	27
1851-52	29	24
1852-53	20	19
1853-54	10	25
1880-81	32	46
1881-82	35	45
1889-90	37	63
1892-93	37	73
1897-98	15	112
1907-08	12	112

also a long tradition of exporting capital as well as clergy. Since 1860, when Peter's pence was inaugurated in Ireland with a contribution of £80,000, the Church had been able to sustain a yearly contribution of about £10,000 to Rome.⁸³ The Irish Church, moreover, had been making sizable annual contributions to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Lyons since 1840.⁸⁴ These exports in capital and in personnel are one more indication of the Irish Church's capacity to mobilize capital and personnel during this period without apparently overtaxing its own resources.

An even surer barometer, perhaps, of the Church's developing economic strength was the increasing ease with which it could borrow money from the banks. Its credit position had so improved by 1900 that bishops were very often obliged to interfere with imprudent priests and nuns who had borrowed too heavily for ecclesiastical purposes.⁸⁵ The main source of all this new-found wealth was the increasing number and amount of gifts and bequests left to the Church for religious and charitable purposes.⁸⁶ After 1850 an ever-increasing part of the Church's income in Ireland was derived from legacies and bequests. The sharp competition for legacies and bequests that developed between the clergy and the relatives of the pious benefactors not only illustrated the above trend in Church income but also introduced some

See also O'Reilly, *Progress of Catholicity*, 16-17: All Hallows, which was founded in Dublin in 1842, had by 1864 "220 students, who are being educated for the foreign missions; and since its first institution this establishment has sent out 400 priests." This is to say nothing of the religious orders in Ireland that had houses "where their members are educated for the priesthood: such are the calced Carmelites, Dominicans, Augustinians, Cistercians, Jesuits, Vincentians, Passionists, Redemptorists, and Oblates of Mary." Most of these young men were also destined for the foreign missions.

⁸³ The evidence to support these figures is much too cumbersome to present in a footnote. Each bishop in Ireland usually forwarded his Peter's pence through the rector of the Irish College in Rome. I have tabulated all the contributions mentioned in the correspondence between 1860 and 1919 from each of the dioceses in Ireland. None of the resulting series of figures for each diocese are complete, and some of the series are very spotty, but with some judicious projection a general average of £10,000 can be easily deduced. In 1860 the Papal States were invaded by the army of the King of Savoy, and Ireland responded with the launching of the Peter's pence collection and the recruiting of a papal brigade. Cullen, who had been transferred from Armagh to Dublin in 1852, reported to Kirby in Rome that the collection in Ireland would reach £80,000. (Cullen to Kirby, July 28, 1860, Cullen Papers.)

⁸⁴ Meagher, *Life of Archbishop Murray*. By 1853 Ireland had contributed something just less than £70,000, over a third of which was contributed by the diocese of Dublin alone. O'Reilly, *Progress of Catholicity*, 26, reported that by 1864 Ireland had contributed £149,124 to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

⁸⁵ The culmination of all this was reached when Rome issued new regulations in 1909 for Ireland with regard to borrowing money. Any debt over £20 and under £400 could be contracted only with the consent of the local bishop. Any debt contracted over £400, however, had to be cleared with Rome. The bishop of Waterford, R. A. Sheehan, in writing O'Riordan, rector of the Irish College, complained that most Catholic institutions in Ireland had no working capital since their ordinary capital was usually tied up. Resort to the credit facilities of banks, therefore, was necessary to carry on until these institutions were either paid by the state for duties fulfilled, or their investments paid their dividends. (Sheehan to O'Riordan, Dec. 28, 1909, O'Riordan Papers.)

⁸⁶ McCarthy, *Priests and People*, 108-49. Most of the bequests and legacies cited by McCarthy were published in the Irish newspapers between August 1901 and April 1902.

interesting moral and social tensions. Patrick Leahy, archbishop of Cashel, for example, wrote Kirby on November 15, 1864:

Another matter is most urgent and you must get it settled for me at once. A Parish Priest of this Diocese died some time ago, leaving about £10,000, two thirds to establish a Convent of Sisters of Mercy, in his Parish, one third to establish Christian Brothers. He made this large sum chiefly by a judicious management of a little property, and then when he realised something by a judicious investment of it. He had an immense number of relatives, all needy, but left them only £200 cash, three nephews, £100 a niece, and provided for another niece in a Convent. He was under many obligations to one brother of his, yet left nothing to his Family. Now, I think it but conformable to natural justice to give something more to his Family, say £500, and I have intimated to them that I wd get this done. Moreover, if not done the Family may go to law, in which case the whole £10,000 may be lost when you consider how prejudiced the tribunals are against Catholic Charities. If not lost, at any rate more than £500 wd be lost in expenses. So, it is best to give away to the Relations this sum. Quite enough remains to establish the Convent and Monastery. Get the Holy Father to give me power to dispose of £500 of the Legacy of Rev^d Patrick Hickey, P. P. of Doone. He was very averse, but unseasonably, to give any more to his Family.⁸⁷

Some thirty years later a curate in the county Tyrone wrote Kirby's successor in the Irish College, enclosing £100 for the Propagation of the Faith in Africa and Asia from a parishioner. "He gave it to me," the young priest explained, "privately with a request, that his relations should not hear of his act." "I think I may add," he concluded discreetly, "that he has made a provision in his will for a large sum to go to the Propagation of the Faith, but this is not to be made known as long as he is alive."⁸⁸

By 1905 there was not only sharp competition for legacies between the Church and the families of the benefactors but also among the various orders and institutions within the Church itself. The following series of letters from the bishop of Down and Connor, Henry Henry, to O'Riordan, rector of the Irish College in Rome, between 1906 and 1908, is a good indication of how keen the competition had become. Henry wrote O'Riordan from Belfast:

I am anxious to obtain from the Holy Father himself a favour on behalf of two ladies, whose names are Hannah Hamill and Teresa Hamill French House, Belfast. These two ladies are the only survivors of a family of seven. About four years ago their brother Arthur died leaving me a bequest of a £1000 for my personal use and all his property, which is calculated to be worth £100,000 to his six sisters, four of them are since dead having made no disposition of their share of this vast estate so that it is entirely at the disposal of Hannah and Teresa. They hinted to me that they thought they should settle their affairs at once. With this I agreed and one of them said that as they had no relatives needing anything they should give all to God for the good of their souls. How they are

⁸⁷ Leahy to Kirby, Nov. 15, 1864, Kirby Papers.

⁸⁸ Bradley to Kelly, June 3, 1897, Michael Kelly Papers, Archives of the Irish College, Rome.

to do this is still undecided, but I think I might be able to advise them rightly if I can keep in their Grace. They are, however, very changeable. They feel very lonely after so many deaths and believe that they will not live long, the youngest being over sixty. They asked me to get for them from the Pope, the right of receiving the Blessed Sacrament in their Oratory. I got the privilege of an Oratory for them from Propaganda during Arthur's life-time. They said they would not be so lonely if they could go to speak to our Lord. I undertook to do my best to get them this great privilege, telling them at the same time that I had been refused in another case, with which they were acquainted. Propaganda refused to renew the privilege granted for 3 years by the late Prefect in favour of Mr. Caffrey. In the end he got it through a Passionist Father from the Pope himself. The Passionist, however, had a letter from me which he presented to the Holy Father. Now I am satisfied if you presented my petition to the Holy Father he would grant it in this case. I fear it would be useless to ask at Propaganda. These ladies are very good and pious but are descended from Protestant blood. They have great reverence for the new Pope as they call him. They read a great deal about him—and like him. I need not say how pleased I would be to get the privilege for them.³⁹

Less than a month later Henry wrote O'Riordan again, obviously pleased:

Your letter enclosing the document with the Pope's autograph—graciously granting our petition in favour Misses' Hamill came to hand all right. I have not yet had time to go out to see them on the matter. I have scored out the last sentence of the second reason, but I think it will be better to let them know that one of the reasons, which influenced His Holiness to grant them the great privilege of having the Blessed Sacrament in their house was the fact that they were likely to give their property for pious uses. Unfortunately they are being besieged by the heads of religious orders male and female, from Dublin and even England and Scotland, as well as by priests from the Diocese. The most of their *Bona* consists of lands & houses in the neighbourhood of the city. It is being dinned into their ears that the Bishop has more than he needs even for charitable purposes. I am endeavouring to induce them to leave to me and trustees for Catholic charitable purposes in the Diocese their lands and houses after death. So far I have not succeeded. Of course if I succeeded your suggestion could be entertained. I need not approach them on the subject at present.⁴⁰

"You remember the old ladies named Hamill," Henry wrote O'Riordan nearly a year later, "for whom you got a great privilege sometime ago." "Designing and envious clerics and even nuns," he complained bitterly, "have succeeded in alienating them from me, telling them that I have too much money." "I understand," he then concluded, "that they have settled their affairs not at all satisfactory in the interests of religion."⁴¹ Several weeks later Henry again wrote O'Riordan on the subject of the sisters Hamill:

I think I am bound to remove from your mind the impression made by my last letter regarding the manner in which the Misses Hamill are said to have disposed of their money. I thought I had them convinced of the propriety of making me a

³⁹ Henry to O'Riordan, Nov. 21, 1906, O'Riordan Papers.

⁴⁰ Henry to O'Riordan, Dec. 10, 1906, *ibid.*

⁴¹ Henry to O'Riordan, Dec. 21, 1907, *ibid.*

Trustee of their property and giving me discretionary power in reference to the manner of expending it for the advancement of religion. Some priests and nuns got round them and persuaded them that I had the handling of too much money. They induced them to exclude me from being a Trustee and gave away most of the property to charities, which are in a sense not charitable as they have at present, as I only know, abundant means for the objects of their institutes. My intention was to establish new centers of charitable works such as the Hospice for the Dying, free places for the higher education of our church and lay students, crèches for the poor children of the workers.

As far as I have been able to find out they have left all or nearly all to what they have been told are charitable objects. I hope I have made myself clear this time. They may of course change their minds.⁴²

The bishops, especially after 1890, with the most expensive days of the building revolution over, and the worst of the agricultural depression past, found they had much more surplus capital available. They invested this money, naturally enough, very conservatively in government securities, railway debentures, and first mortgages on land. The advice, for example, given by Michael Cardinal Logue, archbishop of Armagh, to Michael Kelly, rector of the Irish College in Rome, when the latter asked the former about investing some of the college funds in Ireland, told much about the investment policies of the Church in Ireland.

You have hit on a very unfortunate time for your investment. Trustee securities are so high now that you can find none which will pay more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ or $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. A few days ago I sold out near five thousand pounds of Government Stock which was left me for a charity, and I had just to put it in the Bank to wait for some investment. I think your best plan is to do the same for a time; but you should insist on the National Bank giving you a special rate for it. The only trustee security now that will give as much as four per cent is first mortgage on land; but it is not every mortgage one can trust. I intend to look out for such a mortgage to invest my charity money. Mr. [James] McCann says that if it could be got in a good County, such as Wexford, Kildare or Meath, with a good margin of Rental, it is quite safe. If trade improves securities will go down, and then there will be some chance of investing.⁴³

While the bishops thus reduced the amount of risk capital available in the economy, they were finally able, with a steady income, to meet their fixed obligations without recourse to borrowing and eventually to wipe out their debts. By 1914 the Irish Church faced the financial future with a serenity and an optimism that could only be matched in Ireland by Arthur Guinness and Sons Limited.

How the Church acquired its property in the nineteenth century is a relatively simple question to answer compared to the problem of what effect

⁴² Henry to O'Riordan, Jan. 2, 1908, *ibid.*

⁴³ Logue to Kelly, May 1, 1896, Kelly Papers.

the increase in wealth had on capital investment and economic growth in Ireland. The main difficulty is that there are no separate national income figures for Ireland; they must be estimated on the basis of a crude extrapolation from British figures.⁴⁴ While these Irish figures appear credible enough in the light of what is known, they are not yet, of course, without the empirical corrective that only extensive research can produce, the kind of stuff out of which confident generalizations, let alone history, can be made. Still, to paraphrase an Irish revolutionary: somehow, somewhere, and by someone a beginning must be made.

Between 1801 and 1901, therefore, Irish national income only increased from £35,000,000 per year to £82,000,000 per year, while British national income grew over the same period from £232,000,000 to £1,643,000,000. This estimate of Irish national income, however, immediately poses a number of other awkward problems. What, for example, was the Catholic share of Irish national income, since most property in Ireland was in Protestant hands? Further, did the Catholic share tend to increase, diminish, or remain constant over the course of the century? Finally, how much of that Catholic income was available for capital investment and economic growth? The Catholic share probably did not amount to more than half the total Irish national income. There is no doubt Irish Catholics increased their share of national wealth in the nineteenth century, but since there are no statistics it is difficult to say by how much. If education level and occupations are any real indication of the distribution of wealth, the comparative statistics from the census of 1861 are at least instructive if not conclusive.

In 1800 the Catholics who, in Ireland, were "employed in literature and education," were a mere handful; in 1861 we find the number to be 23,180 Catholics and 17,660 Protestants of all sects; "employed in science and art" 359 Catholics, 398 Protestants. In 1800 the Catholics (who had obtained the privilege of belonging to the Learned professions only seven years before) hardly numbered any members of those professions amongst their ranks. In 1861 the numbers were, Catholics 4,875; Protestants, 6,820.* Taking altogether those classes which may be considered as engaged in occupations which require superior mental cultivation, we find the numbers to be, Catholics, 61,023; Protestants, 58,552.**

*		
	Catholics	Protestants
Clergymen, 48 per cent.	3,014	3,264
Barristers, 28 " "	216	542
Attorneys, 35 " "	674	1,208
Physicians		
& Surgeons, 32 per cent.	761	1,597
Apothecaries, 50 per cent.	210	209
(Other liberal professions)		
engineers, architects,		
etc. 33 per cent.	358	718

⁴⁴ See Appendix C.

**	Catholics	Protestants
Literature and Education	23,180	17,660
Justice and Government	25,541	23,542
Banking and Agency	1,820	2,735
Religion	6,251	4,374
Charity	514	468
Science and Art	359	398
Health	3,358	3,375 ⁴⁵

The Catholic share of national income, moreover, did not appear to increase relative to the Protestant over the course of the century. The difficulty of relating wealth to landownership has already been noticed, but wealth is also reflected by political power, and even more so, perhaps, by administrative power. The general tendency toward the widening of the franchise in Britain and Ireland in the nineteenth century, naturally, weakened the relationship between the ownership of property and political power. This, however, was a much slower process in Ireland than in Britain, and before the 1880's parliamentary representation told more about that relationship than after. In 1861 there were 32 Catholic M.P.'s in an Irish representation of 103. Catholics also increased their administrative power in the nineteenth century, but rather more slowly than even the increase in their political power, and interestingly enough it seemed to increase more rapidly in the higher echelons than in the lower. Myles O'Reilly noticed that by 1861

Ireland, like England, has twelve judges of the superior courts: of these twelve eight are Catholics; of all the judges 33 per cent are Catholics; of course, I need hardly say that in 1800 there was not one. In England and Ireland justices of the peace are landed proprietors who are unpaid magistrates—the number of Catholics amongst them is, therefore, a good test of their social position. Of all the magistrates in Ireland 24 per cent are Catholics; of those who in the census are returned as "Ladies and Gentlemen" 27 per cent are Catholics; of bankers and agents, and merchants, 40 per cent are Catholics.⁴⁶

By 1861, therefore, Catholics in Ireland, it would appear, did not own half the wealth. It is also apparent they were increasing their share of it slowly over the course of the century, and the claim that they acquired half is truer as one approaches 1900 than as one leaves 1800. It now becomes clearer that Irish nationalism was rooted in something more tangible than Irish Catholics' being "conscious" of their being merely Irish. They were also aware they were economically, culturally, socially, and politically deprived.

Before the famine, the propertied classes—landlords, manufacturers, industrialists, professional men, and government employees—were nearly all Protestant. Though Catholics increased their share in the agricultural sector

⁴⁵ O'Reilly, *Progress of Catholicity*, 18-19.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

after the famine by buying out Protestant landlords, this was more than balanced by the increased rate of growth in the industrial sector after 1850 in Protestant Ulster.⁴⁷ By 1880, in fact, with the agricultural sector in sharp decline, what increase there was in Irish national income was almost entirely attributable to the continued growth of the manufacturing and industrial sectors which were almost all owned by Protestants. On the other hand, there was some compensation on the Catholic side as they steadily increased their share of professional and governmental posts. The staying power of the Protestant ascendancy, however, was remarkable. The distribution of places and rewards, for example, on the Local Government Board, a public body founded in 1898, was the subject of some bitter criticism by Catholics in 1901.⁴⁸ In both the appointive and competitive categories

⁴⁷ See graph, Appendix C.

⁴⁸ Catholic Defense Association, *Light on the Local Government Board* (Dublin, 1901):

Permanent Staff, Local Government Board

I. Nominated Positions:		Catholics
Commissioner	1	£ 1,200
General Inspectors	3	1,700
Medical Inspectors	3	1,700
Bacteriologist	1	250
Engineering Inspectors	nil	—
Auditors	5	2,700
	13	7,550
Average salary of the above (13)		£580-15s.-od.
II. Nominated Positions:		Protestants
Commissioners	2	£ 3,000
Secretary	1	900
General Inspectors	6	4,200
Medical Inspectors	4	2,800
Engineering Inspectors	4	2,150
Auditors	12	6,800
Audit Clerk	1	425
Secretary, Vaccine Department	1	300
Pharmacist	1	300
Legal Advisor	1	800
Legal Assistant	1	500
	34	22,225
Average salary of the above (34)		£653-13s.-od.
III. Competitive Positions:		Catholics
Principal Clerks	2	£ 1,300
Deputy Principal	1	480
Upper Division	3	1,140
Clerk in Charge of Accounts	1	425
Registrar	1	400
Superintendent, Statistical Branch	1	350
Local Stocks Clerk	1	329
Superintendent, Index Branch	1	316
Private Secretary to Vice-President	1	210
Higher, Grade Second Division	3	900
Second Division	28	3,080
	43	8,930

on the board, Catholics maintained they were discriminated against. They also complained that Protestants were consistently better rewarded than Catholics for the same categories of work. As might be suspected, the dominance of Protestant influence was even more marked in the private area than in the public.⁴⁹

If it is assumed, then, that the Catholic share of Irish national income was not more than half, and that it remained relatively constant over the century, how much of it was available for capital investment? The sad answer is comparatively little. Annual per capita income figures for Catholics in Ireland reveal that the margin, over and above what was absolutely necessary for subsistence in a money economy, was extremely narrow, and es-

Average salary of the above (43)		£207-13s.-od.
Average salary of the first 15		£390-03s.-od.
IV. Competitive Positions:		Protestants
Assistant Secretary	1	£ 700
Principal Clerks	2	1,300
Deputy Principals	3	1,440
Upper Division	7	2,660
Higher Grade, Second Division	1	300
Second Division, Ordinary	11	1,210
	25	7,610
Average salary of above (25)		£304-83s.-od.
Average salary of the first 14		£457-38s.-od.

⁴⁹ *The Leader* (Dublin), Jan. 30, 1904. This weekly organ of Catholic middle-class public opinion in Ireland complained, for example, about the discrimination against Irishmen and Catholics in the Provincial Bank of Ireland. "The Provincial Bank of Ireland was founded in 1824. Its original staff consisted largely of Scotchmen, and the principle officers of the establishment are of the same nationality. The present Directorate of the Bank consists of 10 Directors, of whom one is an Irish Catholic, and the remaining are English or Scotch Protestants. We shall now analyze the staff of the Bank giving the salary—approximate or actual—in the cases of the general staff, and the approximate totals of the other staffs."

Grouped Results

I. General Staff		
Creed	Number	Salary Totals
Protestants	5	£ 4,500
Catholics	nil	nil
II. Managerial Staff		
Protestants	52	£ 22,050
Catholics	2	510
III. Tellers and Accountants		
Protestants	75	£ 14,350
Catholics	8	1,530
IV. Clerical Staff		
Protestants	170	£ 17,285
Catholics	19	1,625
V. Summary		
Protestants	302	£ 58,185
Catholics	29	3,665
VI. Average Annual Salaries		
Protestants		£192-13s.-od.
Catholics		£126-73s.-od.

pecially so before the famine.⁵⁰ A rough estimate of what was available for all purposes over and above subsistence averages out to a little less than £3,000,000 per year before 1850 and £7,000,000 per year after 1850.⁵¹ What then was the Church's share? Before the famine the Church had some £600,000 of the £3,000,000 available, or some 20 per cent, while after the famine, the Church's share was not less than £1,000,000 of the £7,000,000 available, or nearly 15 per cent.⁵²

Did this appropriation, then, by the Church of so large a share of what was available over and above subsistence inhibit economic growth? Before the famine it probably did not make much difference what the Church appropriated to itself. For even if the Catholic middle classes had managed to save for more productive purposes what they invested in land, contributed to the Church, and gave to support the political agitation, as well as cut consumption to the bone, it would not have been enough to sustain a shift from an agricultural to an industrial base given the increase in population. Without substantial external aid, therefore, the economic situation in Ireland simply bordered on the hopeless. After the famine the situation improved to the extent at least that the possibility, if not the probability, of growth

⁵⁰ See Appendix D.

⁵¹ See Appendix E.

⁵² E.g., *Freeman's Journal Church Commission* (Dublin, 1868), 386-87: "Before I proceed to give in one summary all the items of Catholic expenditure supplied by voluntary effort, let me glance hastily at those I have been compelled to omit. The omissions include all the sums contributed to convents, convent schools, and orphanages; the support of the churches and chapels of the religious orders, of religious confraternities, guilds, & c., and all the orphanages, asylums, refuges, with the exception of the few statistics relative to those in the city of Dublin. In addition, I may mention sums collected annually in Ireland for Catholic purposes in England, which are very considerable. I have known £1,000 collected at one time in one Irish diocese for a single convent in England:—"

SUMMARY OF CATHOLIC EXPENDITURE IN IRELAND.

EXPENDITURE ON ERECTION OF BUILDINGS SINCE 1800.

In 26 Dioceses, 1,842 Churches.....	£3,198,627
“ 218 Convents, including Schools, &c., attached.....	1,061,215
“ 41 Colleges and Seminaries.....	309,018
“ 44 Hospitals, Asylums, &c.....	147,135
“ Add for two dioceses not returned.....	306,000
“ 600 Parochial Houses.....	300,000
“ 2,990 Non-vested Catholic Schoolhouses.....	299,000
“ 70 Establishments of Christian Brothers.....	70,000
Total.....	£5,690,995

ANNUAL EXPENDITURE.

1. Bishops and Parochial Clergy.....	£340,480
2. Regular Clergy.....	55,000
3. Maintenance, Repairs, and Extension of Churches.....	116,050
4. Catholic Hospitals, Orphanages, Asylums, &c.....	250,500
5. Colleges, Seminaries, and Schools supported by contributions, estimated at.....	
Total.....	£762,030

existed. The Church, by building and maintaining a large organization devoted to producing services rather than goods, and consuming some 3 per cent of the Catholic share of national income and nearly 15 per cent of what was available over subsistence, certainly increased the probabilities against economic growth.

The question of the Church's impeding economic growth in Ireland, of course, does not end simply with an account of how much capital it was able to divert to its own needs. The Church, for example, not only absorbed capital, but also entrepreneurial talent, and why no risk takers emerged in Catholic Ireland is almost as important a question as why there was so little risk capital available. If the Church, then, had such a serious effect on these economic determinants of growth, what, indeed, must have been its impact on the social determinants of growth? What effect, for example, did exclusive and sectarian policies in marriage and education, as well as clerical celibacy, devotional piety, and other life orientation have on values, family, class structure, social cohesion, and individualism? A consideration of these problems now would only turn this attempt at a conclusion into another paper. The responsibility for impeding Irish economic growth in the nineteenth century, however, extends beyond even the Church to the British government in Ireland and the Catholic middle classes. The problem of the British government in Ireland has been resolved in this century by nationalism and the creation of a Free State. The Catholic middle classes, further, have been made aware of their economic responsibilities by a strong dose of unacknowledged Socialism and the creation of a welfare state. Only the Church in Ireland has escaped the heavy hand of the general will in the twentieth century.

Appendix A

The statistics with regard to emigration (A), evictions (B), and consolidation of holdings (C) after the famine are conclusive in proving that this subsistence class was liquidated.

A. Emigration:

Year	Total Number of Overseas Emigrants from Ireland	Number Emigrating to United States	Year	Total Number of Overseas Emigrants from Ireland	Number Emigrating to United States
1845.....	74,970	50,207	1873.....	83,692	75,536
1846.....	105,917	68,023	1874.....	60,496	48,136
1847.....	219,885	118,120	1875.....	41,449	31,433
1848.....	181,316	151,003	1876.....	25,976	16,432
1849.....	218,842	180,189	1877.....	22,831	13,991
1850.....	213,649	184,351	1878.....	29,492	18,602
			1879.....	41,296	30,058
1851.....	254,537	219,232	1880.....	93,641	83,018
1852.....	224,997	195,801			
1853.....	192,609	156,970	1881.....	76,200	67,339
1854.....	150,209	111,095	1882.....	84,132	68,300
1855.....	78,854	57,164	1883.....	105,743	82,849
1856.....	71,724	58,777	1884.....	72,566	59,204
1857.....	86,233	66,080	1885.....	60,017	50,657
1858.....	43,281	31,498	1886.....	61,276	52,858
1859.....	52,981	41,180	1887.....	78,901	69,084
1860.....	60,835	52,103	1888.....	73,233	66,306
			1889.....	64,923	57,897
1861.....	36,322	28,209	1890.....	57,484	52,110
1862.....	49,680	33,521			
1863.....	116,391	94,477	1891.....	58,436	53,438
1864.....	115,428	94,368	1892.....	52,902	48,966
1865.....	100,676	82,085	1893.....	52,132	49,122
1866.....	98,890	86,594	1894.....	42,008	39,597
1867.....	88,622	79,571	1895.....	54,349	52,047
1868.....	64,965	57,662	1896.....	42,222	39,952
1869.....	73,325	66,467	1897.....	35,678	32,822
1870.....	74,283	67,891	1898.....	34,395	30,878
			1899.....	42,890	38,631
1871.....	71,067	65,591	1900.....	45,905	41,848
1872.....	72,763	66,752	1901.....	39,210	35,535

Quoted in Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850-1900* (Minneapolis, 1958), Appendix, Table 1, 157.

B. The number of families and persons evicted in Ireland between 1849 and 1882:

YEAR	EVICTED		YEAR	EVICTED	
	FAMILIES	PERSONS		FAMILIES	PERSONS
1849	16,686	90,440	1867	549	2,489
1850	19,949	104,163	1868	637	3,002
1851	13,197	68,023	1869	374	1,741
1852	8,591	43,494	1870	548	2,616
1853	4,833	24,589	1871	482	2,357
1854	2,156	10,794	1872	526	2,476
1855	1,849	9,338	1873	671	3,078
1856	1,108	5,114	1874	726	3,571
1857	1,161	5,475	1875	667	3,323
1858	957	4,643	1876	553	2,550
1859	837	3,872	1877	463	2,177
1860	636	2,985	1878	980	4,679
1861	1,092	5,288	1879	1,238	6,239
1862	1,136	5,617	1880	2,110	10,457
1863	1,734	8,695	1881	3,415	17,341
1864	1,924	9,201	1882	5,201	26,836
1865	942	4,513	Total	98,723	504,747
1866	795	3,571			

Quoted in Michael Davitt, *The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland: Or the Story of the Land League Revolution* (London, 1904), 100.

C. Number and percentage of holdings above one acre in Ireland, 1841-1901:

Year	Total Holdings*	1-5 Acres		5-15 Acres		15-30 Acres		Over 30 Acres	
		No. of Holdings	%	No. of Holdings	%	No. of Holdings	%	No. of Holdings	%
1841.....	691,114†	310,436	44.9	252,799	36.6	79,342	11.5	48,625	7.0
1851.....	608,066	88,083	15.5	191,854	33.6	141,311	24.8	149,090	26.1
1861.....	610,045	85,469	15.0	183,931	32.4	141,251	24.8	157,833	27.8
1871.....	592,590	74,809	13.7	171,383	31.5	138,647	25.5	159,303	29.3
1881.....	577,739	67,071	12.7	164,045	31.1	135,793	25.8	159,834	30.4
1891.....	572,640	63,464	12.3	156,661	30.3	133,947	25.9	162,940	31.5
1901.....	590,175	62,855	12.2	154,418	29.9	134,091	26.0	164,483	31.9

Source: *Agricultural Statistics of Ireland, with detailed report for the year 1901*, p. 15 [Cd. 1170], H.C. 1902, cxvi-Part I.

* Includes holdings of less than one acre.

† Does not include holdings of less than one acre.

Quoted in Schrier, *Ireland and the American Emigration*, Appendix, Table 11, 163.

Appendix B

The statistics on paupers in Ireland (A) during this period illustrate that the burden of maintaining the poor was considerably lightened, and the shift from tillage to grazing is readily apparent in the statistics on what was being cultivated (B) on Irish acreage between 1860 and 1900.

A. Paupers:

Table 15. Number of Paupers and Percentage of Total Population in Ireland, 1852-95

Year	No. in Workhouses	Percentage of Population	Year	No. in Workhouses	Percentage of Population
1852.....	166,821	2.60	1874.....	46,981	0.88
1853.....	129,401	2.06	1875.....	45,945	0.87
1854.....	95,190	1.54	1876.....	43,652	0.82
1855.....	79,211	1.30	1877.....	43,594	0.82
1856.....	63,235	1.04	1878.....	47,022	0.88
1857.....	50,665	0.84	1879.....	49,996	0.93
1858.....	45,790	0.76	1880.....	54,246	1.02
1859.....	40,380	0.67	1881.....	52,789	1.03
1860.....	41,271	0.69	1882.....	50,563	0.99
1861.....	45,136	0.78	1883.....	50,315	1.00
1862.....	53,668	0.93	1884.....	47,625	0.96
1863.....	57,910	1.01	1885.....	46,468	0.94
1864.....	56,525	0.99	1886.....	46,104	0.94
1865.....	53,917	0.95	1887.....	45,488	0.94
1866.....	50,280	0.90	1888.....	45,218	0.94
1867.....	52,154	0.94	1889.....	43,838	0.93
1868.....	53,690	0.97	1890.....	42,517	0.91
1869.....	52,247	0.94	1891.....	40,914	0.87
1870.....	49,186	0.89	1892.....	40,437	0.87
1871.....	46,005	0.85	1893.....	41,160	0.89
1872.....	45,753	0.85	1894.....	41,254	0.89
1873.....	46,711	0.87	1895.....	40,578	0.89

Quoted in Schrier, *Ireland and the American Emigration*, Appendix, Table 15, 165.

There is an interesting correlation between the above figures on paupers and the figures on emigration quoted earlier. Both sets of figures are even more revealing when related to the bad harvest years in Ireland, and especially when related to the bad potato harvest years of 1850, 1851, 1852, 1861, 1862, 1877, 1878, and 1879. These years result in an immediate and corresponding increase in paupers and a corresponding increase, with a time lag, in emigration.

B. Shift from tillage to grazing in Ireland from 1860 to 1900:

Year	Total Area (Statute Acres)	Cultivated Area (Crops & Grasses)	Crops (other than Meadow and Clover)	Meadow & Clover	Grass
1860.....	20,284,893	15,453,773	4,375,621	1,594,518	9,483,634
1880.....	20,327,764	15,340,192	3,171,259	1,909,825	10,259,108
1900.....	20,333,344	15,208,289	2,452,459	2,178,592	10,577,238

Quoted in *Ireland: Industrial and Agricultural*, ed. William P. Coyne (rev. ed., Dublin, 1902), 307.

Appendix C

There are no separate national income figures for Ireland. There are, however, decadal estimates of British national income for the whole of the nineteenth century.¹ If Irish national income had grown at the same rate as the British, and if we knew what the proportional relationship between them was at any given time, Irish national income would simply be a constant percentage of the British. Since Irish national income, however, was declining relative to the British in the nineteenth century, the problem becomes one of working out some meaningful declining percentage ratio between 1800 and 1900. We are fortunate in that at both the beginning and the end of the century we have some idea of what the relative proportions in wealth and income were between Britain and Ireland. The Act of Union, which was passed in 1800, had resulted in the amassing of much information as to what would be an equitable financial arrangement between the two countries. Ireland was eventually asked to assume a financial burden in relation to Britain in the ratio of 2:15 or 13.33 per cent.² I have, therefore, taken as my starting point that Irish national income in 1800 was some 15 per cent of British national income. In the 1890's a royal commission was appointed to inquire into the financial relations between Britain and Ireland, and especially to determine whether Ireland was being overtaxed in relation to its capacity to pay. Naturally this gave rise to much discussion as to what Ireland's national income actually was. In its "Final Report" in 1895 the commission came to the conclusion that Irish national income stood in relation to British national income in the ratio of 1:20, or 5 per cent.³

In the following table, therefore, I have taken the Irish national income in 1800 to be 15 per cent of the British, and in every succeeding decade I reduce that percentage by 1 until I arrive at the figure of 5 per cent in 1900.⁴ The results are somewhat crude, but useful, Irish national income figures for the nineteenth century. Further, in this table, I have taken the agricultural component, which remained relatively constant over the course of the century, of British national income and calculated the agricultural component of Irish national income as being 3/10 of the British agricultural component.⁵ I arrived at the figure of 3/10 in the following way. In Britain and Ireland in 1900 the areas under cultivation were 32,000,000 and 15,000,000 acres, respectively.⁶ On the basis of acreage, therefore, Ireland was in relation to Britain in the ratio of 15:32, or 47 per cent. Given that Irish agriculture was less efficient, more involved in grazing than tillage, and farther from the immediate market, to

¹ Phyllis Deane and W. A. Cole, *British Economic Growth, 1688-1959: Trends and Structure* (Cambridge, Eng., 1962), 166.

² Sir James O'Connor, *History of Ireland 1798-1924* (2 vols., London, 1925), I, 122-23.

³ "Final Report, Royal Commission on the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland," Parliamentary Papers, cmd. 8262, 1896. The best discussion of this whole question is found in Thomas Lough, *England's Wealth Ireland's Poverty* (London, 1897), 104-11; see also the Earl of Dunraven, *The Crisis in Ireland: An Account of the Present Condition of Ireland and Suggestions towards Reform* (London, 1905).

⁴ Deane and Cole, *British Economic Growth*, 168: "The Irish residuals seem to be about the right order of magnitude in terms of the United Kingdom estimates: that is to say they fall between 15 and 20 per cent of the United Kingdom total before the famine and its aftermath, and between 5 and 9 per cent after."

⁵ *Ibid.*, 166. See this table for agricultural component of British national income.

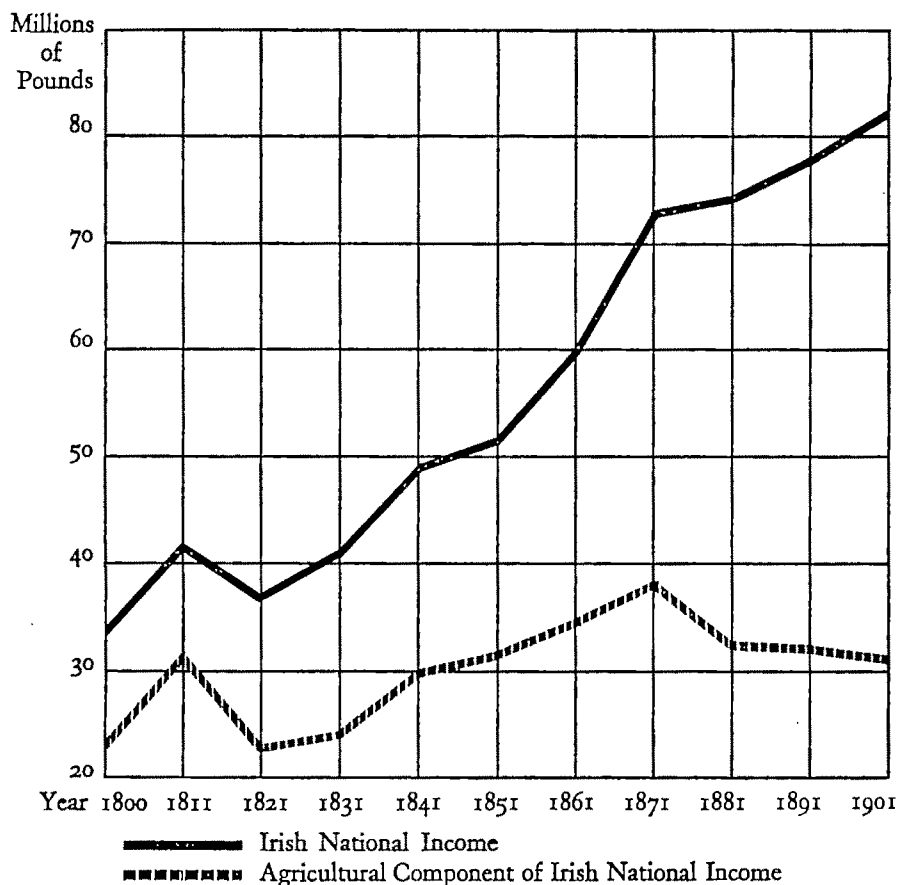
⁶ *Ireland: Industrial and Agricultural*, ed. William P. Coyne (Dublin, 1902), 307.

translate the acreage ratio into an income ratio is unreal, for it is much too high. The estimate of Deane and Cole, on the other hand, that in the 1900's Ireland accounted for between 20 and 25 per cent of the net output of agricultural seems too low if contemporary estimates are taken into consideration.⁷ I have, therefore, taken a figure of 3/10 of the British agricultural component to arrive at the Irish agricultural component in my table.

In the accompanying graph, based on my table, I have plotted Irish national income in the nineteenth century and the agricultural component of that national income. The lessons I mean to draw from these curves are noted in the text and footnotes of this article.

Year	British National Income	Estimated Irish Percentage	Irish National Income	British Agricultural Component of National Income	Irish Agricultural Component of National Income (3/10)
1801	232	15	35	75.5	23
1811	301	14	42	107.5	32
1821	291	13	38	76.0	23
1831	340	12	41	79.5	24
1841	452	11	50	99.9	30
1851	523	10	52	106.5	32
1861	668	9	60	118.8	36
1871	917	8	73	130.4	39
1881	1051	7	74	109.1	33
1891	1288	6	77	110.9	33
1901	1643	5	82	104.6	31

⁷ Deane and Cole, *British Economic Growth*, 174.



Appendix D

In the following table I have constructed some very crude per capita income figures for Ireland and Britain by dividing estimates of Irish and British national income from Appendix A by estimates of Irish and British populations in the nineteenth century. I have then arbitrarily decided to take the Catholic share of Irish national income as one-half for the whole of the century. This is obviously an overestimation, especially so in the first half of the century, but useful because it provides an upper limit. Even on the basis of these figures the per capita income for Catholics is appalling, especially when it is realized that a marginal subsistence figure must be subtracted from the per capita to learn what was available above subsistence. The Catholic and Protestant shares of Irish national income are the result of taking half of that income and dividing it by the estimated number of Protestants and Catholics in Ireland. The column designated "Margin for Catholics" is the result of taking the subsistence figure at £5 between 1801 and 1851, and graduating at £1 per decade upward until it stands at £10 in 1900. A family of five could subsist on £1 per week or £50 per year in Ireland in about 1900.

Table
Appendix D*

Year	Per Capita Income in Ireland	Per Capita Income in Britain	Catholic Share Ireland	Protestant Share Ireland	Margin for Catholics in Ireland
1801	6.7	21.7	4.6	13.0	-.4 (£5)
1811	7.3	24.8	4.6	15.5	-.4 (£5)
1821	5.5	20.5	3.3	13.6	-1.7 (£5)
1831	5.3	20.8	3.5	14.0	-1.5 (£5)
1841	6.1	24.4	3.8	16.1	-1.2 (£5)
1851	7.9	25.1	5.1	19.2	+1.1 (£5)
1861	10.4	28.8	6.6	24.0	+1.6 (£6)
1871	13.5	35.1	8.9	29.3	+1.9 (£7)
1881	14.4	35.3	9.3	30.8	+1.3 (£8)
1891	16.4	38.9	10.9	34.0	+1.9 (£9)
1901	18.4	44.3	12.4	35.6	+2.4 (£10)

* All figures in this table are in pounds.

Appendix E

The problem of determining what was available over and above subsistence of the Catholic share of Irish national income before and after the famine is complicated by the fact that any such determination rests on a number of assumptions that border very nearly on presumptions. We must first assume that the subsistence figure for an individual in Ireland before 1850 was £5 per year and afterward increased £1 per decade until it reached £10 per year in 1901. The second assumption involves making a distinction between those Catholics who lived in a money economy and those who did not, and arriving at some estimate of those who did not relative to those who did. This second assumption, furthermore, is a necessary correlative of the first. If we take the estimated total Catholic population (column 1) and multiply it by £5 (column 4) in any of the decades before the famine, we would arrive at a subsistence figure that would be greater than the estimated Catholic share of national income, which is impossible, and indeed results in the negative figures in the table in Appendix D. The negative factor seems to be that a large proportion of the Catholic population not only merely subsisted, or even existed outside the money economy, but was actually nonproductive and even parasitic on their potato patches. The real question, of course, is how large was this group. For the years before the famine I have estimated it as $\frac{1}{3}$ the Catholic population, and after the famine, when it was gradually broken up by emigration, I have reduced it decade by decade by $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{15}$, $\frac{1}{20}$, 0/0 (column 2). There is no doubt that the factor of $\frac{1}{3}$ for the fifty years before the famine is truer as we approach the famine than earlier in the century, and a graduated series, $\frac{1}{7}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, from 1800 to 1840 might be more appropriate. There is also no doubt that the £5 per year subsistence figure might also be modified or even graduated for these years, but until we have more information as to what subsistence figures actually were in the nineteenth century, and until we have some estimates of how large the subsistence and nonproductive sectors of the Catholic population were, it is best to proceed on the basis of constant, even if somewhat unreal, figures so as to be able to open the discussion with a point of departure. According to column 6 in this table, therefore, the amount available for investment over and above subsistence between 1800 and 1850 was £143,000,000 or £2,860,000 per year. For the fifty years after 1850, the amount available was £356,000,000 or £7,120,000 per year.

TABLE
Appendix E

Year	1 Estimated Catholic Population of Ireland	2 Estimated Catholic Population Less the Subsistence Sector	3 Estimated Catholic Share of National Income ($\frac{1}{2}$) in Millions of £	4 Estimated Amount for Individual's Subsistence in a Money Economy in Ireland	5 Total Subsistence Figure for Ireland in Millions of £ (column 2 multiplied by column 4)	6 Amount Available over and above Subsistence for Investment (column 3 minus column 5)
1801	3,900,000	2,600,000(1/5)	18	5	13.0	5.0
1811	4,600,000	3,100,000(1/3)	21	5	15.5	5.5
1821	5,800,000	3,900,000(1/3)	19	5	19.5	-0.5
1831	6,300,000	4,200,000(1/3)	21	5	20.0	1.1
1841	6,650,000	4,450,000(1/3)	25	5	22.2	2.8
1851	5,150,000	4,120,000(1/5)	26	5	20.6	5.4
1861	4,500,000	4,000,000(1/10)	30	6	24.0	6.0
1871	4,150,000	3,900,000(1/15)	37	7	27.3	9.7
1881	3,950,000	3,750,000(1/20)	37	8	30.0	7.0
1891	3,550,000	3,550,000(0/0)	39	9	32.0	7.0
1901	3,300,000	3,300,000(0/0)	41	10	33.0	8.0

The Impact of Christian Science on the American Churches, 1880-1910

RAYMOND J. CUNNINGHAM*

"Who knows," wrote a correspondent for the Massachusetts *Peabody Reporter* in 1878, "but that this little cloud . . . may grow till it covers the firmament. Some of the greatest developments of philosophy and religion . . . have sprung out of smaller and more humble beginnings than this."¹ Written twelve years after the date assigned by Mary Baker Eddy to the discovery of Christian Science and just two years after the appearance of her textbook, *Science and Health*, this casual observation was a remarkable prediction of the important place that the healing cult would assume in American religious life during the ensuing thirty years.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed the growing popularity of a class of practitioners, outside the ranks of the medical profession, committed to the cure of disease by mental therapeutics. Taking their lead from Phineas Quimby of Portland, Maine, the mental healers taught that all maladies are mental in origin, the result of false belief, and that cure lies in banishing belief in the ailment from the patient's mind. Scorned by physicians, mental healing was, in part, a response to the excessively somatic orientation of current medical practice.² From a broader perspective, however, it was also a popular expression of a widespread rebellion against scientific materialism—an aspect of the movement that was recognized by its more acute observers.

The revolt against scientism in the latter decades of the century was a diffuse and diversified trend, most clearly revealed at the higher reaches of thought in idealism and pragmatism, the two philosophical schools that dominated the period. Metaphysically antithetical though they were, these philosophies shared a common rejection of scientific determinism. It has been aptly observed that the postwar influence of idealism in the United

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¹ *Peabody Reporter*, July 2, 1878.

² Richard H. Shryock, "Cults and Quackery in American Medical History," *Proceedings of the Middle States Association of History and Social Science Teachers*, XXXVII (1939), 28-30. A biographical sketch of Quimby appears in the *Dictionary of American Biography* [hereafter cited as *DAB*] (22 vols., New York, 1928-58), XV, 304-305.

States was essentially religious in that its adherents turned to it as a modern antidote against materialism now that older orthodoxies seemed to totter.³ For its part, pragmatism, intent on defending the worth of individual human insights against the deadening hand of formalistic systems, found a significant place for such religious experience and values as helped the believer get on with the business of life. Christian Science reflected both these patterns of thought. The most thoroughly institutionalized expression of renascent idealism, the cult, nevertheless, offered itself on the wholly pragmatic grounds that faith would justify itself in works. It is suggestive in this connection that both Josiah Royce and William James had a more than passing interest in the development of religious therapeutics.⁴

During the 1860's, the future founder of Christian Science became a patient and student of Quimby. Then, in the ten years following that healer's death (1866), she compounded his system of mental therapeutics with an idealistic metaphysics and a pantheistic theology to create a distinctive creed, summarized in a brief doctrinal formula known as the "Scientific statement of being."

There is no life, truth, intelligence, or substance in matter. All is infinite Mind and its infinite manifestation, for God is All in all. Spirit is immortal Truth; matter is mortal error. Spirit is the real and eternal; matter is the unreal and temporal. Spirit is God, and man is His image and likeness; hence, man is spiritual and not material.

Consequently, "the only reality of sin, sickness, or death is the awful fact that unrealities seem real to human, erring belief. . . ."⁵

Mrs. Eddy, of course, insisted that her teachings were divinely inspired, and, from the outset, Christian Scientists and their critics argued bitterly over the origins of the founder's theories. There is, however, no question but that the organization she built to sustain them was her own creation. In 1879 a charter was secured for the Church of Christ (Scientist), a body of twenty-six members; two years later, the Massachusetts Metaphysical College, a training institute for students, was established at Lynn.⁶

Thus far there was nothing in the short annals of Christian Science to indicate a more influential future for it than for other current versions of

³ Herbert W. Schneider, *Religion in 20th Century America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), 173-74.

⁴ See Josiah Royce, "The Recent Psychotherapeutic Movement in America," *Psychotherapy: A Course of Reading in Sound Psychology, Sound Medicine and Sound Religion*, ed. William B. Parker (3 vols., New York, 1908-1909), I (No. 1, 1908), 17-36; on William James, see pages 894, 904, below.

⁵ Mary Baker Eddy, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* (Boston, 1900 [1875]), 464, 468.

⁶ Edwin F. Dakin, *Mrs. Eddy: The Biography of a Virginal Mind* (New York, 1929), 150-51, 164.

mental therapeutics. In 1882, however, Mrs. Eddy made a crucial decision: shaken by a schism among her oldest followers, she determined to move her organization from Lynn to Boston.⁷ Despite the inauspicious event prompting it, this relocation provided scope for the movement's full potential. Whereas, in Lynn, Christian Science had chiefly attracted workingmen and their families, recruits were now drawn from the more affluent ranks of business and professional groups.⁸ Christian Science gained, moreover, from the publicity it received in a city that claimed to be the intellectual and religious capital of the nation.

Although the story of Christian Science in the United States is quite well known,⁹ the reception of the cult by the historic churches has not been adequately examined. Clerical reaction spanned a broad spectrum of opinion, from utter rejection to cautious approval. By far the more numerous were the hostile observers—churchmen, for the most part, of a conservative theological bent that was reinforced by the belief that Christian Science posed a genuine threat to society and public health. Ministers, on the other hand, who expressed a degree of favorable interest were invariably more adventurous spirits, whose open-ended theologies emphasized the validity of a diversity of religious insights. Whatever their attitudes, however, the clergy soon came to realize that, despite the hopes of many and the prophecies of some, Mrs. Eddy and her faith were not passing fads that might be safely ignored.

Through 1885 attention to the new movement was largely confined to Boston and its environs. In these early years Mrs. Eddy could draw encouragement from several friendly voices raised in liberal clerical circles: two prominent Unitarian ministers, Andrew Preston Peabody¹⁰ and Cyrus A. Bartol, for example, befriended the Scientists. Bartol, a latter-day disciple of Ralph Waldo Emerson, displayed particular interest in Christian Science and mind cure. While rejecting its pantheistic aspects, he insisted that the movement was "no local, passing craze, but deserving and sure to have more attention than it has received."¹¹ In 1885 Phillips Brooks, the

⁷ *Ibid.*, 151–53, 164.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 84–85, 177; see also Alfred Farlow, "A Glance at the Personnel of the Christian Science Movement: A Statement of Mrs. Eddy's Faith, and the Names of Some Prominent People Who Believe in It," *Human Life*, IV (Jan. 1907), 5.

⁹ Among the principal historical studies of the movement are Dakin, *Mrs. Eddy*; Charles S. Braden, *Christian Science Today: Power, Policy, Practice* (Dallas, Texas, 1958); Robert Peel, *Christian Science: Its Encounter with American Culture* (New York, 1958). It must be borne in mind, however, that the policy of the Mother Church, which makes its archives largely inaccessible to scholars, has been a serious handicap to the study of the cult.

¹⁰ See *Christian Science Journal* [hereafter cited as *CSJ*], II (Apr. 1884), 3; *ibid.* (Dec. 1884), 2; *ibid.* (Jan. 1885), 2; *ibid.*, III (Apr. 1885), 13. A biographical sketch of Peabody appears in the *DAB*, XIV, 334–35.

¹¹ Cyrus A. Bartol, "The Pantheistic Panacea," *Unitarian Review and Religious Magazine*, XXIV (Dec. 1885), 509. A biographical sketch of Bartol appears in the *DAB*, II, 17.

renowned rector of Trinity Episcopal Church, preached a Saint Luke's Day sermon in which he took an understanding view of "the wise and learned, also the unwise and ignorant, methods of reaching physical conditions through the change of mental states. . . ."¹² Though not a Bostonian, Henry Ward Beecher was bound to New England by family ties and clerical acquaintances. The owner of an original edition of *Science and Health*, this famous Congregational preacher is reported to have remarked with characteristic expansiveness that it was "'one of the most wonderful books ever written.'"¹³

Such clerical good will was the exception rather than the rule. Even before the removal from Lynn, Adoniram J. Gordon, a Boston Baptist pastor with pronounced fundamentalist opinions, took the field with a pamphlet entitled *Christian Science Not Scriptural*. "We have heard much of . . . the extraordinary interest which it has excited," declared Gordon, "and . . . whatever results it may effect in healing the body, as affecting the heart, it has given grounds for suspicion that it is a system of spiritual malpractice, leading its subjects away from the simple faith of the Gospel into a vague and transcendental misbelief."¹⁴ In February 1885 Gordon renewed the attack in an open letter to the Reverend Joseph Cook, which the latter read at his Monday Lecture in Tremont Temple. "One has only to open the published volumes of its lady apostle in this city," wrote Gordon, "to find such a creed of pantheism and blasphemy as has been rarely compounded."¹⁵ In March Mrs. Eddy replied in the *Christian Science Journal*, the principal organ of the movement, and, a few days later, she appeared at a Monday Lecture to respond in person. Though Cook's introduction was said to show "exceeding disrelish,"¹⁶ her presence on the rostrum was a significant indication of how far she had come since the days in Lynn. "In . . . anathematizing Christian Science and its text-book, 'Science and Health,'" declared Mrs. Eddy with considerable exaggeration, "you . . . insult the sacred opinions of more than a hundred thousand readers of this book."¹⁷

The same year, the Reverend Luther T. Townsend, a conservative theologian at Boston Theological Seminary, published a book in which he

¹² Phillips Brooks, *The Light of the World and Other Sermons* (New York, 1890), 228-29; Alexander V. G. Allen, *Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks* (2 vols., New York, 1900), II, 578.

¹³ Margaret Beecher White, "Beecher and Christian Science," *Cosmopolitan*, XLV (Aug. 1908), 320.

¹⁴ Adoniram J. Gordon, *Christian Science Not Scriptural* (Los Angeles, 1877), 1.

¹⁵ *Id.*, quoted by Mary Baker Eddy, "Defense of Christian Science against Rev. Joseph Cook and Dr. A. J. Gordon's Religious BAN," *CSJ*, II (Mar. 1885), 1; "Joseph Cook's Lecture," *Advance*, XX (Mar. 5, 1885), 151.

¹⁶ "The Monday Lecture," *Congregationalist*, LXX (Mar. 19, 1885), 101.

¹⁷ Eddy, "Defense of Christian Science," 1.

denounced "the latest Boston craze" as "a self-contradictory hotch-potch."¹⁸ Townsend did not deny the therapeutic value of religious suggestion, but he insisted that the Scientists claimed too much. Thus, he made a startling proposal: if Mrs. Eddy or any of her followers would reset, without manipulation, a dislocated hip or ankle, he would contribute one thousand dollars to their cause; to any Christian Scientist who would restore sight to one born blind, he offered two thousand dollars.¹⁹ In reply, Mrs. Eddy asserted that, were she to take up the wager, Townsend would certainly be the loser. She declined to accept the minister's challenge, however, on the grounds that she was currently engaged, not in healing, but in teaching. Not to be outdone, she made a counterproposal: if Townsend would cure a case of drug addiction of twenty years' duration in three days, as she claimed to have done fifteen years before, he would receive three thousand dollars.²⁰ The minister was unimpressed by this response. "Is this Mrs. Eddy's only answer to the proposition made by us?" he inquired contemptuously. "For this is no answer. It is like the attempted answer of a fraud."²¹

Increasing concern about the growth of Christian Science during the early 1880's is evident in the discussions that it provoked at meetings of local ministerial associations. In 1885 a correspondent for the London *Times* reported from Boston that

clergymen of all denominations are seriously considering how to deal with what they regard as the most dangerous innovation that has threatened the Christian Church in this region for many years. Scores of the most valued church members are joining the Christian Scientist branch of the metaphysical organization, and it has thus far been impossible to check the defection.²²

In April 1885 Boston's Baptist clergymen assembled to hear a paper on Christian Science by the Reverend O. P. Gifford. A year earlier Gifford had taken issue with fellow ministers who "would rather see their friends die than subject them to this system."²³ Now he presented an essay that the Scientists themselves pronounced "a very ably written paper on the principles and work of Christian Science."²⁴ It is hardly surprising that Gifford's position provoked an exchange that "verged on the bitter and [that] was almost personal at times." When the meeting was at last thrown open to general discussion, several Christian Science supporters arose to defend the movement.²⁵

¹⁸ Luther T. Townsend, "Faith-Work," *Christian Science*, and *Other Cures* (Boston, 1885), 41, 42. A biographical sketch of Townsend appears in the *DAB*, XVIII, 618-19.

¹⁹ Townsend, "Faith-Work," 56.

²⁰ Mary Baker Eddy, "Prayer and Healing," *CSJ*, II (Feb. 1885), 5.

²¹ Townsend, "Faith-Work," 57, n.

²² *London Times*, May 26, 1885.

²³ O. P. Gifford, quoted by Boston *Morning Journal*, May 10, 1884.

²⁴ "The Baptist Ministers' Meeting," *CSJ*, III (May 1885), 38.

²⁵ Boston *Daily Advertiser*, Apr. 28, 1885. Gifford later adopted a more critical view.

About the same time the Congregational clergy gathered to hear the Reverend Stacy Fowler. Fowler, who had interviewed Mrs. Eddy, described her as "a remarkable woman" with "a powerful spiritual nature which is strangely off the track." Although he denied that the cult was itself scientific, the minister thought that "there are principles in the movement which true science may soon utilize. . . . A large per cent. of bodily disease is generated by states of mind."²⁶

Fowler and his listeners congratulated themselves that the Christian Science movement "promises to be short-lived,"²⁷ but such assertions expressed mere wishful thinking. In June 1887 Mrs. Eddy's *Journal* reported that sixty members of a congregation, apparently in a Boston suburb, had withdrawn from a service when the preacher launched an attack on Christian Science, while another local congregation sought the resignation of its pastor for the same reason.²⁸ More importantly, between 1885 and 1890, the cult entrenched itself in principal cities on both coasts and in the Midwest. While the *Journal* carried the good news to places far from Boston, graduates of the Metaphysical College, not a few of whom were former ministers, returned home to spread the faith.²⁹ By the end of the decade the Church of Christ (Scientist) boasted 8,724 communicants, gathered into 221 organizations, with property valued at \$40,666.³⁰ Appearing at the annual meeting of the National Christian Scientist Association (founded in 1886) at Chicago, in June 1888, Mrs. Eddy was greeted with frenzied acclaim, which the newspapers seized upon, thereby bringing her name to the attention of the nation at large.³¹

The broadened geographical basis of membership brought a similarly broadened basis of criticism. From the mid-1880's ministerial associations in cities as widely separated as San Francisco, Denver, and Cleveland were being warned against the vagaries of Christian Science.³² At St. Paul, B. Fay Mills, the noted evangelist, was chagrined to discover that a number

(See O. P. Gifford, "The Form and Substance of Christian Science," in *Searchlights on Christian Science: A Symposium* [Chicago, 1899], 125-26.)

²⁶ Stacy Fowler, "Christian Science," *Homiletic Review*, X (Aug. 1885), 135, 137, 140.

²⁷ "Christian Science," *Congregationalist*, LXX (Apr. 30, 1885), 149.

²⁸ "Preaching against Christian Science," *CSJ*, V (June 1887), 152.

²⁹ See, e.g., "Reverend Joseph Adams," *ibid.*, IV (May 1886), 49; "Sermons and Lectures," *ibid.*, IV (June 1886), 78. Mrs. Eddy often provided free tuition for clergymen. (Dakin, *Mrs. Eddy*, 205.)

³⁰ H. K. Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the United States Enumerated, Classified, and Described; Returns for 1900 and 1910 Compared with the Government Census of 1890; Condition and Characteristics of Christianity in the United States* (New York, 1912), xlv, 98.

³¹ Dakin, *Mrs. Eddy*, 201-205.

³² James H. Wiggin ["Phare Pleigh," pseud.], *Christian Science and the Bible: With Reference to Mary Baker G. Eddy's Science and Health* (Boston, 1886), 19; "The Christian Character of Christian Science," *CSJ*, V (Sept. 1887), 271; Herbert M. Tenney, *Christian Science: Its Truths and Errors* (Cleveland, 1888).

of decision cards, collected during his revival campaign, indicated Christian Science as the denomination of choice.⁸³

By the end of the decade the guardians of orthodoxy in New York had particular reason to be concerned, for an unusually vigorous Christian Science organization had developed, and the state soon ranked second in number of Scientists.⁸⁴ Here a leading critic was the Reverend James M. Buckley, editor of the influential New York *Christian Advocate*, a Methodist publication. In July 1887 Buckley put aside his theological antipathy to write a dispassionate analysis of the scientific aspects of Christian Science and mind cure for the urbane readers of the *Century*. While admitting the value of mental therapeutics, he dismissed the theoretical constructions of "these ethereal practitioners": "What they believe has practically nothing to do with their success."⁸⁵ Gratified that a magazine of the *Century's* stature had taken note of them, the *Christian Science Journal* observed that, although the minister did "not always separate the wheat from the tares," he was "generally fair and discriminating." Yet the *Journal* insisted on the importance of theory. "Shall we say," asked the writer, that "the belief of Mugwumps did not affect the election of President Cleveland? Their votes did it! but they voted, because they believed."⁸⁶

Although a steadily rising number of American Protestants were caught in "the whirl of the Eddy,"⁸⁷ many of these maintained their original denominational ties. "The strength of Christian Science," observed the Reverend Lathan Crandall, "is greater than can be measured by counting the number of communicants. In many evangelical churches may be found those who, without changing their church relationship, have fully accepted the teachings of Mrs. Eddy."⁸⁸ The continued participation of these individuals in parish life posed problems. "I have gone into the pulpit, suffering from overstrain and overwork," reported one minister, "when some good woman . . . has given me 'treatment' right there in the public congregation, and when at last I have, by the help of God, forced my jaded powers through the service, she has graciously claimed the victory for my survival!"⁸⁹ In 1891 the *Christian Advocate* indicated a more serious side of the

⁸³ William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York, 1959), 336.

⁸⁴ Carroll, *Religious Forces*, 98.

⁸⁵ James M. Buckley, "'Christian Science' and 'Mind Cure,'" *Century*, XXXIV (July 1887), 433. A biographical sketch of Buckley appears in the *DAB*, III, 231-32.

⁸⁶ "The Stir in the Century," *CSJ*, V (Aug. 1887), 215, 225.

⁸⁷ Edwin W. Bishop, "Congregationalism and Christian Science," *Congregationalist and Christian World*, LXXXIX (Oct. 8, 1904), 499.

⁸⁸ Lathan A. Crandall, "Explanations of the Growth of Christian Science," in *Searchlights on Christian Science*, 63.

⁸⁹ S. C. Bronson, *Delusions, Being a Series of Discourses Delivered in the First M.E. Church of Burlington, Iowa* (Burlington, Iowa, 1895), 11.

question when it stipulated "most decidedly" that "a Christian scientist . . . is not a suitable person to be a class-leader or Sabbath-school teacher."⁴⁰

Some ministers, who looked on Christian Science as utterly evil, sought to protect their flocks from contamination by expelling infected members. Thus, a Baptist pastor in Macon, Georgia, discovered such widespread sympathy for the cult among his parishioners that he determined to make an issue of it by excluding two members from fellowship.⁴¹ As more and more churchgoers openly avowed some degree of commitment to Mrs. Eddy's system, however, other clergymen rejected direct onslaughts. In 1894 the Reverend Lyman Abbott's *Outlook* perceptively pointed out to an apprehensive pastor that "incongruous and baseless as this system is as a philosophy, it is a natural and even righteous reaction against the materialism which, through the sensational philosophy of the eighteenth century, has found its way into the common thought of the nineteenth." Instead of attack, the publication urged the pastor to "see what truth there is in Christian Science, and preach that truth."⁴²

By the end of the 1880's outright defection from the historic churches became increasingly common, as Mrs. Eddy encouraged her students to sunder old churchly connections.⁴³ The climax of this separatist spirit was reached at the Cleveland meeting of the National Christian Scientist Association in June 1889. In resolutions adopted by the association, believers were "exhorted to attach themselves exclusively to Churches of Christ (Scientist), and where such churches do not exist, to join themselves . . . in provisional organizations for holding regular Sunday services, at the usual hour for such services, for the study of the Bible and SCIENCE AND HEALTH. . . ."⁴⁴

Accompanying the formation of Christian Science congregations was a simultaneous effort at centralization. In 1889 Mrs. Eddy, impelled by another schism, retired to Concord, New Hampshire, and commenced a massive reconstruction of her organization. Between 1889 and 1892, church, college, and association were disbanded, and in their place appeared a tightly controlled ecclesiastical structure, known as the First Church of Christ, Scientist, with headquarters at Boston. Under the new arrangement, rigid standards of orthodoxy were established together with the machinery for preserving them, as officials and members alike were

⁴⁰ "Answers to Inquiries," *Christian Advocate*, LX (May 14, 1891), 323.

⁴¹ "Are the Christian Scientists Christians?" *Church Economist*, II (Dec. 30, 1897), 169.

⁴² "Inoculating for Error," *Outlook*, XLIX (Mar. 25, 1894), 526.

⁴³ "Organization of the Christian Science Churches," *CSJ*, VII (Apr. 1889), 12-14; "Editor's Note Book," *ibid.* (May 1889), 97-99.

⁴⁴ "Official Minutes of the Fourth Annual Meeting, N.C.S. Association," *ibid.* (July 1889), 179.

brought under Mrs. Eddy's immediate jurisdiction.⁴⁵ Well might a clerical critic admit ruefully that "no religious belief is better organized than that of Christian Science."⁴⁶ "At last," said the Reverend Amzi Dixon, "we have a woman pope in America, who sits in her vatican at Concord and commands her votaries."⁴⁷

In the 1890's and early 1900's a succession of events attested to the secure position that Christian Science had achieved in the pluralistic religious structure of the nation. In September 1893 an impressive delegation of Scientists participated in the World's Parliament of Religions, held in conjunction with the Chicago Columbian Exposition. "No more striking manifestation of the interposition of divine Providence in human affairs has come in recent years," declared Charles C. Bonney, president of the World's Congress Auxiliary,

than that shown in the raising up of the body of people which you represent. . . . Catholic and Protestant, Baptist and Presbyterian, Methodist and Friends, Unitarian and Congregationalist, may all thank God for the new energy and life contributed to the world, and specifically to Christendom, by you and those whom you represent.⁴⁸

The *Congregationalist*, a publication in no way partial to Mrs. Eddy, had to report "that none of the congresses . . . has drawn such immense audiences as that of Christian Science."⁴⁹

Of more enduring significance was a great Christian Science building boom, sparked by the construction of the Boston Mother Church (1895) and the more impressive Mother Church Extension (1906). In cities throughout the country, gleaming classic temples, adorned with columned porticoes and crowned with domes of Tiffany glass, became the chosen architectural expressions of the new and prospering faith.⁵⁰ According to statistics of the United States census, the number of Christian Science church buildings advanced from 7 in 1890 to 1,104 in 1910.⁵¹ Nor did these handsome edifices lack worshipers. In 1900 the census figures showed that Christian Science held the allegiance of 48,930 individuals; ten years later this following had increased to 85,096.⁵² American churchmen did not miss the import of these

⁴⁵ Dakin, *Mrs. Eddy*, 244, 254-56, 259-62, 266-70.

⁴⁶ John K. Reed, *What Christian Science Really Is* (n. p., 1912), 48.

⁴⁷ Amzi C. Dixon, *Is Christian Science a Humbug?* (Boston, 1901), 23.

⁴⁸ Edward A. Kimball, *Answers to Questions concerning Christian Science. Remarks before the Congress of the World's Parliament of Religions Made by Hon. C. C. Bonney* (Boston, 1902), 24-25; see also William B. Johnson, "Christian Science at the World's Religious Congress," *CSJ*, XI (Nov. 1893), 337-46.

⁴⁹ Franklin, "The Parliament of Religions," *Congregationalist*, LXXVIII (Sept. 28, 1893), 416.

⁵⁰ Braden, *Christian Science Today*, 277.

⁵¹ Carroll, *Religious Forces*, 98, 440-41.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 440-41.

developments. The Reverend Andrew Underhill observed unhappily, in 1902, that Christian Science

has been rapidly acquiring property, and erecting temples of brick and stone—the permanent symbols of its determination to stay. On account of this . . . it will be more difficult to check or destroy; since its votaries have succeeded in establishing its corporate life as something definite and tangible, and the value of its pecuniary holdings gives it the potent influence of wealth.⁵³

Since the 1880's many clergymen had lamented the waning influence of the historic churches, and the advance of Christian Science was not infrequently viewed in this light.⁵⁴ Thus, the Reverend J. E. Roberts told a Kansas City congregation that "the church does not satisfy. . . . Whatever the future of the Christian Scientist movement may be, . . . [it] has offered a convenient door out of orthodoxy."⁵⁵ With the once crowded Wednesday evening service among the first casualties of a growing secularism, the steadfastness of the Scientists was much remarked. "How desirable it would be," exclaimed the Reverend J. W. Hegeman, "if our churches, like theirs, could have ninety per cent. of their members regularly attend the mid-week meeting, irrespective of unfavorable conditions!"⁵⁶

In the course of the 1890's the role of Christian Science in American life became a question of nationwide interest. Clergymen were joined by physicians, psychologists, lawyers, and journalists in persistent attempts to evaluate and to deal with the movement.⁵⁷ William James observed:

The mind-cure principles are beginning so to pervade the air that one catches their spirit at second-hand. . . . Complaints of the weather are getting to be forbidden in many households; and more and more people are recognizing it to be bad form to speak of disagreeable sensations, or to make much of the ordinary inconveniences and ailments of life.⁵⁸

⁵³ Andrew F. Underhill, *Valid Objections to So-Called Christian Science* (New York, 1902), 35.

⁵⁴ On the decline of church influence in American life, see Winthrop Hudson, *The Great Tradition of the American Churches* (New York, 1953), 199–200; Aaron I. Abell, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865–1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), 225–26; Henry F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York, 1949), 204–205.

⁵⁵ J. E. Roberts, "The Pulpit versus Christian Science," *CSJ*, XVI (Oct. 1898), 485.

⁵⁶ J. Winthrop Hegeman ["A Churchman," pseud.], "Must Protestantism Adopt Christian Science?" *North American Review*, CXCIII (Dec. 1913), 827. The problem of the midweek service was a recurring subject in the religious press of the period. (See, e.g., "The Problem of the Church Prayer Meeting," *Congregationalist*, LXXVIII (Nov. 16, 1893), 690–93; "Surgery or Therapeutics," *Congregationalist and Christian World*, XCVII (Feb. 27, 1904), 287–88.)

⁵⁷ See, e.g., James R. Angell, "Christian Science from a Psychologist's Point of View," *World To-Day*, VIII (Apr. 1905), 403–406; Frederick W. Peabody, *The Religio-Medical Masquerade: A Complete Exposure of Christian Science* (Boston, 1910); Samuel L. Clemens ["Mark Twain," pseud.], *Christian Science, with Notes Containing Corrections to Date* (New York, 1907).

⁵⁸ William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature, Being the Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion Delivered at Edinburgh in 1901–1902* (New York, 1902), 95; see also William D. Maxon, *Some Words on the Gospel of Health. Two Sermons in Christ Church, Detroit, February 9th and 23rd, 1908* (n.p., n.d.), 4–5.

The "magazine revolution" of the era was a principal factor in acquainting thousands of middle-class Americans with Mary Baker Eddy and her teachings. Editors of the new popular periodicals quickly discovered that the recluse of Concord made salable copy.⁵⁹ It is not too much to say that one could scarcely go among the reading public of 1900 without encountering interest in the cult.⁶⁰

As a result of the Christian Science vogue, clergy of all denominations came to view the movement with unwonted anxiety. "The time has come, in the judgment of many leaders of American Christian thought," warned the *Congregationalist* in 1901, "when the churches must bear witness against the spreading delusion. . . ."⁶¹ In a denunciation reminiscent of attacks launched earlier against the Mormons, an Episcopal minister agreed: "It is woeful to behold the havoc this dangerous, and now menacing deception has already accomplished; for it is one of the severest threats that have appeared against the stability of our modern civilization; and, if not overcome, its power for evil is incalculable."⁶²

Even American Catholicism and Judaism did not escape unscathed. Since the 1890's the *Christian Science Journal* reported conversions from these faiths,⁶³ and its claims received at least partial support from priests and rabbis. Although most Catholic spokesmen rightly pointed out that Scientists were "mainly men and women of Anglo-Saxon Protestant stock,"⁶⁴ a number of priests combated the cult with a vigor that betrayed its practical importance. In 1908 the Reverend Louis Lambert, a prominent Catholic controversialist, published an indictment that *Current Literature* pronounced "one of the strongest arguments against the new cult so far promulgated."⁶⁵ The same year, the Reverend Virgilius Krull indicated that he thought the threat of Christian Science sufficiently serious to warrant frequent attention at parish missions.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ The most discussed magazine treatment of Christian Science was the serialized biography of Mrs. Eddy by Georgine Milmine that appeared in *McClure's Magazine* between January 1907 and June 1908. See also Frank L. Mott, "The Magazine Revolution and Popular Ideas in the Nineties," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, LXIV (Apr. 1954), 195-214.

⁶⁰ An examination of the listings in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* between 1890 and 1910 reveals over 130 articles on Christian Science and Mrs. Eddy. See also Eugene Wood, "What the Public Wants to Read," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXVIII (Oct. 1901), 566-71.

⁶¹ "Christian Science Growth," *Congregationalist*, LXXXVI (June 8, 1901), 911.

⁶² Underhill, *Valid Objections*, 7-8.

⁶³ See, e.g., H.H.D., "From Catholicism to Christian Science," *CSJ*, X (Aug. 1892), 192-96; Perlita, "From Judaism to Christian Science," *ibid.* (May 1892), 65-68.

⁶⁴ Francis P. Duffy, "Reflections on Christian Science," *Catholic World*, XCII (Mar. 1911), 723.

⁶⁵ "The Roman Catholic Reply to Christian Science," *Current Literature*, XLVI (Apr. 1909), 408-10; see also Louis A. Lambert, *Christian Science before the Bar of Reason* (New York, 1908).

⁶⁶ Virgilius H. Krull, *A Common-Sense View of Christian Science* (Collegeville, Ind., 1908), 5; see also, e.g., Walter M. Drum, "The Meaning of Christian Science," *American*

Jewish communities, particularly those of Reform persuasion, were yet more unsettled by the problem of the "Christian Science-Jew." "One of the most significant facts favorable to the rapid growth of Christian Science," declared a Jewish convert in 1902, "is that many Jewish people are accepting it. . . ."⁶⁷ Although these Jews often denied that they were abandoning their heritage, Rabbi Stephen Wise was undoubtedly correct in stressing the desire for cultural assimilation as an important reason for the trend.⁶⁸ Invariably Jewish critics proclaimed the incompatibility of Christian Science and Judaism.⁶⁹ While ministers and priests denounced the cult for its radical departure from traditional Christianity, Jewish leaders rejected it for precisely the opposite reason: that it was essentially a Christian creed. At San Francisco, in 1911, a Grand Lodge of B'nai B'rith adopted a resolution forbidding membership to any Jew adhering to Christian Science.⁷⁰ A year later the Central Conference of American Rabbis, meeting in Baltimore, resolved "that Christian Science in its tenets and beliefs is essentially different from and in fundamental contradiction with Judaism, and that it is impossible for a Jew to accept Christian Science without thereby denying Judaism."⁷¹

As the movement entrenched itself, the attack on Christian Science tended to focus on four principal areas: the relation of the cult and its founder to historic Christianity; the moral tendency of its teachings; its bearing upon the Christian social ethic; and the hygienic implications of its therapy.

Ever since Mrs. Eddy confronted the forces of orthodoxy at Tremont Temple in 1885, her pen had more than once been employed in attempts to defend her teachings against charges of pantheism. In June 1898 her message to the Mother Church was devoted to this very question. "At this period of enlightenment," she asserted, "a declaration from the pulpit that Christian Science is pantheism is anomalous to those who know whereof they speak, who know that Christian Science is Science . . . and looms above

Catholic Quarterly Review, XXX (Jan. 1905), 132-33; Francis D. McGarry, "Cures of Christian Science," *Catholic World*, LXXXIX (June 1909), 373-74.

⁶⁷ Jacob Shield, "Christian Science and the Jewish People," *CSJ*, XIX (Feb. 1902), 687.

⁶⁸ Stephen S. Wise, *Why Jews Turn to Christian Science* (New York, 1921[?]), 148.

⁶⁹ See, e.g., Julian H. Miller, *Can a Jew Be a Jew and a Christian Scientist at One and the Same Time? And, Should a Jew Be a Christian Scientist? Two Lectures* (Chattanooga, Tenn., 1909), 6; Maurice Lefkowitz, *The Attitude of Judaism toward Christian Science* (n. p., 1912), 19.

⁷⁰ "Annual Convention of District Grand Lodge No. 4," *B'nai B'rith News*, III (Mar. 1911), 9.

⁷¹ Resolution, reprinted in Lefkowitz, *Attitude of Judaism*, no page. During the 1920's Rabbi Morris Lichtenstein undertook to meet the Christian Science threat with a "Jewish Science" movement, founded in 1922 in New York City; the movement still exists. (See Tehilla Lichtenstein, "Jewish Science," in *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, ed. Isaac Landman [10 vols., New York, 1939-43], VI, 142.)

the mists of pantheism higher than Mount Ararat above the deluge."⁷² Indeed, no criticism was more frequently voiced by clerical observers than this one, for it was deemed the root error of her theology. "It will be seen at a glance," declared one minister, "that, when Mrs. Eddy . . . denies the existence of a personal God, saying God is all in all, . . . she announces what is known in theology as pantheism, however strongly she may deny it."⁷³

One effect of the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions was to precipitate a wave of interest in sundry Oriental mysticisms. Like Christian Science, the three Eastern philosophies most popular in America—Theosophy, Vedanta, and Bahaism—were thrust into unaccustomed prominence,⁷⁴ and Christian spokesmen began to express concern.⁷⁵ At the same time clergymen were quick to perceive the common pantheistic denominator that linked Christian Science with these exotic creeds. Referring to Christian Science, Episcopal Bishop Hugh Miller Thompson of Mississippi complained that "we have a *melange* . . . of Oriental mysticism and thaumaturgy under Christian names, an attempt to connect our Lord with the wild dreams of Eastern Pantheism. . . ."⁷⁶ The Reverend Franklin Johnson also traced the ancestry of Christian Science to the Orient, but added that "it is not necessary to suppose that Mrs. Eddy studied any of the systems from which her theories are borrowed. Indeed, her book is so chaotic, so full of whimsies, caprices, and impossibilities of thought, as to render her entire ignorance of all systematic philosophy apparent." Johnson stressed, instead, the pervasiveness of New England transcendentalism, noting that "for many years before Mrs. Eddy wrote, there was much pantheistic mist and haze floating in the air about her, and she breathed it in her childhood."⁷⁷

While the extent to which Mrs. Eddy drew on transcendentalist sources is a moot point,⁷⁸ she certainly recognized an affinity with that school, and, "when the press and pulpit cannonaded" her textbook, she drew comfort

⁷² Boston *Journal*, June 6, 1898. This message was frequently republished as *Christian Science versus Pantheism*.

⁷³ Dixon, *Christian Science a Humbug?* 7-8.

⁷⁴ Wendell Thomas, *Hinduism Invades America* (New York, 1930), 72-76, 227.

⁷⁵ See, e.g., W. J. Lhamon, "Recent Theosophy and Its Antagonism to Christianity," *Andover Review*, XIX (Sept.-Oct. 1893), 570-81; Mabel Potter Daggett, "The Heathen Invasion," *Hampton's Magazine*, XXVII (Oct. 1911), 399-411; S. G. Wilson, "Is Bahaism Anti-Christian?" *Bible Magazine*, III (Aug. 1915), 681-98.

⁷⁶ William Short, *Christian Science: What It Is, What Is New, and What Is True about It* (with Introduction by Rt. Rev. Hugh Miller Thompson, D.D., LL.D., Bp. of Mississippi (New York, 1899), vi; see also F. F. Ellinwood, "Theosophy, Esoteric Buddhism, and Christian Science," *Homiletic Review*, XXXVI (Dec. 1898), 489-97; *ibid.*, XXXVII (Jan. 1899), 15-19.

⁷⁷ Franklin Johnson, "The Precursors of Christian Science," in *Searchlights on Christian Science*, 76, 83, 84.

⁷⁸ See, e.g., Woodbridge Riley, "Popular Bibles," in *Cambridge History of American Literature*, ed. William P. Trent et al. (4 vols., New York, 1917-27), IV, 527-28, 530; Dakin, *Mrs. Eddy*, 111; Sidney E. Mead, review of Perry Miller, *The Transcendentalists: An Anthology*, in *Journal of Religion*, XXXI (Jan. 1951), 53-54; Robert Peel, *Christian Science: Its Encounter with American Culture* (New York, 1958), 55, 88-89.

from the encouragement of Bronson Alcott.⁷⁹ For his part, the aging Alcott observed that "any touch of idealism . . . is to be regarded as a wholesome omen in these times of shallow materialism and atheistic dogmatism. . . ."⁸⁰ Thus, the ministers who discerned a parallel between Emerson's "Over-soul" and Mrs. Eddy's "All-in-all" penetrated to the fundamental heresy of both.⁸¹

There could, of course, be no place in such a scheme of thought for the central Christian dogmas of incarnation and atonement, at least in any orthodox sense. Indeed, Mrs. Eddy denied the divinity of the historical Jesus, asserting, rather, that he was but the unique embodiment of the Christ-idea and the foremost practitioner of Christian Science.⁸² It will be recalled that in this era of Biblical criticism liberal theologians were already making free with these doctrines to the great alarm of fundamentalist churchmen.⁸³ Not surprisingly, therefore, the latter were particularly alert to the implications of Christian Science on this count. "Christians may differ in their views of the atonement and the meaning of the crucifixion," declared the Reverend R. L. Marsh, "but what claim has a theory to the name of Christian that makes the death of our Lord one of 'the illusions of human belief,' and changes the awful reality of sin which caused his death into 'awful unreality'?"⁸⁴

Other clergymen expressed like indignation. "If there is no sin, there is no need of a Saviour," observed Dixon, "and the scene on Calvary becomes a stupendous farce." By way of refutation, Dixon evoked nineteenth-century evangelicalism's most potent emotional image, sinners washed white in the blood of the Lamb: "There is a peace that passeth all understanding in believing that my sins, which are real, have been atoned for by a real Saviour, and that real guilt has been put away by real atonement."⁸⁵

At the same time that Christian Science diminished the theological significance of Jesus, it elevated Mrs. Eddy to an eminence that outraged non-Scientists. The Reverend William McCorkle, a Presbyterian, in an indictment of the "new mariolatry," compared Roman Catholicism and Christian Science to the disadvantage of the latter: "Catholics are solicitous of Mary's favor, and attribute marvelous efficacy to her intercessions . . . but they do

⁷⁹ Mary Baker Eddy, *Pulpit and Press* (Concord, N. H., 1895), 9.

⁸⁰ *The Journals of Bronson Alcott*, ed. Odell Shepard (Boston, 1938), 490.

⁸¹ See Benjamin A. Greene, "The Future of Christian Science," and William H. P. Faunce, "The Philosophy of Christian Science," in *Searchlights on Christian Science*, 90-91, 37-38.

⁸² Eddy, *Science and Health*, 473.

⁸³ Clifton E. Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1960), 468-70.

⁸⁴ R. L. Marsh, *Faith Healing: A Defense or, The Lord Thy Healer* (New York, 1889), 134.

⁸⁵ Dixon, *Christian Science a Humbug?* 29.

not invest her with divine attributes. . . ."⁸⁶ There was evidence for the charge that Mrs. Eddy laid claim to superhuman status. Since the 1880's extravagant professions of faith had appeared in the *Christian Science Journal*.⁸⁷ Then, in December 1893, Mrs. Eddy published an illustrated poem, entitled *Christ and Christmas*. Not only were the verses composed by her, but the illustrations as well were executed under her supervision. Although neither the poem nor the prints possessed literary or artistic merit, the illustrations did bear weighty implications not lost upon her critics. One of these depicted a woman holding Jesus' hand and bearing a scroll inscribed "Christian Science"; both figures wore identical halos. Such was the denunciation from clergymen that the author felt obliged to withdraw the work from publication and to make a reply. "The clergymen may not understand," she explained obscurely, "that the illustrations in 'Christ and Christmas' refer not to my personality, but rather foretell the typical appearing of the womanhood, as well as the manhood of God, our divine Father and Mother."⁸⁸

Teachings so far removed from historic Christianity could hardly fail to appear diabolic to the orthodox. Indeed, not a few observers, consulting the Scriptures, saw in the advance of the cult a harbinger of the antichrist. The Reverend J. K. Reed, a Lutheran, pointed out with resignation that the Bible "predicts many things that are happening to-day. The rapid growth of false beliefs should not alarm us. . . . Christian Science may . . . fall into decay; or it may flourish until the end of this age, preparing the way for the Antichrist."⁸⁹ The Reverend William E. Blackstone, author of a well-known fundamentalist tract, noted that "Christian Science has swept over the country like a prairie fire . . .," a fact that he interpreted as evidence "that the end is near."⁹⁰

In view of the intimate connection between religious belief and ethical behavior, clerical critics passed easily from questions of faith to questions of morals. Many saw in Christian Science a revival of ancient Gnosticism, which, purporting to free men from the inherent evil of matter, had actually provided a philosophical basis for libertinism. "So, after the novelty of Mrs. Eddy's theory has worn off," declared the Reverend William Short, "I can readily see how her formula, that the body is nothing, and cannot

⁸⁶ William P. McCorkle, "A New Mariolatry," *Presbyterian Quarterly*, XII (Oct. 1898), 513.

⁸⁷ See, e.g., F. E. Mason, "Christian Science and the Church," *CSJ*, VI (June 1888), 110; "Extracts from Letters to Our Teacher," *ibid.*, VII (May 1889), 76.

⁸⁸ "Queries," *ibid.*, XI (Feb. 1894), 474. Publication of *Christ and Christmas* was resumed in 1897.

⁸⁹ Reed, *What Christian Science Really Is*, 46-48; see also G. H. Gerberding, *The Lutheran Pastor* (Philadelphia, 1902), 407.

⁹⁰ William E. Blackstone, *Jesus Is Coming* (Chicago, 1908), 231.

corrupt the soul, will be used as a cloak to cover shameless immorality and extreme self-indulgence."⁹¹ In this connection, Mrs. Eddy's allowance for the possibility of virginal conceptions among truly spiritual women was a source of scandal.⁹² "We would avoid slander," exclaimed the Reverend James Gray, ". . . but what shall be said of the moral character and moral effects of such teaching?"⁹³

The moral delinquency most frequently charged against the Scientists was avarice, an allegation first made by disaffected students⁹⁴ and later taken up by non-Scientists. Mrs. Eddy's vigilance in financial matters, especially where the copyrights to *Science and Health* and her other writings were concerned, received much unfavorable publicity.⁹⁵ So taxed were Mrs. Eddy and her disciples about the customary fees made for instruction and healing that she felt obliged to defend the practice.⁹⁶ Yet clerical critics remained unconvinced. "Indeed," declared the Reverend George Greene, "the entire structure of 'Christian Science' is cunningly and shrewdly built around the scheme of getting money. . . ."⁹⁷

As Christian Scientists, like regular medical practitioners, continued to take fees for their services, they remained the butt of unfriendly comment on this score. In *The Faith Doctor*, a novel by the former minister and popular author, Edward Eggleston, readers could discern in the greedy and aggressive "Miss Bowyer" the traits that, for many, constituted the stereotype of the Christian Science healer.⁹⁸ Much the same impression was recorded in the *Christian Advocate* by a versifier who offered "A Passing Thought."

She was a Christian Scientist
Of fast increasing fame,
And to her stately door one morn
A suffering "subject" came.
.
.
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"Ah! Sir," she said, "I'm leaving town,

⁹¹ Short, *Christian Science*, 33-34; see also Bronson, *Delusions*, 104-105; James M. Gray, *The Antidote to Christian Science, or How to Deal with It from the Bible and Christian Point of View* (New York, 1907), 6.

⁹² Dakin, *Mrs. Eddy*, 305-20.

⁹³ Gray, *Antidote to Christian Science*, 23; see also Ezra M. Wood, *Schools for Spirits* (Pittsburgh, 1903), 28.

⁹⁴ Dakin, *Mrs. Eddy*, 152, 238.

⁹⁵ M. W. Gifford, *Christian Science against Itself* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1902), 51; E. S. Plimpton, "Some Incidents of Practical Christian Science," in *Searchlights on Christian Science*, 104-105; see also Dakin, *Mrs. Eddy*, 143.

⁹⁶ Mary Baker Eddy, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1883-1896 (Boston, 1924 [1896]), 38.

⁹⁷ George F. Greene, *Christian Science and the Gospel of Jesus Christ* (Cranford, N. J., 1902), 14.

⁹⁸ Edward Eggleston, *The Faith Doctor: A Story of New York* (London, 1891). A biographical sketch of Eggleston appears in the *DAB*, VI, 52-54.

Cannot a moment wait;
 While on another now must I
 My whole mind concentrate.
 "But since it is too bad that you
 Should come so far for naught,
 As on I go I'll try to give
 Your case a passing thought."

 But ere a week had passed there came
 One more [morn?], a missive neat,
 "Oh this," he said, "I know is from
 Some maiden fair and sweet."

 Then from the envelope he drew
 The dainty little bill,
 But stared to see the price affixed
 To one wise woman's skill.
 "Five dollars for a 'passing thought!'"
 He groaned in deep chagrin;
 "Had her whole mind been fixed on me
 Bankrupt I must have been."⁹⁹

At the very moment when Christian Science was securing national attention, many Protestant ministers were concentrating their hopes for regaining a meaningful role in American life upon the social gospel. By admission of their own leaders, however, "Christian Scientists maintain[ed] no parish houses and conduct[ed] no institutional church work."¹⁰⁰ Social-minded clergymen seized upon this neglect. As one minister tartly remarked,

Christian Scientists lavish their wealth on buildings of stone and adorn them, that they may gratify their own esthetic tastes. And why not? Squalid poverty, with its cry of sick children in fetid atmospheres, dying for lack of an outing in the country, has no existence. The sickness, the pain, the impure atmosphere and the dying child are illusions of mortal mind.¹⁰¹

A particular source of scandal to tender clerical consciences was occasioned by the completion of the Mother Church Extension in 1906. Although Christian Science "builds a two million dollar temple for its own enjoy-

⁹⁹ Clara J. Denton, "A Passing Thought," *Christian Advocate*, LXV (Jan. 2, 1890), 14.

¹⁰⁰ Carol Norton, quoted in "Christian Science Gains," *Church Economist*, II (Dec. 23, 1897), 148.

¹⁰¹ Dixon, *Christian Science a Humbug?* 25; see also Reed, *What Christian Science Really Is*, 47.

ment," remarked the *Methodist Review*, "it has no hospitals, no free dispensaries, no missions in the slums, no orphanages. . . ." ¹⁰²

Closely related to philanthropic considerations were the medical and hygienic implications of the movement. To be sure, Americans were becoming increasingly aware of the principles underlying mental therapeutics, and there was little disposition to deny Christian Science curative claims out of hand. Few observers, however, thought that such successes as the Scientists had outweighed the dangers of their theory. Clerical critics who were harshest in their rejection of the cult on theological grounds also depicted its hygienic risks in darkest hues. "Christian Science is a humbug," charged Dixon, "in that it professes to relieve the suffering of humanity. . . . Blot out all knowledge of sanitation, of anesthetics, of surgical skill, all knowledge of the human body, and you have multiplied the pain which humanity would be compelled to endure." ¹⁰³

Such views were reinforced by the prevailing attitude of the medical profession. While some physicians were sufficiently candid to recognize in Christian Science a reflection upon their own deficiencies, ¹⁰⁴ medical voices generally sounded an antagonistic note. In the course of the 1890's, the hostility of the American Medical Association grew until, at last, it denounced the Scientists as "Molochs to infants, and pestilential perils to communities in spreading contagious diseases." ¹⁰⁵

The practical outcome of these opinions was the initiation of numerous suits against Christian Scientists and other mental healers and the introduction of state legislation aimed at preventing irregular healers from practicing. Among those who endorsed such restrictive legislation were many clergymen. "This insufferable movement, in its manifestation as a healing art or profession," declared one New York pastor, "is a menace to the community; . . . the same law which maintains quarantine and municipal health precautions and cleanliness . . . should put down with ruthless hand the practice of this pseudo 'Science' which, under a religious guise, has already committed so many shocking murders." ¹⁰⁶

There was, however, a surprisingly strong current of popular objection to legislation of this sort. In sympathy with this misgiving was the Reverend Richard Heber Newton, an Episcopal clergyman prominently identi-

¹⁰² " 'Christian Science,' " *Methodist Review*, LXXXVIII (Sept.-Oct. 1906), 826.

¹⁰³ Dixon, *Christian Science a Humbug?* 21.

¹⁰⁴ Richard C. Cabot, "One Hundred Christian Science Cures," *McClure's Magazine*, XXXI (Aug. 1908), 475.

¹⁰⁵ " 'Christian Science' and Medical Practitioners," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, XXXIII (Oct. 21, 1899), 1049; see also "Christian Science," *ibid.*, XXV (Oct. 5, 1895), 591; "Christian Science and the Law," *ibid.*, XXI (Nov. 19, 1898), 1247.

¹⁰⁶ Underhill, *Valid Objections*, 48.

fied with liberal theological and social views, who warned against attempts "to stamp out Christian Science by legislation. Too much of the best in the regular therapeutics of our day has been of illegitimate parentage to warrant such heroic measures."¹⁰⁷ In *Christian Science: The Truths of Spiritual Healing and Their Contribution to the Growth of Orthodoxy* Newton lived up to his reputation as a liberal churchman. He stated:

My hope is that this presentation . . . may dispose some to welcome the real truths of what is known as Christian Science, while guarding them against the errors and exaggerations incident to a new enthusiasm; and that it may aid such as find needed truths in this mental movement to accept them, without feeling constrained thereby to leave their old churches. . . .¹⁰⁸

While rejecting the Scientists' denial of the material body and their repudiation of the physician, he accepted their therapeutic success and believed that they pointed toward the method employed by Jesus.¹⁰⁹

The climax of what Newton termed "this foolish crusade"¹¹⁰ to proscribe Christian Science healing was reached during the 1890's when the Massachusetts legislature introduced bills that would require mental healers to pass examinations prescribed by the state medical board for doctors of medicine.¹¹¹ Since the healers obviously could not meet such requirements, the clear intent of the proposed legislation was to eliminate mental healing by irregulars. The widespread disapproval that greeted these efforts was reflected in the establishment of the National Constitutional Liberty League in Boston to counteract such measures.¹¹²

One of the most prominent members of the league was Benjamin O. Flower, editor of the muckraking *Arena*. In addition to his belief that the physicians were attempting to create a medical monopoly,¹¹³ Flower was also motivated by a high regard for Christian Science. Although not a Scientist himself, he held that faith to be perfectly suited to the task of correcting basic flaws in contemporary American civilization. "Christian Science," declared Flower, "has come with its message instinct with spiritual vitality at an hour in our country's history when a vicious opportunistic materialism is advancing like creeping paralysis over the body politic, the business, educational and religious life of the nation."¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁷ Richard Heber Newton, *Christian Science: The Truths of Spiritual Healing and Their Contribution to the Growth of Orthodoxy* (New York, 1898), viii.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, iv.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 49, vi-viii, 3, 16-17.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, viii.

¹¹¹ *The Letters of William James*, ed. Henry James (2 vols., Boston, 1920), II, 67.

¹¹² Benjamin O. Flower, *Progressive Men, Women, and Movements of the Last Twenty-Five Years* (Boston, 1915), 314.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 307-308.

¹¹⁴ Benjamin O. Flower, *Christian Science as a Religious Belief and a Therapeutic Agent*

A similar distaste for monopoly,¹¹⁵ together with a recognition of the medical significance of the data accumulated by the mind-curists, led the physician-psychologist, William James, to protest against the Massachusetts bills. "I assuredly hold no brief for any of these healers . . .," said James. "But their *facts* are patent and startling; and anything that interferes with the multiplication of such facts . . . will, I believe, be a public calamity."¹¹⁶ As a pioneer in the field of religious psychology, James was fascinated by Christian Science and mind cure. To this pragmatist, the popular appeal of the movement was a measure of the ineffectiveness of contemporary Christianity. "The ideas of the Christian churches," James declared, "are not efficacious in the therapeutic direction to-day, whatever they may have been in earlier centuries. . . . The mind-cure with its gospel of healthy-mindedness has come as a revelation to many whose hearts the church Christianity had left hardened."¹¹⁷

Among the ministerial critics of Christian Science were an increasing number of those who, like Newton, sought to reverse James's judgment by stressing the "truths" rather than the "errors" of the movement. In 1903 Bishop Samuel Fallows of the Reformed Episcopal Church in Chicago summed up these "great truths" in his *Science of Health* as "the divine, yet thoroughly human law, of Suggestion. . . ."¹¹⁸ After 1906 the efforts of these clergymen were largely channeled into the Emmanuel Movement, a new type of church work based on clerical-medical cooperation in parish mental health clinics and group therapy classes. Founded by the Reverend Elwood Worcester at Boston's Emmanuel Episcopal Church, this novel program to combat the appeal of Christian Science was the origin of modern pastoral counseling. By 1912 Worcester's plan of religiously oriented, suggestive therapeutics had become national in scope, touching all the major denominations, and was a significant factor in stemming "the tide which is sweeping thousands . . . from the medical profession and from the Church."¹¹⁹ The lesson of Christian Science was an important spur to the development of a healing ministry within the historic churches during the twentieth century.

Mrs. Eddy's death, in December 1910, occasioned surprisingly little com-

(Boston, 1909), 37. Flower's fellow reformer, Ray Stannard Baker, shared similar views. (See "Notebook J," 34, Ray Stannard Baker Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.)

¹¹⁵ William James, quoted by Flower, *Progressive Men, Women, and Movements*, 114.

¹¹⁶ *Letters of William James*, ed. Henry James, II, 69.

¹¹⁷ James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 112-13.

¹¹⁸ Samuel Fallows and Helen M. Fallows, *Science of Health from the Viewpoint of the Newest Christian Thought* (Chicago, 1903), preface.

¹¹⁹ Elwood Worcester and Samuel McComb, *The Christian Religion as a Healing Power: A Defense and Exposition of the Emmanuel Movement* (New York, 1909), 29. On the Emmanuel Movement, see Raymond J. Cunningham, "The Emmanuel Movement: A Variety of American Religious Experience," *American Quarterly*, XIV (Spring 1962), 48-63.

ment in church circles.¹²⁰ She had been failing for years, and, more than once, her passing had been rumored.¹²¹ Various factors, moreover, conspired to reduce the importance of her movement. As the medical profession began to cope more effectively with ailments of mental origin by means of new methods of psychotherapy,¹²² there was less reason for patients to seek out irregular healers. Similarly, as the historic churches undertook to preach the gospel of health under the aegis of the Emmanuel Movement, many parishioners with leanings toward the Mother Church could now be held. It thus became increasingly possible for the clergy to view Christian Science with a certain equanimity. Writing the year after Mrs. Eddy's death, the Reverend Lyman Powell, a well-known investigator of the cult, correctly gauged the principal significance of the movement. "The mystery surrounding both the founder and the faith is gone," declared Powell.

But the fact remains that Mrs. Eddy and her followers identified themselves as have no other people in the world with the religious and philosophical revolt against materialism, and if as years go by they prove wise enough to eliminate the crass and the crude, the foolish and the dangerous, and to profit by the criticism, not all of which has been ill-natured or disrespectful, which they have of late received, Christian Science may become a blessing to the world.¹²³

¹²⁰ See, e.g., "The 'Discoverer and Founder' of Eddyism," *Christian Advocate*, LXXXV (Dec. 8, 1910), 1708-1709; "Chronicle and Comment," *Churchman*, CII (Dec. 10, 1910), 926.

¹²¹ Dakin, *Mrs. Eddy*, 356, 363, 390, 425, 471, 472, 496.

¹²² See John C. Burnham, "Psychoanalysis in American Civilization before 1918," doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1958, and "Psychiatry, Psychology and the Progressive Movement," *American Quarterly*, XII (Winter 1960), 457-65.

¹²³ Lyman Powell, "Science, Christian. II. Judicial Estimate of the System," *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (13 vols., New York, 1908-14), X, 292. In later years Powell became increasingly sympathetic to Mrs. Eddy. (See *id.*, *Mary Baker Eddy: A Life Size Portrait* [New York, 1930].)

The Conversion of Myths into Political Power: The Case of the Nazi Party, 1925-1926

DIETRICH ORLOW*

POLITICAL myths are an integral part of political life in all twentieth-century mass societies. The unfailing idealism of the founding fathers, the infallibility of Lenin, the inevitably glorious destiny of France—all of these familiar affirmations are examples of political myths; they constitute generalizations that oversimplify or distort objective reality for the conscious or unconscious purpose of increasing emotional mass support for a particular leader or party. While both totalitarian and democratic politicians create and use myths, they employ them for quite different purposes. For a democratic political figure myths are not weapons with which to destroy the political framework of the society. Since there exists widespread agreement on the rules of the political game, myths are integrated into the discussion of issues, not of the system itself.

The situation is tragically different when a faction of the politically articulate members in a mass society uses political myths as part of its effort to destroy a democratic framework. In this context political myths have the function of perverting and distorting reality, rather than merely increasing the political impact of substantive issues. The supporters of an antidemocratic party willingly accept the group's myths as reality, even empirically verifiable reality.¹ The myths structure all experience and beliefs so that the myths' supporters can become effective and obedient followers of a totalitarian party, but never members of a politically mature electorate. In small numbers they are objects of ridicule; in large masses they undermine and finally destroy any system of parliamentary democracy.

German society after World War I was an ideal incubator for a wide variety of totalitarian myths. The successive internal and external shocks that eventually destroyed the Wilhelmian *Reich* left a society that was in

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¹ Hannah Arendt has described this phenomenon in *Origins of Totalitarianism* (Cleveland, 1958), 351.

sociopsychological terms disorganized or disengaged.² Large numbers of Germans found themselves in a political vacuum: they were empirically unable to structure their lives within the authoritarian framework of the Second *Reich*, yet they refused to accept the parliamentary norms of the Weimar Republic. All too many Germans escaped this dilemma by fleeing to the comfortable unreality of the folkish myths. These created an unreal German past, present, and future. The contents varied somewhat, depending upon the geographic location and historical heritage of the myths' authors. In northern Germany the myths pictured a harmonious pre-1914 society that had been governed not by a neofeudal oligarchy but by selfless Prussian officials inspired by the example of charismatic leaders such as Frederick the Great³ or William I. In the south the myths lingered lovingly over the supposed bliss of small-town life with its absence of urban and industrial problems. All versions of the myth agreed on the reason for the collapse of this almost perfect society in the First World War. Germany's military defeat, and hence the establishment of the despised republic, was not the result of military setbacks but a consequence of an international Jewish politico-financial conspiracy. Nor was there much disagreement over the necessary future path of the *Reich*. Only a new consciousness that the "*Volk* [formed] . . . a single, great family," a concept that "could not be grasped rationally, only emotionally,"⁴ would eliminate party multiplication, social atomization, and uncertainty of status in the future Germany. The Prussian and southern versions were equally unanimous in regarding democracy and Jewish influence (the two factors tended to become fused into one force in the myths) as primary obstacles to be overcome on the road to the folkish state. They differed, however, on their choice of leadership for the folkish rejuvenation movement. The "Prussians" tended to favor a return to the hereditary monarchy, while the southerners looked for a popularly acclaimed military or political hero, such as Erich Ludendorff or Adolf Hitler.

Adolf Hitler neither invented these myths, nor was he alone in recognizing their potential political usefulness.⁵ Long before he became promi-

² Zevedei Barbu, *Democracy and Dictatorship: Their Psychology and Pattern of Life* (New York, 1956), 123; and Herbert Blumer, "Social Disorganization and Individual Disorganization," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII (Aug. 1937), 871-77.

³ Significantly enough, the title of one of the major postwar folkish weeklies was *Fridericus*.

⁴ The formulation is Friedrich Plümer's in his anti-Hitler pamphlet, *Die Wahrheit über Hitler und seinen Kreis* (Munich, 1925), 68.

⁵ In 1923 Germany had forty-two folkish organizations in addition to the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP). (See the untitled compilation in the folder "Betreff: Verbotene Organisationen (rechts gerichtete) 1923-1936," *Bayerisches Allgemeines Staatsarchiv* [hereafter cited as BASTA], No. 71536.)

nent, political support for the myths was well established among two chronologically and sociologically quite distinct groups. The older believers, the "pioneers" as Joseph Goebbels sarcastically dubbed them,⁶ graduated to the postwar fellowship after an apprenticeship in the prewar anti-Semitic movement. Born in the years 1860-1890, primarily of lower-middle-class origins, they saw their social status as shopkeepers or minor officials endangered even before the war and turned desperately to the then ineffective anti-Semitic, antiurban, anti-industrial organizations with their club-like atmosphere and weekly beer evenings. For them the heart of the folkish program was the demand that the social status of the lower middle classes be safeguarded against progressive industrialization and urbanization, evils that they in turn personalized as Jewish manipulations.

The second group was recruited primarily from the "front-generation," that is, those born in the years between 1890 and 1900. They were quite often too young to have achieved a position of status in the prewar *Reich*, and for many of them standing in the trenches of World War I and experiencing there a sense of "frontline socialism" had been the most moving event of their lives. Consequently, for the second group the folkish program was a form of social idealism rather than social reaction. Instead of attempting to mobilize the middle classes, they hoped to tap "the fermenting power that resides in the people."⁷ Specifically, they proposed to convert the proletarian masses from a belief in international socialism (Marxism) to faith in National Socialism.⁸ They self-consciously looked upon themselves as "revolutionaries," ridiculing the futile efforts of those who "always remain decent and subdued, the savers [and] the social security recipients."⁹ Despite their sharp divisions over many substantive and tactical issues, the two groups worked effectively together. They held identical convictions on two of the most important segments of the folkish myths: both were passionately and irrationally anti-Semitic and antidemocratic, and both demanded a personal dictatorship as the only suitable form of government for Germany.¹⁰

⁶ Joseph Goebbels, "Die Radikalisierung des Sozialismus," *NS-Briefe*, No. 6 (Dec. 15, 1925).

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 3 (Nov. 1, 1925).

⁸ See, e.g., the resolution of district leaders in the Cologne area, in *Gauleitung Rheinland-Süd to the Reichsleitung*, Mar. 2, 1925, in *Bundesarchiv, Schumacher Sammlung*, No. 203. This desire to establish contact with the laboring masses was at times carried to quite naïve extremes. Fritz Seifert, for example, became head of the Göttingen local because "he was a manual laborer." (See Ludolf Haase, "Aufstand in Niedersachsen" [handwritten manuscript; Göttingen (?), 1942]; cited after the two-volume typescript copy in the possession of the *Forschungsstelle für die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus in Hamburg* [hereafter cited as *Forschst. NS. Hbg.*], I, 76.)

⁹ Goebbels, "Radikalisierung."

¹⁰ The best over-all discussion of the "revolutionary" Right is in Otto-Ernst Schüddekopf, *Linke Leute von rechts: Die nationalrevolutionären Minderheiten und der Kommunismus in der Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart, 1960). For the "pioneers," see Peter G. J. Pulzer, *The Rise*

In November 1923 Hitler and the folkish movement of Bavaria had attempted to overthrow the republic. This *Putsch* failed, and for a year (November 1923–December 1924) Hitler moved to comfortable prison cells in Munich and Landsberg. During his absence most of his followers lost interest in party activities,¹¹ and those who remained active split into several factions. In Bavaria the *Grossdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft* (Greater German People's Association, GDVG) became the major successor organization. Its prominent figures were the old Nazi leaders or officials, Hermann Esser, Julius Streicher, Franz X. Schwarz, and Max Amann, and the strength of its membership lay in the cities of Munich, Nuremberg, and Bamberg.¹² In northern Germany, where the old NSDAP had not been a major political factor, most of the few locals that did exist merged with the ideologically similar *Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei* (German Folkish Freedom party, DVFP) to form the *Nationalsozialistische Freiheitspartei* (National Socialist Freedom party, NSFP) in the spring of 1924.¹³ Both the NSFP and the GDVG pledged eternal loyalty to the imprisoned Hitler and simultaneously accused the rival group of betraying the former leader. A unity conference at Weimar in the summer of 1924 brought no solution: the northern group (with the general's permission) nominated Ludendorff as substitute hero, but Streicher and Esser refused to bow before the name of the man modestly introduced as the "victor of Tannenberg."¹⁴

In the meantime Hitler had gone into temporary retirement. Apparently he began his prison term with the hope that he could lead or at least arbitrate the various factions from his cell, but he soon found that this was impractical. While he became the dumping ground for innumerable complaints and countercomplaints, he was unable to exercise compensatory personnel and organizational control. In July he pronounced himself an unemployed politician again, and thereafter (until his release) he categorically refused to intervene in the quarrels of his successors.¹⁵

of *Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria* (New York, 1964). The correlation between youth and revolutionary ideology is characteristic of revolutionary movements in general. (See Harry Eckstein, "On the Etiology of Internal Wars," *History and Theory*, IV [No. 2, 1965], 156.)

¹¹ Between May and December 1924 the combined folkish vote dropped from 1,900,000 to 900,000.

¹² GDVG, "Rundschreiben," Aug. 7, 1924, page 3 in National Archives Microcopy No. T-581 [hereafter cited as NA, T-581], roll 42, folder no. 857.

¹³ Joachim Haupt, "Bericht über die Tagung der nordd. nat. soz.-en [sic] Verbände in Harburg," Sept. 7, 1924, *ibid.*, roll 6, folder 141; Haase, "Aufstand," II, 569.

¹⁴ Hitler had originally appointed Alfred Rosenberg as organizational caretaker, but the party's chief pseudo intellectual proved completely incapable of keeping the organization together. On Rosenberg's appointment, see *Reichsleitung* to *Ortsgruppe* Hannover, Dec. 5, 1923, *ibid.*, I, 361. On the Weimar meeting, see Reinhard Sunkel, "Nationalsozialistische Vertretertagung in Weimar vom 20. Juli 1924," *Forschst. NS. Hbg.*, folder "NSDAP-NSAG"; and Haase, "Aufstand," II, 500.

¹⁵ GDVG, "Rundschreiben," Aug. 7, 1924, in NA, T-581, roll 41, folder 857.

Hitler remained silent, but his successors quarreled on. By the end of the year, the feud of the GDVG and the NSFP had left seemingly irreconcilable personal differences among the various leaders and created a serious north-south split in the movement. In addition, the interregnum had raised the Ludendorff problem. Hitler had always attempted to associate his party and himself with Ludendorff's respected position in folkish circles. The question of relative position, that is, Ludendorff before Hitler or vice versa, had not arisen in the old party. But Ludendorff's clear option at Weimar for the NSFP and against the GDVG made a political identification of Hitler and Ludendorff considerably more difficult for the folkish followers. This in turn rendered the organizational expansion of the party north of Bavaria a dubious political advantage for Hitler. To be sure, the fusion with the DVFP had increased the number of Nazi-folkish locals in the north,¹⁶ but for many of the northern members Ludendorff was a real and active figure of leadership while Hitler remained a somewhat abstract symbol of martyrdom.

The Nazi movement that Hitler confronted on his release from Landsberg in December 1924 was in a state of decline and organizational dissolution. This was not, however, a totally unwelcome development for Hitler. The *Führer* had learned some political lessons since the disaster of 1923. The failure of the *Putzsch* had convinced him that further attempts to overthrow the republic by force would be futile. Consequently, the old party with its image of a compact pseudomilitary shock troop was not only anachronistic, but, in view of Hitler's probationary release from jail, politically dangerous. In the new party he needed a political not a military following. And, while a *Putzsch* may be carried out by a few thousand well-organized men, winning power through the ballot box requires disciplined, bureaucratized mass support distributed over a wide geographic area. In November 1923 the NSDAP did not have this kind of support: it was not an all-German party, and its organizational distinction from the rest of the Bavarian folkish movement was not always clear.¹⁷ To establish his new party, Hitler needed the support of both the "pioneers" and the "revolutionaries." Because of their differences, both needed to place him above their programmatic aims; he had to become the party's program.¹⁸ In other

¹⁶ Most of the old Nazis in the north joined the NSFP, and the political focal point of the entire movement during the interregnum was outside Bavaria. (See, *Reichskommissar für die Überwachung der öffentlichen Ordnung* [hereafter cited as R. Ko. In.], "Lagebericht Nr. 106," Aug. 22, 1924, in *Bayerisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv* [hereafter cited as BGStA], MA 101235.)

¹⁷ On the integration of the old NSDAP into the Bavarian far Right, see Hanns Hofmann, *Der Hitlerputsch* (Munich, 1961).

¹⁸ Plümer, *Wahrheit*, 18, attacks Hitler for attempting precisely this.

words, for the members and supporters of the new NSDAP Hitler had to become the personalized fusion of folkish means and ends. Not only should he be the embodiment of the leader myth, but his followers had to visualize his personal political successes and the realization of the folkish program myths as inseparable developments.

In December these seemed almost utopian goals, but Hitler's failure at the Feldherrnhalle, his trial, and his imprisonment had provided him with one undeniable asset as he began to reorganize his party: he came back a hero and folkish saint. His suffering and his lofty silence enabled him to step more boldly than ever into the role of fulfiller of the leader myth. His trial and Landsberg made him into a martyr, whose release every Nazi successor organization had eagerly awaited.¹⁹

An image without organizational reality was, nevertheless, meaningless. Hitler had to establish some immediate organizational priorities as the first step in his program of rebuilding. Should he attempt to rebuild the party first in the north or in Bavaria? His entire political background had been Bavarian, but the GDVG was a problematic nucleus for a rebuilding program. The leaders of this three-city movement, Streicher and Esser, had much popular appeal in Bavaria, but they were particularly unpopular among the Nazis in the north. The GDVG, nonetheless, had two assets that Hitler could not ignore: it controlled the remains of the Nazi movement in Munich, and it administered the remains of the party newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*.

Hitler never underestimated the importance of a central party organ, and at the end of 1924 a leading GDVG member, Amann, controlled the remains of the Franz Eher publishing house. Although Eher employed only three persons at the end of the interregnum, Amann, the executive secretary of the old NSDAP, had preserved the legal and organizational continuity of the house so that it needed merely to be enlarged, not re-established.²⁰ The *Beobachter* was to become again an indispensable ideological and organizational link between the party's central leadership and its local and provincial membership. Hitler frequently used the pages of the *Beobachter* to give ideological clarification and interpretation to current political issues so that control of the newspaper was a major means of

¹⁹ Haase, "Aufstand," I, 368 ff.; and GDVG, "Rundschreiben," Aug. 7, 1924, 4, in NA, T-581, roll 42, folder 857. Each fully expected, of course, that his rivals would then be cast out of the party. It should be mentioned that Hitler's position even in the old party had been that of a *Führer* rather than party chairman. On the development of his leadership position in the party from 1919 to 1923, see Dietrich Orlow, "The Organizational History and Structure of the NSDAP, 1919-1923," *Journal of Modern History*, XXXVII (June 1965), 208-26.

²⁰ See NSDAP, *Hauptarchiv, Die statistische und geschichtliche Entwicklung der NS-Pressen 1926-1935* (Munich, 1936), I, 212. On the history of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, see Oron J. Hale, *The Captive Press in the Third Reich* (Princeton, N. J., 1964), Chap. 1.

preventing programmatic discussion and disunity among the membership. And, perhaps even more significant, the *Beobachter* became a major vehicle of transmission for orders and directives relating to the party's organizational developments. The *Beobachter's* column "Aus der Bewegung" ([Notes about] the Movement) is a veritable mine of information about the party's organizational successes and failures as viewed by central headquarters. The new party lost no time in resuming publication of the newspaper. It appeared as a weekly from February 26 to April 7, 1925, and as a daily thereafter.

An equally, if not more important, factor in Hitler's eventual decision to begin his new tenure as party chief in Bavaria was the GDVG's control of what remained of the Nazi followers in Munich. As the city of Hitlerian symbols—Bürgerbräukeller, Zirkus Krone, Feldherrnhalle, Odeonsplatz—Munich was of immense importance for the rebuilding of the NSDAP. To build a political party personally loyal to him, Hitler needed allegiance and support not for a specific program but for a mythical superperson. The process of creating that image for himself must begin in Munich. Only with well-organized, mass political support in the city of Hitlerian symbols could Hitler begin to convert the image of the national martyr into the reality of politically useful charisma and power that would attract the folkish masses all over Germany to his new NSDAP. He therefore decided "to create order in Bavaria first."²¹

During the first two months after his release Hitler remained a silent but charismatic figure. He did nothing to discourage the waves of adulation that greeted the returning hero from all quarters of the folkish camp, but he refused either to speak publicly or to reveal his future plans to the numerous delegations that sought his advice and blessing.²² His only political activities were behind-the-scenes conversations with his old collaborators Esser and Pöhner.²³

The silence merely heightened the tension that preceded his eagerly awaited first public appearance at the end of February. His speech was a masterful attempt to connect the future of the folkish myths with the Hitlerian past. He spoke in the Bürgerbräukeller, the scene of his first public success in 1920 and of the speech on November 8, 1923, that launched the *Putzsch*. He invoked the past unity of the movement; he spoke as though 1924 had never happened. He had no differences with Ludendorff, "the

²¹ Hermann Fobke to Haase, Aug. 21, 1924, in *Nationalsozialismus und Revolution: Ursprung und Geschichte der NSDAP in Hamburg, 1922-1933*, ed. Werner Jochmann (Frankfurt am Main, 1964), 134.

²² *Polizeidirektion* Nürnberg-Fürth, "Lagebericht N/No. 22," Jan. 24, 1925, BGStA, MA 101249.

²³ Plümer, *Wahrheit*, 55.

most loyal and selfless friend" of the movement. Invoking the old pseudo-military images, he appealed to those who "in their hearts had remained old National Socialists" to rally again under the unfurled swastika banner. The party's enemies had not changed: as before, the NSDAP would fight Jewry (for the "pioneers") and Marxism (for the "revolutionaries").

The image of past unity and the assurance of renewed, vigorous leadership did their part. When, at the end of the speech, Hitler asked that the movement accept him as its unconditional leader for one year with the words, "I am not willing to accept any conditions. Once again I take the responsibility for everything that happens in this movement," the stenographer noted "enthusiastic applause and cries of *Heil*." At last, "overwhelmed by the words of Hitler and the enthusiasm [of the crowd] the rival Bavarian Nazi leaders rushed to the stage pledging loyal cooperation to Hitler and to each other."²⁴

Hitler's speech immediately catapulted him to new prominence on the Munich political scene, though his obvious success also persuaded the Bavarian (and most other *Länder* governments) to bar further public speeches on his part. But as yet his renewed popularity was only the result of mutual emotional empathy between him and the folkish masses of Munich; in effect, it was unstructured, unorganized political support. After the Bürgerbräukeller speech Hitler moved quickly to convert emotional acceptance of his personification of the leader myth into concrete, organizational control of those captured by his charismatic appeal. His method was simple. In effect, he deliberately repeated his Bürgerbräukeller performance numerous times as, throughout the spring and summer, he tirelessly appeared at party section meetings (that is, gatherings restricted to party members and their guests) in the city. Acting within the established organizational framework of the membership meetings, he was able to achieve personal contact with almost all of the Munich membership. Through these meetings Hitler quite literally succeeded in solidifying and formalizing the effects of his charismatic control devices—oral communication, handshakes, eye-to-eye contact, and the like—into the members' personal subordination to his organizational leadership. He made rapid progress, moreover, in winning over the membership. In March the GDVG voluntarily dissolved itself, and by the beginning of autumn Hitler had complete organizational control of the party in Munich. Both the members of the executive committee and the various section leaders were his

²⁴ Adolf Hitler, *Die Rede Adolf Hitlers in der ersten grossen Massenversammlung . . . 27. Februar 1925* (Munich, 1925); "Zum Wiedererstehen unserer Bewegung," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Feb. 26, 1925.

appointees and subordinates. The city executive committee met frequently during the spring and summer of 1925, but there is no evidence that it was more than a sounding board for Hitler's speeches.²⁶ In addition, the rank-and-file membership supported Hitler's organizational control. A rival Nazi movement in Munich, the National Socialist People's Association (*Nationalsozialistischer Volksbund*), founded on a platform of opposition to Hitler's growing unilateral control, was unable to attract significant mass support from any Munich Nazis. It was stillborn long before a pro-Hitler mob led by Esser and Streicher forcefully prevented a scheduled mass meeting and sealed its political oblivion.²⁸

Paralleling Hitler's efforts in Munich, his two *missi dominici* Esser and Streicher utilized their own charisma in the Bavarian countryside. Tirelessly they duplicated Hitler's tactics and persuaded the scattered outlying locals to rally behind the returned hero. By late March almost all Bavarian party locals had submitted a neofeudal oath of subordination to Hitler's leadership.²⁷

Throughout the Bavarian campaign Hitler's, Esser's, and Streicher's speeches were singularly devoid of positive ideas or even a discussion of issues. It appears that in Bavaria this was not a serious handicap to political success. The Nazi membership there consisted primarily of "pioneers" for whom anti-Semitism was the program of the party, and a handshake, a glance from Hitler's bright, intense eyes, and a vehement diatribe against "international Judah" (laced, in the case of Streicher, with pious pornography) were sufficient to send them to their knees in adoration.

In the north, however, this one-sided approach was less successful. While statistical analyses of the Nazi party membership in the formative years are still lacking, it is clear that significant differences existed between the Nazi followers north and south of the Main River. A far greater proportion of northern leaders and followers sympathized with the "revolutionary" wing of the folkish movement. This in itself did not mean that they rejected Hitler as their leader, but it did mean that their view of the party's leader and his relation to his followers did not correspond to that of the Streichers and Essers.²⁸

²⁶ A meeting in September 1925, for example, had no agenda; the minutes merely noted that "Mr. Hitler wanted to speak to the entire executive committee before he left on his lengthy trip." (See *Bundesarchiv, Schumacher Sammlung*, No. 373.)

²⁷ *Polizeidirektion* Nürnberg-Fürth, "Lagebericht N/No. 38," Oct. 9, 1925, BGStA, MA 101249. On the history of the *Volksbund*, see the earlier numbers of the police reports, *ibid.*; a pro-*Volksbund* account is in Plümer, *Wahrheit*.

²⁸ *Polizeidirektion* Nürnberg-Fürth, "Lagebericht N/No. 26," Mar. 20, 1925, BGStA, MA 101249.

²⁸ This was sensed by contemporary observers as well. See R. Ko. In., "Lagebericht Nr.

Most of the prominent northern leaders thought of themselves as soldier-revolutionaries: born between 1890 and 1900, often declassed or displaced students and unemployable pseudo intellectuals,²⁹ they rejected the norms of their elders as stagnant and reactionary. Immediately after the war their zeal for activity found an outlet in the various Free Corps. They defended the *Reich* against its external enemies in Silesia and Pomerania, and they battled what to them was German bourgeois cowardice and Jewish-Marxist democracy in the Kapp *Putsch*. Now that the era of violence was over, they prepared the way of the folkish future by drafting utopian schemes to bridge the gap between the proletarian masses and the middle class.³⁰

For the "revolutionaries" Hitler was one of them. He was the embodiment of the new type of courageous soldier-politician. They agreed with Hitler's anti-Semitic outbursts,³¹ but they admired even more the leader who braved police bayonets in November 1923, who made National Socialism a part of the NSDAP's name, and who had always acted in close comradeship with Ludendorff.

Hitler knew the width of the gap that separated the two groups of his followers, and he realized that at least in the formative phase of his rebuilding program he needed to give the appearance of living both versions of the leader myth. Consequently, while his southern speeches contain very little about Ludendorff's future role in the movement, in the north Hitler deliberately encouraged a mental identification of himself and Ludendorff. In good conscience his northern lieutenants assured their subleaders that Hitler and Ludendorff had no political or personal differences.³² "Honoring Ludendorff as of old, we move forward in loyal comradeship of arms with Adolf Hitler," read an early circular of the Silesian party leadership.³³ In his efforts to re-establish the party in the north, moreover, he allowed the locals a feeling of almost complete autonomy. Indeed most local leaders were self-appointed in that they offered their services either to the Mu-

7540/II," Dec. 16, 1925, BGStA, MA 101249; and Carlo Mierendorff, "Gesicht und Charakter der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung," *Gesellschaft*, VIII (June 1930), 503.

²⁹ For example, Haase and Herbert Backe were students, Goebbels an unemployed writer, Franz von Pfeffer a former Free Corps leader, and Karl Kaufmann the declassed son of a textile manufacturer.

³⁰ Haase, "Aufstand," II, 625-26, 633-46.

³¹ For the "revolutionaries," however, anti-Semitism alone was not enough. The district leader of Lausitz (Silesia), for example, wrote that the NSDAP had to liberate the German worker from the "bonds of his Jewish and German seducers [italics mine]." (See NSDAP, *Bezirksgeschäftsstelle* Lausitz to Arthur Dinter, the *Gauleiter* of Thuringia, Feb. 25, 1925, in *Bundesarchiv, Schumacher Sammlung*, No. 208 I.)

³² "Bericht über die erste Gautagung der N.S.D.A.P. Gau Schleswig-Holstein in Neumünster am 1. März 1925," *ibid*.

³³ *Gauleitung* Silesia to the locals of Silesia, Mar. 20, 1925, *ibid*.

nich headquarters directly, or through one of Hitler's personal friends.⁸⁴ Hitler's northern legate, Gregor Strasser (who had opted for the NSFP during the interregnum), did provisionally appoint *Gauleiter* "as Adolf Hitler's plenipotentiary" (*mit Vollmacht Adolf Hitlers*),⁸⁵ but the only criterion for appointment seems to have been the availability of a willing man. The *Gauleiter* of Hanover, for example, lost control over the district of Lüneburg and the city of Göttingen simply because there were two other energetic individuals who also wanted to be *Gauleiter* in Lower Saxony.⁸⁶

Hitler's deliberately schizophrenic leadership façade created a strong emotional bond between leader and followers in both sections of Germany. (After he had "created order in Bavaria" he traveled extensively in the north reinforcing his leadership image through personal appearances at closed party meetings.)⁸⁷ In addition, at least for a time, it served to obscure the growth of the impersonal party bureaucracy that Hitler created to cast the members' emotional loyalty into forms of organizational subordination. Hitler was not an able day-to-day administrator; he did not rationally delegate authority, and, except during times of extreme crisis, he was unable to work systematically at his desk for any length of time.⁸⁸ On the other hand his plenitude of charisma attracted the type of men who, having no charisma of their own, needed the anonymity of the bureaucratic office to give them power and self-satisfaction. The early Nazi party had the services of two efficient bureaucrats: the executive secretary, Philip Bouhler, and the treasurer, Franz Xaver Schwarz.⁸⁹ Both were notable for their lack of personal leadership qualities. Bouhler was an owl-like looking man whose personal authority vanished with the removal of his title and his rubber stamp. And he realized the extent of his dependence on Hitler. Even in later life he prefaced the beginning of each sentence he addressed to Hitler by a slight bow.⁴⁰ Schwarz had spent his entire adult life in an accountant's office, first at the Munich city hall, and then at party headquarters. Together they became complementary parts of a human computer. Bouhler delighted in issuing rules for office procedures that contained admonitions such as "smoking during office hours is forbidden" and "the outgoing mail must be presented in the signature folder to the

⁸⁴ See, e.g., Otto Telschow (*Gauleiter* Lüneburg-Stade) to *Reichsleitung*, Mar. 3, 1925, and Paul Hacke (local leader in Potsdam) to Mrs. Helene Bechstein, Mar. 18, 1925, *ibid.*, Nos. 202 I, 205; Amann to Scifert, Oct. 17, 1925, NA, T-581, roll 6, folder 141.

⁸⁵ For the terms of such an appointment, see *Gauleiter* Hanover-Nord to *Reichsleitung*, Mar. 29, 1925, *Bundesarchiv, Schumacher Sammlung*, No. 202 I.

⁸⁶ Bernhard Rust (*Gauleiter* Hannover) to *Reichsleitung*, Apr. 5, 1925, *ibid.*

⁸⁷ R. Ko. In., "Lagebericht Nr. 111," Apr. 25, 1925, BGStA, MA 101248.

⁸⁸ Hans Frank, *Im Angesicht des Galgens* (Munich, 1953), 93-94.

⁸⁹ On Schwarz's role in the administrative history of the NSDAP, see Anton Lingg, *Die Verwaltung der Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiterpartei* (2d ed., Munich, 1940).

⁴⁰ Albert Krebs, *Tendenzen und Gestalten der NSDAP* (Stuttgart, 1959), 142.

executive secretary at 5:30 each evening."⁴¹ Schwarz watched with loving care over each incoming penny, and both pounced upon any local that attempted to by-pass the central administration in issuing local membership cards.

Despite its seeming innocuousness, the question of issuing membership cards was a controversial one in the early party. It involved the future focal point of the party's organizational structure. The office that controlled the issuance of membership cards also retained the right to approve or disapprove prospective members. The implications of such a step were clear to Hitler: it was only a short step from *Gau* control of the membership cards to provincial organizational autonomy and an essentially co-option-type party, not to speak of losing the initiation fee of one reichsmark, which the national office desperately needed. Consequently, Hitler always remained adamant on the question of control of the membership lists. Despite the pleas of particularly the northern provincial party organizations, no NSDAP follower could claim membership until he was issued a card signed by Hitler and Schwarz. In denying the request for a decentralized administration of membership cards, Munich always cited the need for greater discipline and alluded to the danger of re-creating the chaos of the interregnum.⁴²

Bouhler and Schwarz also served Hitler admirably in enforcing other far-reaching decisions. Hitler utilized the presidential election of 1925 as a first test of loyalty among his followers and to establish the NSDAP's uniqueness among the folkish parties. While other major folkish groups had agreed to back the compromise candidate Karl Jarres, Hitler balked and proclaimed Ludendorff as the choice of the NSDAP.⁴³ The other parties bitterly resented the Nazi break in the ranks, but the move served Hitler's purpose. In nominating Ludendorff he underlined his respect for the field marshal's name, while at the same time the latter's expected election defeat would document Ludendorff's political impotence. But, above all, the movement of Ludendorff for President forced every NSDAP member to choose between loyalty to the larger folkish movement and loyalty and obedience to Hitler. That choice always involved a major

⁴¹ Bouhler, "Rundschreiben an das Personal," Mar. 21, 1925, *Bundesarchiv, Schumacher Sammlung*, No. 373.

⁴² For an exchange of letters on this issue, see *Gauleitung* Mecklenburg to *Reichsleitung*, June 15, 1925, and *Reichsleitung* to *Gauleitung* Mecklenburg, June 18, 1925, in *Bundesarchiv, Schumacher Sammlung*, No. 205. It may be of interest for the comparative study of totalitarian parties that the German Communist party had to deal with the same pressure for local authorization of membership. (See R. Ko. In., "Lagebericht Nr. 107/II," May 3, 1927, BGStA, MA 101251.)

⁴³ See Hitler's directive in *Völkischer Beobachter*, Mar. 21, 1925. For the reaction in other folkish groups, see "Turmwards Tagebuch—Die Reichspräsidentenwahl," *Fridericus*, No. 13 (Mar. 1925).

dilemma: to choose Jarres meant disloyalty to Ludendorff and Hitler, and to choose Ludendorff meant a greater commitment to Hitler's organizational leadership than ever before. Many Nazi followers remained true to the larger folkish movement⁴⁴ and thus refused to follow Hitler. Those who supported Hitler paid a heavy price: after the disastrous election⁴⁵ Hitler deliberately isolated the small band of his followers from the larger folkish movement. A directive of May 1925 prohibited further organizational cooperation between NSDAP locals and their counterparts from other folkish political units. As reason Bouhler noted that all other folkish parties had betrayed Ludendorff's cause in the presidential elections.⁴⁶ Thus Ludendorff's very defeat increased Hitler's stature among the faithful. Despised by the rest of the folkish movement, aware of Ludendorff's political incompetence, they had no choice but to look to Hitler for further leadership.

By the end of 1925 Hitler's isolationist tactics, his consistent anti-Semitism, and the publication of his autobiography had securely established his status in the south as a superleader who fulfilled and embodied the leader myth. Bouhler was already at work fashioning a deliberate and systematic personality cult. Hitler's 1923 *Putsch* became the culmination of a series of events that began on August 1, 1914. Hitler was the personification of the German struggle against all enemies, foreign and domestic, from 1914 to 1923.⁴⁷ He was not only the concrete leader of the future folkish Germany, but his leadership had also given meaning to the *Reich's* past struggles. He was *the* twentieth-century leader of the German people.

Hitler's image was looming ever larger over the Right Wing in southern Germany, but a crisis was developing in the north. There initial enthusiasm turned to disappointment when, particularly after Ludendorff's defeat, the northern leaders realized that Munich looked upon the party not as a band of freely associating political soldiers but as a group of subordinates subject to Bouhler's and Schwarz's bureaucratic control.⁴⁸ The

⁴⁴ For an illustration of the effect of Hitler's decision on local party organizations, see *Wir waren dabei . . . Berichte über die nationalsozialistische Bewegung und Entwicklung im ehemaligen Kreise Isenlage*, ed. Hermann Krüger (Wittingen, 1934), in *Bundesarchiv, Schumacher Sammlung*, No. 202 I.

⁴⁵ Ludendorff received less than 300,000 votes compared to 10,500,000 for Jarres. In the runoff elections Hitler supported Hindenburg. (See *Völkischer Beobachter*, Apr. 10, 1925.)

⁴⁶ *Polizeidirektion Nürnberg-Fürth*, "Lagebericht N/No. 32," June 17, 1925, BGStA, MA 101248; see also *Frankfurter Zeitung*, June 12, 1925.

⁴⁷ *Reichsleitung*, "Rundschreiben," Nov. 4, 1925, *Bundesarchiv, Schumacher Sammlung*, No. 373.

⁴⁸ The northern *Gauleiter* continued to object particularly vigorously to the centralized membership control system and accounting procedures. (See *Gauleitung Rheinland-Nord* to *Reichsleitung*, Oct. 22, 1925, and *Reichsleitung* to *Gauleitung Rheinland-Nord*, Oct. 24, 1925, *ibid.*, No. 203.)

sense of disappointment among the leaders quickly became disinterest among the followers: 138 members had joined the Potsdam local after Hitler's release, but only 20 or 30 were at all active by August 1925.⁴⁹

Hitler was fully aware of the growing differences within the party and took considerable care to avoid a public revelation of the inconsistencies in the two leader myths he was living. To prevent airing the differences, he pointedly refused to schedule an eagerly awaited party congress.⁵⁰ In August the northern *Gauleiter* initiated some organizational moves of their own. They formed a National Socialist Working Association (*Nationalsozialistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, NSAG) and began publishing an internal party organ, the *NS-Briefe*.⁵¹ The NSAG was in no sense a *Fronde* against Hitler. It was an attempt to curb the growing power of Bouhler, Streicher, and Esser. Indeed, the original impetus for its establishment was a secondary myth that attributed Hitler's reluctance to endorse fully the "revolutionary" party line to his constant association with unprogressive and bureaucratic advisers, such as Esser, Streicher, and Bouhler. The north naïvely hoped to liberate Hitler from his evil influences. Organized in the NSAG, the political power of the north would be sufficient to unchain Hitler from his "pioneer" associations and enable him to lead the way toward the "revolutionary" version of the folkish millennium.⁵² It does not seem to have occurred to any of the party leaders that there was something inconsistent about the parallel existence of the myth of the captive Hitler and the myth of the fearless, all-seeing revolutionary leader.

The last quarter of 1925 brought the disparate developments in the two wings of the party to a climax. Hitler marked time, continuing the anti-Semitic harangues, which he knew were acceptable to both sides, and increasing his charismatic position in Munich.⁵³ In the meantime the north organized its offensive; the leaders were now determined to force clear-cut decisions.⁵⁴ A series of articles in the *NS-Briefe* supported economic reforms

⁴⁹ *Gauleitung* Schleswig-Holstein to *Reichsleitung*, May 11, 1925, and *Ortsgruppe* Potsdam to *Reichsleitung*, Aug. 22, 1925, *ibid.*, Nos. 208 I, 205.

⁵⁰ Such a congress was generally expected among the provincial leadership corps. (See *Reichsleitung* to *Gauleitung* Hannover, May 28, 1925, *ibid.*, No. 202 I.)

⁵¹ The *NS-Briefe* were published with Hitler's approval, though Bouhler did issue a circular underlining the *Völkischer Beobachter's* unique position as the party's only official press organ. (See Gregor Strasser, "Geleitwort," *NS-Briefe*, No. 1 [Oct. 1, 1925]; *Reichsleitung*, "Rundschreiben," Sept. 12, 1925, *Bundesarchiv, Schumacher Sammlung*, No. 373.)

⁵² Fobke (one of the local leaders in Göttingen and a fellow inmate of Hitler at Landsberg), "Aus der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung," Sept. 11, 1925, *Forschst. NS. Hbg.*, folder "NSDAP-NSAG."

⁵³ Plümer, *Wahrheit*, 65-66.

⁵⁴ "... we will proceed with our general offensive. The issue is [the future of] National Socialism, nothing else. . ." noted Goebbels in his diary. Two months later the entry was: "We are really going places [now] [*Wir radikal heran*]." (See Joseph Goebbels, *Das Tagebuch von Joseph Goebbels*, 1925-26, ed. Helmut Heiber [Stuttgart, 1964], entries for Oct. 2, Nov. 23, 1925, 36, 43.)

closely akin to national Bolshevism (including the expropriation of princely property) and a complete boycott by the NSDAP of parliamentary bodies.⁵⁵ And in December Gregor Strasser privately circulated a detailed draft constitution for the future National Socialist Germany. Economically, it was a combination of Mussolini-like syndicalist structures, National Socialist economic demands (51 per cent of all stock in a vital industry to be publicly owned, 49 per cent in all other businesses), pseudomedieval guild romanticism, and naïve anticapitalist sentiments. (For example, Strasser favored wages in kind whenever possible.) Politically, the program attempted to express the vague folkish ideals of Germanic democracy. The draft demanded the abolition of the *Reich's* federal structure. It would have been replaced by an indirectly elected, highly centralized government. Occupational representative bodies were to elect a national legislature, and this latter group in turn would elect a dictator-president for a term of seven years. The president, finally, would have appointive power over the national and provincial executive and administrative corps.⁵⁶ At no point did Strasser challenge either Hitler's leadership or his final program-making authority, but his ideas were at such clear variance with the known "pioneer" views that Hitler could no longer keep silent. At the beginning of 1926, then, Hitler faced the greatest challenge to his political career since he fled from the Odeonsplatz in November 1923.

Hitler met the challenge brilliantly. First he further isolated Nazi party members from the general folkish movement. A new directive prohibited double memberships in the NSDAP and the Tannenberg Association, a loosely organized, ineffective coordinating group under the honorary patronage of Ludendorff. It speaks for the naïveté of the northern leaders that they welcomed the new regulation: completely misinterpreting Hitler's intentions, they saw it as a laudable gesture to distinguish the political and programmatic character of the NSDAP from the ineffective, veterans' reunion clubs organized in the Tannenberg Association.⁵⁷

Next, for the first time since his release from prison, Hitler called a meeting of top Nazi leaders from north and south. On February 4 Bouhler sent invitations to about twenty leaders asking them to a secret party conference at Bamberg in northern Bavaria on February 14.⁵⁸ Everything about

⁵⁵ See, e.g., Goebbels, "Mein Freund von der Linken," *NS-Briefe*, No. 2 (Oct. 15, 1925); Ulrich v. Hutten (Pfeffer), "Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigennutz," *Ibid.*, No. 6 (Dec. 15, 1925); Haase, "Parlament und nationalsozialistische Bewegung," *ibid.*, Nos. 2, 3 (Oct. 15, Nov. 1, 1925).

⁵⁶ Strasser, "Dispositionsentwurf eines umfassenden Programms des nationalen Sozialismus," Dec. 1925, Forschst. NS. Hbg., folder "NSDAP-NSAG."

⁵⁷ Strasser, "Wir und die vaterländischen Verbände," *NS-Briefe*, No. 6 (Dec. 15, 1925.)

⁵⁸ See Bouhler to Rust, Feb. 4, 1926, Forschst. NS. Hbg., folder "NSDAP-NSAG." The northern leaders welcomed Hitler's decision. Goebbels felt that the north could now play "the

the meeting showed Hitler at his propagandistic best. Ostensibly, he chose Bamberg to reduce the travel costs of the northern *Gauleiter*. To be sure, Bamberg was much closer to the north than Munich, but Bamberg was far more than that; it was part of Streicher's *Gau* Nuremberg and solidly "pioneer" in sentiment. During the past year both Hitler and Streicher had been particularly solicitous about the local party organization. Hitler visited Bamberg twice during 1925, the last time to grace its Christmas party with his presence.⁵⁹ Finally, the Bamberg invitation list, though it included most of the leading Nazis from all sections of Germany, nevertheless showed a preponderance of Streicher-Esser men.⁶⁰

Bamberg offered an imposing spectacle to the visitors when they arrived on the thirteenth. Numerous placards announced public mass meetings for the evening of the fourteenth, listing several northern *Gauleiter* as speakers. The large Nazi local outdid itself in its enthusiastic welcome for Hitler and Streicher, and a reception on the evening of the thirteenth further mellowed the northern leaders. The over-all impression on the northern leaders could only have been disheartening: while locals in their far more populous areas of the Ruhr and Rhineland had difficulty enlisting twenty or thirty members, the Bamberg city organization had obviously succeeded in enrolling a sizable percentage of the town's population.

The "revolutionaries" thus presented a rather uneasy group when they sat before Hitler on the afternoon of the fourteenth. Hitler spoke for five hours.⁶¹ When he finished he had opposed most of the cherished ideals of the "revolutionaries" and most of the particulars of the Strasser program. He favored an alliance with England or Italy instead of an entente with Russia; he denounced the expropriation of the princes; and he disagreed with the entire idea of the opening to the Left.

Although substantively the speech was largely a defeat for the "revolutionaries," Hitler was careful to avoid the impression that he endorsed the "pioneer" position. He still paid lip service to the ideals of National Socialism and ironically couched his attack on "revolutionary" ideals in "revolutionary" rhetoric. Forced to choose between two approaches to a program, Hitler chose a third alternative: he mythologized his own person. The mistake of the "revolutionaries" was not only to have suggested a false

shy virgin and lure Hitler on our side." (Goebbels, *Tagebuch*, ed. Heiber, entry for Feb. 11, 1926, 59; see also Rust to Strasser, Feb. 4, 1926, Forstsch. NS. Hbg., folder "NSDAP-NSAG.")

⁵⁹ R. Ko. In., "Lagebericht Nr. 8160/II," Dec. 19, 1924, and "Lagebericht Nr. 900/II," Mar. 6, 1926, BGStA, MA 101248.

⁶⁰ For example, while Karl Kaufmann, *Gauleiter* of the *Gau* Rheinland-Nord was not invited, Karl Holz, the deputy *Gauleiter* of Nuremberg did attend.

⁶¹ R. Ko. In., "Lagebericht Nr. 900/II," Mar. 6, 1926, BGStA, MA 101250.

program, but, far worse, to have doubted the sufficiency of the inherited creed (which contained meaningless "pioneer" and "revolutionary" slogans) and its personification in Hitler. The program of 1920, said Hitler, in the key phrase of his speech, "was the foundation of our religion, our ideology. To tamper with it [*daran rütteln*] would [constitute] treason to those who died believing in our Idea."⁶² And only Hitler, crucified at the Odeonsplatz, descended to Landsberg, but risen to lead the party, was the living link with and the embodiment of the primitive Nazi church.

The northern leaders were stunned. They had welcomed his call to Bamberg as an indication that he had freed himself from Streicher's and Esser's influence, and they confidently expected either a firm endorsement by Hitler of their program or at least a genuine debate on the future course of the party. Hitler had done neither. Instead, he forced the Nazi leaders to choose between rejection of his leadership or acceptance of his self-deification. Hitler knew what their decision would be because without him they had no place to go. They had already accepted him as the personification of the leader myth to the extent of alienating their party and themselves from the rest of the folkish movement. To deny Hitler after his speech was not only to cast oneself adrift in a hostile and already alienated folkish world but to insult the martyrs of the *Putsch* as well. None of the northern leaders had the courage to do this.

Without a meaningful alternative, the northern leaders had no choice but to follow Hitler's leadership even more closely. Hitler rapidly exploited his success by issuing, through Bouhler, a series of new organizational decrees. Throughout the spring the executive secretary poured forth directives to increase organizational centralization in the NSDAP. Locals were ordered to obtain prior approval from party headquarters for any local organizational changes.⁶³ Munich ordered the establishment of local committees on propaganda. Once created they received their instructions from and reported directly to Munich.⁶⁴ Bouhler was at the height of his derivative power. Occasional complaints from local and provincial organizations received the laconic marginal comment "Hitler agrees [with me]."⁶⁵ Simultaneously, Hitler conducted a review of his provincial and district

⁶² Hinrich Lohse, "Der Fall Strasser," 5, n.d., Forchst. NS. Hbg., folder "NSDAP-NSAG."

⁶³ Hitler to *Gauleitung* Rheinland-Süd, May 17, 1926, *Bundesarchiv, Schumacher Sammlung*, No. 202 I. It is symptomatic of the increasing importance of the party bureaucracy that in April the party leadership was making plans to enlarge the national headquarters by the purchase of two additional stories of office space. (See *Reichsleitung*, "Rundschreiben an alle GL," Apr. 7, 1926, *Munich Institut für Zeitgeschichte*, "Akz. 2400/59 Fa 104."

⁶⁴ *Reichsleitung*, "Rundschreiben an alle Ortsgruppen" and the enclosure, "Organisationsplan zur Errichtung von Propagandazellen . . .," Mar. 20, 1926, *ibid*.

⁶⁵ See *Gauleitungen* Hannover-Nord, Göttingen, Hessen-Nassau-Nord, and Schleswig-Holstein to *Reichsleitung*, Apr. 15, 1925, and *Reichsleitung* to *Gauleitung* Hannover-Nord, Apr. 20, 1926, *Bundesarchiv, Schumacher Sammlung*, No. 202 I.

subleaders. With the help of the now thoroughly contrite Strasser,⁶⁶ most of the northern *Gauleiter* were rebaptized,⁶⁷ but a number of local and district leaders were found wanting.⁶⁸

Only one major northern figure was not fully convinced by the performance at Bamberg. Hitler knew that Joseph Goebbels, at this time executive secretary of the *Gau* Ruhr, had been the driving force behind the programmatic efforts of the NSAG. He had not opposed Hitler publicly at the Bamberg meeting, but even his silence did not bode well for the future.⁶⁹ In late March Hitler invited the doubting Thomas to Jerusalem to induct him into the inner circle of apostles. Goebbels was asked to address a Munich mass rally scheduled for early April.⁷⁰ Once there his conversion was rapid. His two-and-one-half-hour speech, with Hitler present, the cheering masses, his stay at one of the better hotels, Hitler's thoughtfulness in lending him his car—all this was balm on Goebbels' acute sense of social and personal inferiority. And when Hitler gave him a personally conducted tour of party headquarters followed by a three-hour monologue repeating the Bamberg arguments, Goebbels was putty in Hitler's hands. "Hitler is a great man. He forgives us and shakes our hand. Let us forget the past."⁷¹

Hitler could indeed forget the past and look confidently to the future. The party congress, postponed in 1925 for fear of revealing the split in the party, could now be safely held.⁷² The Weimar party congress of July 1926 was a visible manifestation of Hitler's triumph. Every speech echoed his success in fusing the folkish myths and his own leadership image into an indissoluble entity. There were no outsiders; Strasser, Goebbels, and the

⁶⁶ After Bamberg, Strasser immediately withdrew his draft program.

⁶⁷ NSAG, "[Rundschreiben]," Mar. 25, 1926, Forschst. NS. Hbg., folder "NSDAP-NSAG."

⁶⁸ *Gauleitung* Rheinland-Nord to *Reichsleitung*, May 11, 1926, *Bundesarchiv, Schumacher Sammlung*, No. 203.

⁶⁹ Hitler might have been even more concerned if he had been able to read Goebbels' diary entries. His first comment was "reactionary?" and a week later he was still considering mobilizing the NSAG for a new programmatic effort. (See Goebbels, *Tagebuch*, ed. Heiber, entries for Feb. 15, 24, 1925, 60, 62.)

⁷⁰ See Bouhler to Goebbels, Mar. 27, 1926, and Goebbels to Bouhler, Mar. 29, 1926, *Bundesarchiv, Schumacher Sammlung*, No. 203; and "Aus der Bewegung," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Apr. 2, 1926.

⁷¹ Goebbels, *Tagebuch*, ed. Heiber, entry for Apr. 13, 1926, 71-72.

⁷² In May the Munich membership had approved sweeping changes in the bylaws of the party's legal corporation, the NSDAV e.V. (One of Hitler's more astute moves had been to make the party's legal corporation coextensive with the Munich party organization. As a result, constitutional changes were legally subject only to the approval of the Munich membership.) In general, the changes made Hitler superior to the executive committee and extended his right to expel individual members and entire local organizations from the party. (See Hitler and Schneider, "Niederschrift über die Generalmitgliederversammlung der Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiterpartei . . . am 22. Mai 1926," and "Satzung des Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins e.V., Sitz München," *Bundesarchiv, Schumacher Sammlung*, No. 374.)

other NSAG leaders were as faithful to the Hitler myth as Streicher. There was even evidence of the future folkish Germany in miniature: with raised hand, Hitler proudly reviewed the march of 3,600 still slightly out-of-step SA and SS members. And when he addressed the full congress on July 4 his eyes must have held a look of pride and satisfaction. For the Nazi party members before him the Hitler myth had become the all-encompassing synthesis of all other folkish myths; they would have fully agreed with Rudolf Hess's statement at another party congress eight years later: "*Mein Führer*, you are Germany."⁷⁸ At least as far as the party was concerned, Hitler had achieved the conversion of myths into political power.

⁷⁸ For the party congress, see *Völkischer Beobachter*, June 30, 1926, and R. Ko. In., "Lagebericht Nr. 119," Sept. 1, 1926, BGStA, MA 101250a.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

THE DISCOVERY OF TIME. By *Stephen Toulmin* and *June Goodfield*.
[The Ancestry of Science.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. 280.
\$6.95.)

THIS third volume in a projected four-part series, "The Ancestry of Science," differs from its predecessors, *The Fabric of the Heavens* and *The Architecture of Matter*, and these provide a context in which even the title of the new work may be misunderstood. Stephen Toulmin and June Goodfield are not concerned here with changing ideas about the nature of time itself, but with man's evolving awareness of developmental and historical process from classical antiquity to the present century. As a result, their central subject matter is drawn not only from the history of the sciences, particularly of biology and geology, but also from that of social theory, of philosophy, and of history itself.

Given the brevity of the volume and the extent and variety of its subject matter, the authors' narrative is a first-rate achievement of elementary historical synthesis. Though the transition from a static to an evolutionary view of nature, man, and society has previously been examined within most of the intellectual fields they discuss, it does not look quite the same when the strands are woven together. Nor does it much matter that experts will justly complain about problems of emphasis or omission. (I, for example, wonder how thermodynamics and the Heat Death can have been omitted entirely and whether the Hegelians do not require more than passing reference.) Those who complain will, meanwhile, have been introduced to relevant subject matters previously ignored. And for the student novice, the verve, clarity, and general accuracy of this account should make it uncommonly useful and attractive "outside reading" in many courses.

One aspect of the volume, perhaps inevitable in a work of this sort, does, however, generate malaise. Few readers will finish it without supposing that the book somehow accounts for or explains the evolution of the ideas it describes. Though the authors make no such causal claims and in a few cases explicitly deny them, their organizing principles are parallelism and gradualism in the development of ideas. Given the coherence of the resulting narrative, *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* judgments are virtually irresistible, and in many cases such judgments will be correct. Particularly within individual scientific specialties, ideas often do develop out of other ideas for considerable periods of time. Sometimes, though less frequently, these same ideas are imported from one field to another simply because of their intrinsic suitability or appeal. But these are special cases which, for lack of needed alternatives, provide the entire implicit explanatory scheme for *The Discovery of Time*.

For example, in their introduction the authors state: "Almost without ex-

ception, the motives, methods and issues involved [in our story] have been intellectual and religious, rather than practical ones. Neither the needs of modern technology, nor those of the earlier crafts, require one to speculate about the remote past. . . . The impulse to pose historical questions has come from within men's minds, and has had little to do with the external demands of life." Undoubtedly that generalization is correct, but it does not follow that practical needs have been irrelevant to the answers given once the questions were posed. The development of mining and geological mapping, of plant and animal breeding, all contributed significantly to the evolution of the ideas with which this volume deals. And so, I presume, did the political and institutional development of the countries within which the ideas evolved. Though the authors have brilliantly described the main stages in the development of man's sense of historical change, they have not always seen with clarity the processes that connect those stages.

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THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY IN WESTERN CULTURE. By *David Brion Davis*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 505. \$10.00.)

THE publication of this book is a major event in the comparative study of the history of man's enslavement of his fellow human beings. It introduces a series that will contain two more volumes. If the future studies are as broadly based, as learned, and as fully documented, they will long remain an important source of comparative analysis and bibliographical guidance for future students of the subject.

The author approaches this study through the antislavery movements that brought an end to an institution sanctioned and justified through many ages and in many parts of the world. The overriding emphasis of the volume is an examination of the source of the ideas that justified slavery. This leads the author into a historical review of the ideas advanced through the ages in justification of human bondage. Professor Davis modestly says that this volume extends only to 1770 and is limited to the ways men have reacted to slavery. The future volumes will deal with the changing attitudes that brought the reformers in England, France, and North America into the public arena and promoted the early antislavery societies. They will also deal with the international controversies over Negro slavery and the implications of antislavery thought. The first volume, however, is broader in scope than its stated objective. Davis considers the question of whether the position of the Negro in the British colonies was measurably poorer than in Latin America and concludes that slavery in the United States "was not so different from other forms of servitude as has been supposed," on the grounds that we do not know enough about the subject. This is sound enough. But this statement also raises the question of how can one be sure that there was no difference because, as Davis notes, "It is an uncontested fact" that manumission was easier than in the British colonies and the United States, and he adds that "acceptance of individual emancipation and growing racial diversity" saved Latin America from the "tragic hatreds" that have corroded our own racial history. Instead of accepting this difference as evidence of

a historical evolution of the relation between the Latin American and the Negro, he would establish the basic contrast as a result of varying economic and social structure in these different areas. This view will certainly arouse considerable controversy. It will prove most difficult on these grounds to explain why a Little Rock in Arkansas and a Granada in Mississippi are inconceivable anywhere in Latin America, and they are inconceivable for moral and spiritual reasons rather than for reasons of economic or social structure. Davis' implicit desire to prove that other slave systems were no more humane than ours will only add spice to the argument over this and the other issues raised in the volume.

The book is too fine an achievement to be judged by any one particular issue raised in its pages, and I, like others interested in the field, await the appearance of the next two volumes.

Columbia University

FRANK TANNENBAUM

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF ENGINEERING. By *W. H. G. Armytage*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. [1966.] Pp. 378. \$10.00.)

Writing in 1847, the principal of Owens College, Manchester, observed that "if our country is to maintain itself as the leader of civilisation and the first in the progress of nations . . . the rising generation must . . . have acquired familiarity with the principles of science and their application to the wants and necessities of man." In this concise and readable volume with essentially the same goal, Armytage describes the origins of certain inventions, the growth and development of engineering, and the interpenetrating effects of society and technology. Though admitting that his focus is on Britain, he has written expertly on ancient and medieval achievements as well as on developments in the United States, Germany, France, and, to a lesser extent, in Russia, China, and Japan.

While many factors were responsible for Britain's expanding industrial economy, the author stresses the adoption of steam ("an obsession") and its application to engines, the use of pumps in mines, the construction of a variegated network of canals, roads, and railways, and the invention of machine tools, which made the assembly line and mass production possible. He praises Newcomen, Watt, Smeaton, the Stephensons, Maudslay, Telford, and Cayley ("in every modern sense the inventor of the aeroplane") for their well-known contributions. He evaluates the accomplishments of numerous professional organizations, such as the Royal Society, the Lunar Society of Birmingham (but he does not cite Schofield's 1963 volume), the Institution of Civil Engineers, and the Iron and Steel Institute.

But then an apathy set in. Since cheap labor was readily available and investment opportunities abroad attracted its capital, Britain did not readily adopt electrical power. America, with its skilled labor and steel industry, its industrial capitalists and patent explosion, its Edison and Ford, soon outdistanced the former mother country. Similarly, Germany forged ahead with the Siemens brothers and Otto, Daimler, and Diesel, the Krupp Works, and organic chemistry, so that it became "a classic example of . . . the complex interaction of innovators, entrepreneurs and bankers." These two nations had learned that

research is the key to innovation, that scientific manpower and production engineering are steppingstones to world-wide power.

Armstrong asserts that "inventions have had an influence on history as decisive as any other factors"; he has provided convincing support in this volume. An excellent index supplements the fine illustrations, although the latter are seldom located adjacent to the appropriate text. The bibliography is satisfactory for the general reader, but fails to include many useful materials published since 1958.

West Chester State College

ROBERT E. CARLSON

THE RIDDLE OF HISTORY: THE GREAT SPECULATORS FROM VICO TO FREUD. By *Bruce Mazlish*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1966. Pp. viii, 484. \$10.95.)

DESPITE great interest paid recently to theoretical questions of history, no comprehensive history of the philosophy of history in modern times has appeared. Professor Mazlish has written a readable collection of interpretive essays on major speculative philosophers of history since Vico. He has intentionally omitted a discussion of recent critical philosophy of history. The value of the book, however, lies less in the essays on individual philosophers than in the author's analysis of the role of philosophy of history in the modern intellectual enterprise and in his own theoretical views regarding the nature of history.

In a sense this book itself is a venture into the philosophy of history. Mazlish sees "the basic meaning of history" in "man's developing historical consciousness" and "the potentiality for increased control over social phenomena" that results from "this growth of self-consciousness." The stated aim of the book is thus "to study . . . this problem of man's historical evolution—his progress." Two traditions of thought, an idealistic one (Vico, Kant, Hegel), which emphasized the constructing power of reason, and an empirical one (Locke, Hume, Condorcet, Comte) merge in Marx. Freud and Marx represent two as yet unintegrated high points in man's increasing awareness of himself. What matters in the great speculative system is not whether they have offered "a correct picture of reality" but whether they have given "us greater understanding of and operational power over parts of the phenomena," particularly by their contribution to the development of the cultural sciences.

Mazlish rightly points at the lines of continuity between the great speculative systems and modern social science. He is less successful in integrating conceptions of cultural science into his account that fall neither into the Lockean nor the Kantian tradition. Thus, he largely ignores the anti-Hegelian *Verstehen* approach from Humboldt and Schleiermacher to Dilthey and Weber that provided "a large part of the metaphysical foundations of the subsequent *Geisteswissenschaften*" which he attributes to Hegel. He ignores the extent to which modern speculative philosophy of history has concerned itself not only with the progress of the human mind but also with the contradictions and dangers inherent in this progress. He thus sees Spengler somewhat one-sidedly as a man blind "to the important ideas and movements of his own time" rather than as a critic of modern civilization. Nor is he correct in charging Toynbee with refusing to "recognize that the industrial and scientific revolutions have created what is now

a new civilization." Nevertheless, this valuable and thought-provoking book derives its strengths and weaknesses from the author's commitment to a viewpoint.

State University of New York, Buffalo

GEORG G. IGGERS

DE L'IMPÉRIALISME À LA DÉCOLONISATION. By *Gabriel Ardant et al.*
[Grands documents, Number 23.] (Paris: Éditions de Minuit. 1965. Pp. 501.
24.30 fr.)

THIS volume is an amazing compendium of articles written by thirty French-speaking specialists in the field of "decolonization," which in France has almost assumed the character of a separate academic field—and perhaps it should have here as well. The word "amazing" is used deliberately because of the extreme diversity of viewpoints of the authors, who range from such well-known writers as Jean Lacouture and General Pierre Rondot, to scholars whose names are totally unknown to the American reader. The ideologies, as is almost always the case in France, run the whole political gamut, with a heavy emphasis to the left side of the spectrum.

Although this is, unfortunately, nowhere indicated in detail, the various chapters are the product of round-table discussions between certain groups of those scholars, who met irregularly between 1961 and 1965; and a curious formal interdiction even to "cite, without the express authorization of the authors," any passage of the book, puts me at a certain disadvantage, since all my paraphrases can be disputed as reflecting incorrectly the thoughts of the authors.

The book falls into two major sections: one deals with the structures and forces within the colonial situation, and the other with the "Reintegration of Self," or, in simpler terms, the nation-building process. The latter includes a remarkable chapter on neocolonialism and the attitudes of the foreign expert toward the advisee, which alone is worth the price of the book.

Other parts are of a far more dubious nature and show the biases of at least some of the contributors. Thus, in a discussion on the criteria of the colonial phenomenon, we find colonization defined as the domination of a given society by an alien society, which is totally unobjectionable, except that, just below, the Baltic States of Latvia, Esthonia, and Lithuania are specifically defined as not being Soviet colonies, along with Napoleon's Cisalpine Italian Republic that was set up after French troops conquered northern Italy! But with that caveat entered, I would still recommend the book as a worth-while contribution to an academic field that thus far has escaped the attention of many scholars.

Howard University

BERNARD B. FALL

A JOURNEY FROM ST PETERSBURG TO PEKIN, 1719-22. By *John Bell of Antermony*. Edited with an introduction by *J. L. Stevenson*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1966. Pp. x, 248. \$9.50.)

IN 1763 John Bell's *Travels from St Petersburg in Russia to Diverse Parts of Asia* appeared in London in two volumes and subsequently was reprinted and

then translated into French and Russian. For those familiar with the earlier editions it may come as a surprise and disappointment to learn that the present work represents only a segment, although unabridged, of the original *Travels*; missing are the sections on Laurence de Lange's residence in China and, more significantly, the very valuable description of Bell's journeys to Persia in 1715 and to Constantinople in 1737 and 1738. It is earnestly to be desired that eventually the publisher will issue a second volume that will include these lacunae.

As a physician Bell was a member of the diplomatic mission that Lev Vasilovich Izmailov led to Peking in 1719, a mission intended to reactivate Russian-Chinese commercial relations as well as to allay Chinese fears concerning Russian activities near the frontier. Bell's published *Travels* were based on a diary he kept during this and other journeys. Aside from descriptions of many Siberian and Chinese towns, of routes followed, of personalities encountered, and of the wild-life and climatic conditions observed, Bell's volume is of considerable value for its description of the life of the Swedish prisoners of war in Siberia and for a thoughtful presentation of the attitudes and practices of the Chinese court under Emperor K'ang-hsi.

It is unfortunate that the introduction written for this new edition and the random footnotes intended to enlighten the reader have less to commend them. Aside from a brief biographical sketch of Bell the introduction contains little that is new or useful; indeed, the discussion on the origins and reliability of the manuscript from which the book was printed leaves much to be desired both on the levels of technique and scholarship. In the footnotes there is considerable evidence to suggest that Mr. Stevenson's area of competence is in Chinese rather than in Russian affairs, but even that can hardly excuse a footnote on page forty-nine that fails to answer the problem it has drawn the reader's attention to and that ends by making a rather irrelevant remark; notes in this type of work should be enlightening rather than confusing (only a lack of research can explain failure to identify Philip Johann Tabbert von Strahlenberg as the author of a history of Siberia). In spite of these editorial limitations the *Journey* is a most attractively printed and illustrated work that should please all serious readers.

University of Houston

R. F. DREW

РУССКО-АМЕРИКАНСКИЕ ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИЕ ОТНОШЕНИЯ (1900-1917 GG.) [Russo-American Economic Relations (1900-1917)]. By V. V. Lebedev. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniia." 1964. Pp. 378.)

THE history of the diplomatic and cultural relations of Russia and the United States has been explored in a number of books and articles. The economic relations of the two countries are not as well known, although this also constitutes a long and significant history for which ample sources are available in the Soviet Union and in the US. During most of the nineteenth century their bond was primarily commercial and of no great dimension, but a new and much more important era took shape during the last decade of the century, where V. V. Lebedev quite appropriately begins his study. Both countries were changing

rapidly. Russia, an aggressive military power both in Europe and Asia, was undergoing its first large-scale industrial boom; the US had reached a much more advanced point of economic growth, and its capital and industries were seeking foreign investments and markets. Both looked eagerly toward Northeast Asia, and inevitably their interests clashed, causing a breach in a century-long friendship, which the 1917 Revolution made deeper. At the same time American business interests began to seek out the Russian market extensively. The tsarist government was receptive to this influx of American capital; it offered generous terms to American businessmen, and serious discussion was given to the most ambitious projects of promoters from abroad. By 1914 the US, although trailing behind European imperialism, showed signs, given a few more years of peacetime expansion, of becoming the leading foreign investor in Russia for many key sectors of industry.

The First World War significantly expanded the American role in the Russian economy. It may be said to constitute a third period of Russian-American economic relations, with which Lebedev concludes his book. With its European allies distracted by their own war needs, Russia negotiated vast orders for military supplies in the US, and the provisional government continued these policies.

Using Soviet archival sources, Lebedev has revealed a large, important, and hitherto obscure fund of factual material. He presents the official Soviet indictment of American imperialism, with embellishment and indignation. The whole story has yet to be told, as Lebedev himself affirms. His interpretation could be supported or refuted—more likely, amended and modified—by research in American archives, which he has not consulted. Lebedev has presented full coverage of the American economic penetration of Russia during the early twentieth century as this touched and was viewed by the tsarist government. What the American firms were trying to do and how they did it are facets of the story yet to be unearthed from the archives of the various businesses involved, the private papers of American industrialists, and other documents to be found in American libraries and repositories. To my knowledge, little of this material has been utilized.

New York University

WILLIAM L. BLACKWELL

THE AGE OF KEYNES. By *Robert Lekachman*. (New York: Random House, 1966. Pp. vii, 324. \$6.00.)

The Age of Keynes is not an easy book to review for a historical journal. The title and the description of the work suggest that it is about "the life, times, thought, and triumph of the greatest economist of our age." Whatever the merits of the study, and there are many, it must be said that it does not fulfill expectations raised by this kind of description.

The biographical chapters contain materials that are presented more gracefully and more meaningfully by Sir Roy Harrod in his biography of Keynes. There are no new insights into the personality of one of the more complex and engaging intellectual figures of the twentieth century. Only in the most superficial sense can the book be said to be about the times through which Keynes lived. The information about Great Britain, for example, is surprisingly sparse;

one would have expected in a work of this kind a more critical estimate of Keynes's influence in his own country.

What, then, are the merits of the book? Essentially, it sets out to describe how a generation of Americans were instructed in Keynesian precepts and how a second generation came to be guided by that doctrine in formulating public policy in the 1960's. The book is good popular history, suited to the general reader. It will not satisfy the scholar or serious student who turns to it for a critical account of either the man or his times.

Brown University

STEPHEN R. GRAUBARD

BESIEGED: SEVEN CITIES UNDER SIEGE. MADRID, 1936-1939; LONDON, 1940-1941; SINGAPORE, 1941-1942; STALINGRAD, 1942-1943; WARSAW, 1939, 1943, 1944; JERUSALEM, 1947-1949; BERLIN, 1945-1949. By J. Bowyer Bell. (Philadelphia: Chilton Books. 1966. Pp. xii, 323. \$6.95.)

MR. J. Bowyer Bell, in his first book, has embraced an ingenious idea in writing the story of the sieges of seven cities during the last three troubled decades. Rather oddly omitting what he concedes was the siege par excellence of our time, that of Leningrad, Bell nevertheless adequately treats the Russians in describing their role at Madrid, Warsaw, Berlin, and in what, more properly, should be termed the Stalingrad campaign rather than siege. If it still remains somewhat questionable how much the siege of Madrid actually anticipated the techniques of the Second World War, the author similarly reflects a certain lack of depth in analyzing the *Luftwaffe's* aerial siege of London; neither Hitler nor the German Army and Navy ever showed much interest in supporting Göring's notably solitary endeavors against the British. Bell is, however, just in stressing the light civilian losses of the British, particularly in view of those expected before the war.

More surprisingly, Bell appears to accept Alan Clark's recent vindication of Hitler as the strategic genius of the Stalingrad campaign as "the most balanced account so far." This conclusion is frequently at variance with his own evidence of this particular folly. Bell's grasp of the Soviet command structure at Stalingrad is, moreover, somewhat ambiguous, although, of course, he admits that he lacked the advantage of seeing Marshal Zhukov's current war memoirs.

Perhaps most effective is Bell's heart-rending description of the three sieges of Warsaw between 1939 and 1944; almost as revealing for freshness and interest is his survey of the successful opening of a supply corridor to Jerusalem by the *Haganah* in 1948. Bell's account of the siege of Berlin is, however, little more than journalism and far too concise in view of the already formidable collection of sources on this complex and all-embracing affair. A brief but good bibliographical note is garnished with fine photographs, if inadequate maps.

Drexel Institute

TRUMBULL HIGGINS

DISCRIMINATION IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE: THE POLICY ISSUES, 1945-1965. By *Gardner Patterson*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 414. \$10.00.)

THIS is a thorough and competent nonquantitative empirical study of policy formulation over the period 1945-1965 with respect to discriminatory practices in international trade and payments.

The principle that a country should not discriminate in favor of certain countries and against others in its international trade and payments policies was codified in postwar agreements, especially the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The principle had the long-time doctrinal support of economists, who saw in discriminatory practices adverse effects, in addition to those produced by nondiscriminatory tariffs and other restrictive devices, on economic efficiency.

Professor Patterson traces the numerous ways in which this principle has been eroded in practice and the accompanying evolution in thinking. Four major reasons for discrimination are meticulously studied: discrimination due to balance of payments difficulties and the inconvertibility of currencies; discrimination as an integral part of the formation of regional economic blocs, such as the European and Latin American common markets and free-trading areas; discrimination for protective purposes, especially against the alleged "market disruption" of imports from low-wage countries such as Japan; and discrimination as a device for promoting the economic growth of less developed countries.

Patterson exhibits a judicious and balanced approach in his evaluation of these discriminatory episodes. Eschewing a doctrinaire position, he recognizes that under certain limited conditions discrimination can be defended on both economic and political grounds. (He finds support for this in postwar theoretical work demonstrating that the classical case for free and nondiscriminatory trade does not always hold.) At the same time, he points out that discrimination usually involves costs as well as possible benefits, and that the costs tend to continue even after the benefits have disappeared. He expresses concern that the recent tendency for discrimination to spread threatens to weaken the momentum toward a freer and nondiscriminatory world trading system which was gaining strength a few years ago. He finds the best safeguard against a deterioration of the international trading system to be commitment to a general policy of nondiscrimination, with individual exceptions subject to international approval and supervision.

The book is highly recommended, to the specialist and nonspecialist alike, as a significant historical review, with competent interpretations, of one of the principal instruments of commercial and financial policy in the postwar world.

Miami University

D. A. SNIDER

ELEMENTE EINES ATLANTISCHEN GESCHICHTSBILDES: GUTACHTEN, DISKUSSIONEN UND EMPFEHLUNGEN DER 5. AMERIKANISCH-DEUTSCHEN HISTORIKERTAGUNG, BRAUNSCHWEIG, NOVEMBER 1963. [Schriftenreihe des Internationalen Schulbuchinstituts, Number 9.] (Brunswick: Albert Limbach Verlag. 1965. Pp. 134.)

THIS is the published record of the Fifth American-German Historians Confer-

ence on School Textbooks, which took place at the International Textbook Institute in Brunswick, November 4-9, 1963. The assembled historians named Professor Arthur Moehlman to be chairman and Dr. James B. Conant to be honorary president.

The conference centered its attention on an examination of the German and American history textbooks used at the upper level of the German Gymnasium and in the Freshman year at American colleges and universities. During the first two days, American historians (Edgar Rosen, Klemens von Klemperer, J. Alden Nichols, and Gerhard Buckhout) each presented a page-by-page evaluation and critique of a different German textbook; during the next two days, German historians (Alexander Scharff, Richard Dietrich, Paul Hartig, Robert Multhoff, Paul Kluge, and Anton Gail) dealt with five different American textbooks. Of particular interest to American college teachers of European history who read German should be the German critiques of familiar American textbooks by Bruun, Palmer, Burns, Hayes, Baldwin, and Cole, and Strayer, Gatzke, and Harbison. General discussion followed each presentation. Additional participants in the discussion included Professors Helmut Hirsch, Günter Moltmann, Fritz Stern, and Brison Gooch. On the fifth day the recommendations of both groups of historians for the improvement of the nature and content of their respective future textbooks were hammered out and agreed upon in discussion. These recommendations, reproduced in German and in English, conclude the record of what must have been an exciting conference. Like most meetings of this sort, however, time ran out and did not permit discussion of three other American evaluations of German textbooks submitted by Professors Milton Covensky, Alma Molin, and Herbert Strauss. But their evaluations are fittingly included in the book. European specialists will find the volume interesting and valuable.

University of California, Santa Barbara

HENRY M. ADAMS

AMERICANA-AUSTRIACA: FESTSCHRIFT DES AMERIKA-INSTITUTS DER UNIVERSITÄT INNSBRUCK ANLÄSSLICH SEINES ZEHNJÄHRIGEN BESTEHENS. Edited by *Klaus Lanzinger*. [Beiträge zur Amerikakunde, Number 1.] (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller. 1966. Pp. 301. \$7.00.)

SIXTEEN scholars, four Austrian and twelve American, have patched together odd bits of research and opinion to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the *Amerika-Institut* at the University of Innsbruck. Their aim is admirable: to demonstrate the virtues of building an Austrian constituency for scholarship in American studies. The result is depressing. Thanks to the Fulbright-Hayes Act, American academic mendacity has been internationalized and blended with older European practices. The particular variety of the academic hustle represented by this volume is the nonbook celebrating the nonevent.

In the essays dealing with "American History and Political Science," Clement Eaton summarizes recent studies of the history of the South in the last quarter of the nineteenth century; Henry D. Mason claims that two centralizing trends, the one that led to the formation of the Federal Union in 1789 and the one that he thinks is leading to a united Europe today, have similarities; Neal Riemer

proves that John F. Kennedy's public speeches can be summarized; and Horace Montgomery and Robert A. Rutland, in essays on "The Majoritarian Principle Challenges Early American Republicanism" and "George Washington and the Federal Constitution," provide solid surveys of their respective subjects. The most rewarding essay in the entire collection is one in the literature section on James Thurber who, in the best heavy-footed academic convention is, thank God, quoted at length.

This is a nonbook because it treats so many subjects so superficially that only the contributors and a few reviewers will read it. More important is the non-event it celebrates. Despite the polite rhetoric of the editor, the essays suggest that young Austrians with an interest in American studies have been treated to a decade of secondhand scholarship and stale expression.

A final point in the criticism-of-a-book-not-written category: have American scholars become so arrogant that no one thought it might be at least courteous to examine the relationships between Austrian and American history? It seems a bit obtuse, for instance, to develop a volume with this title and stated aim in which the names of Austrians who had some influence on American ideas or events are never mentioned. If Freud is taken for granted by now, there is still a need for research on such men as the economists Eugen Boehm-Bawerk and Joseph Schumpeter.

Boston, Massachusetts

DANIEL M. FOX

Ancient

MYCENAE AND THE MYCENAEAN AGE. By *George E. Mylonas*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 251, 153 plates. \$18.50.)

IN the last two decades exploration and excavation at Mycenae have been on a different scale from those romantic digs of the last century. Equally impressive results happen to have emerged, but there is a real difference: much more information is gathered from less material. Professor Mylonas has had a prominent part in much of this recent work at Mycenae and can write with authority. This is not a full publication of everything that has been found, but there is much here that is new and suggests more recent or firmer interpretations of old problems.

New investigations, whose progress is well described, of fortifications and gates of Mycenae lead to the identification and dating of distinct stages of building and of repair. That goes, in a lesser degree, for the palace, too. But the houses within and outside the walls of Mycenae are as productive as the palace. While their architecture is less impressive, the account of their construction, remodeling, and destruction is more indicative of the changes that took place in the Mycenaean Age. Their contents, of all sorts, have become quite as important as anything found in the palace. The most impressive new monument at Mycenae is the second grave circle, and the most attractive things come from it. Its chief merit is that, since it is recently and carefully excavated, it illustrates accurately the construction of graves, the disposition of the dead, their dress and furnishings, the covering, marking, and the inevitable subsequent fortunes of the tomb. The

facts discovered in this excavation may even permit the re-creation of the motives and expectations of the occupant and his buriers. This subject has been much troubled by a scarcity of well-preserved remains and by prejudiced interpretation of the very early first excavations. It is now much less troubled.

Although this book is not an introduction or systematic handbook, it has a sound general view. Throughout the work the monuments of the whole Mycenaean world are drawn upon for evidence or illustration, only without the same close detail Mycenae itself properly gets. It is not a book for the beginner. The author plunges immediately into his complicated subject with a full technical vocabulary. A reader already familiar with the problems of Mycenaean civilization will certainly find this most useful, and may find it indispensable.

University of Wisconsin

EMMETT L. BENNETT, JR.

THUCYDIDES AND THE POLITICS OF BIPOLARITY. By *Peter J. Fliess*. ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 194. \$6.00.)

IN government, one used to say, "The difficult can be done immediately, the impossible may take a little longer." And so in history, it seems, the probable almost never happens, and the inevitable very rarely. Thus, in spite of Thucydides, history remains unpredictable. There are too many objective factors for us to know or control them and as many that are subjective, individual, or irrational. At times we can see what happened, and, in part, why. The ancients did well to credit human planning with only one-third of the outcome, the rest being due to the gods and to fortune.

We try, nevertheless, to set up laws, and the conscientious author of this monograph finds one in what he calls "bipolarity," or (in effect) a balance of power. In an international situation dominated by two great powers, there will be a war ending only with the subjection of one of them. He applies this hypothesis to the situation in Greece in the fifth century B.C., when the growth of Athens to a position equal to that of Sparta forced the small powers to adhere to one or the other and led to the Peloponnesian War. This was, of course, the view of Thucydides in the first book, and, like Thucydides also, our author gives much less weight to arguments and pretexts. Elsewhere, however, Thucydides is less or not at all concerned with the issue. Our author's concern is to establish it by presenting "systematically the essence of political relations between the Greek states," and so gives us, in effect, a "history of the period." That is a large undertaking.

The thesis would be hard to establish in modern history, where most of the facts are known. In antiquity, where we have no "facts" except that an ancient text makes such and such a statement, it is quite impossible. It is fun to try, and Professor Fliess's book will be stimulating to undergraduates. Inevitably he expresses himself constantly in the potential. This or that "might well" have brought about this or that—or "might well" not have. It is a complex period, and there is more ancient evidence than the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides. There is an immense and constantly growing modern bibliography. I would congratulate the author and wish him well; he will find his problem and the evidence bearing on it worthy of years of future study.

Yale University

C. BRADFORD WELLES

SKLAVEREI UND HUMANITÄT: STUDIEN ZUR ANTIKEN SKLAVEREI UND IHRER ERFORSCHUNG. By *Joseph Vogt*. [Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte. Einzelschriften, Number 8.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1965. Pp. 129. DM 2.40.)

THOUGH there are many excellent studies of slavery that are limited in scope, we still lack, as Professor Vogt declares, a definitive survey of the economic and social functions of ancient slavery and its interrelationship with the course of history. Some major aspects of slavery are treated by Vogt in this collection of essays, two of which are new, and the rest have been updated and revised. Vogt's celebrated analysis of the structure of slave revolts (140-70 B.C.) is followed by a brief essay on the beginnings of Aristonicus' rebellion. Another essay discusses the baleful effect of slavery on Greek concepts of humanity. Here and throughout the book, Vogt echoes Hegel's axiom: "In der Knechtschaft des Knechtes verliert auch der Herr seine Menschheit." Vogt is a scholar of great erudition, consistent common sense, and a deep sympathy with mankind. One of his best essays deals with the tension caused by ancient society's view of slaves as things and the human reality that was revealed by intimate contact with nannies, pedagogues, and family physicians. Another study examines the loyalty of slaves both in reality and as an ideal. Two excellent essays survey the major researchers of slavery from Humboldt to the present and the views on slavery of humanists from the Renaissance to today. Vogt's comments on modern apologists for Greek slavery are trenchant and welcome.

The core of his valuable book is a careful assessment of the great slave revolts. Among other things, Vogt eliminates the idea of a "Red International" in the second century B.C. His discussion of the Sicilian rebels is most penetrating, as when he compares the Syrian mantic Eunus with the Maccabean leaders. Vogt rightly dismisses Tarn's notion of a connection between Iambulus and Aristonicus, who was a nationalist pretender with a religious appeal to Helios Dikaiosynes. His attempt to connect Aristonicus' Heliopolis with Alexarchus' Uranopolis is unfortunate, however, for Alexarchus was mad and his regime at Uranopolis was a whim humored by his brother, King Cassander. But this is a minor point, and we hope that Vogt will one day complete his study of servile revolts by analyzing the Bosporean uprising led by Saumacus, which is currently a point of controversy in Soviet historical journals. Even without Saumacus, Vogt's essays on slavery deserve and will receive a wide audience.

University of Southern California

THOMAS W. AFRICA

RECHERCHES SUR L'ORGANISATION DU COMMERCE MARITIME EN MÉDITERRANÉE SOUS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN. By *Jean Rougé*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Ports, routes, trafics, Volume XXI.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1966. Pp. 540.)

STUDENTS of the ancient world are subjected to unwelcome restrictions, among them, that economic history, for lack of statistical data, must usually appear as social, legal, or administrative history. This accounts for the form taken by Rougé's work. His exhaustive sifting of primary sources, his almost equal command of the secondary, his willingness to pursue detail, and, most obviously,

the sheer bulk of his study promise completeness. All has been long and patiently matured. Yet without departing from his announced subject, his approach, surprisingly, is often philological or otherwise indirect. What are, for example, the exact distinctions among the words meaning "shipper" and "master" and "owner," or "crane" and "winch," or among the professions of the *mercator*, *negotiator*, and *pragmateutes*? A special index lists scores of technical terms, and discussion of them takes up a large part of the book, indeed too large and indiscriminately detailed a part, still without perfect success; for, if port facilities are described, there should be fuller use made of what archaeology reveals at Ostia and elsewhere, and if mention is made of pirates, then something should be said of police measures to control them.

Despite criticisms of this sort, however, the first half or more of the book does provide an unmatched survey of the variety of jobs, specialists, machines, techniques, vessels, harbors, and routes employed in shipping, with all evidence excellently organized and explained and informed, moreover, with a sense of history, that is, of change. Emphasis on the exact meaning of terms is partially justified when the author turns to a consideration of the law regarding commerce—again too minutely, but laying down the necessary introduction for what he calls the dominant question in the economic history of the Empire: the transition from free enterprise to state control, traceable principally through legislation. From this the author, in his last fifty pages, turns to the outline of a cyclic development, from and ultimately back to domination of the eastern Mediterranean over the western, and of cruder, more limited techniques dominant over the complexity and prosperity of the middle centuries. In the historical summary Rougé's touch seems less sure, but the material more important and interesting than in the earlier chapters. No new large conclusions emerge. The study as a whole, nevertheless, will serve for many years as a scholarly, clear, highly reliable survey.

Brandeis University

RAMSAY MACMULLEN

MARCUS AURELIUS. By *Anthony Birley*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1966. Pp. 354. \$6.95.)

MICHELANGELO moved the ancient equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius to the Campidoglio, where the Emperor still sits in aloof, unfathomable sadness. The famous *Meditations*, penned by a weary, often sleepless man preoccupied by years of war, provide almost as little understanding of the last great Emperor of the Roman peace.

It cannot be said that Birley's book solves the fundamental puzzles or even seeks to do so. The details of the Emperor's life and career have been carefully analyzed; the generals and administrators have been ferreted out with the aid of the works by Syme and Pflaum; the man himself remains an inanimate object despite Birley's assertion that in our sources "the personality of Marcus Aurelius comes to life more vividly perhaps than that of any other single emperor." The truth of this statement is doubtful; as far as Marcus himself is concerned, the truncated work by Farquharson (published posthumously in 1951, but written

about 1928) goes further toward vivifying the young Marcus as Caesar, and was, incidentally, written in a far sprightlier style.

In part Birley may have concentrated too much on individual detail, though this is an asset in his effort to construct a plausible account of the German wars. But the results are a tendency to quote the sources at length, the piling up of information, and incomplete resolution of personal issues. While the author is fairly cautious in using the *Augustan History*, he recounts its pictures of the indolence and vice of Lucius Verus, only to dismiss them much later; on Faustina's purported infidelities, compare pages 134, 250, and 307. The strength of the book, which will make it useful, lies in its picture of the Empire in the mid-second century and of the efforts of the Emperor to meet its military and administrative problems. Here Birley is firmer of judgment: he considers Antoninus Pius too peace loving, condemns the Parthian War as "expensive and ultimately unnecessary," and stresses Marcus Aurelius' woeful lack of early military experience. The notes and bibliography are excellent.

University of Illinois

CHESTER G. STARR

ENEMIES OF THE ROMAN ORDER: TREASON, UNREST, AND ALIENATION IN THE EMPIRE. By *Ramsay MacMullen*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 370. \$7.95.)

Dr. MacMullen's latest illuminating study of the social history of the late Roman Empire seeks to explain why it ceased to be Roman and, in the process, ceased to be an empire. He first analyzes the opposition to the emperor in the Senate, a scrutiny of well-explored territory that is not particularly original. Next he describes the disorders caused by "philosophers," who were usually fraudulent charlatans, and "brigands," who were frequently aspiring rebels. Here he is diffuse and chronologically bewildering. His last hundred pages, however, really come to grips with his subject; they are most stimulating, full of interest, and marked by exceptional erudition, despite repeated misspelling of Euripides' name, presumably the fruit of careless proofreading. MacMullen attributes the disintegration of the Empire not to a class struggle, social revolution, anti-imperialism, nationalism, or even separatism, but to the inevitable dilution of the Roman spirit, inevitable since, in a political structure so vast and containing so many tribes and peoples, the original outlook could not possibly remain everywhere the same—pure, uncontaminated, unchanging. Local variations, clearly implied by literature and positively revealed by archaeology, diverged more and more with time, and ultimately different parts of the Empire drifted into separate ways. All of this is plausible enough. Doubts are possible about some of the generalizations. Can one assume, simply because there had never previously been "a Greece," "a Gaul," "an Africa," or "a Spain," that the Empire affected all these regions in precisely the same way? It may have bred nationalism in some, so that the removal of a strong Roman hand need not have meant reversion everywhere to pre-Roman anarchy. An India can emerge from the decay of empire as well as a Congo.

Even so, what MacMullen has to say is well worth saying. Unfortunately, in my opinion, he does not say it particularly well. The breezy slang of such expres-

sions as "tame thinker," "choosy diet," "roughing up," "what I am getting at" is unsuited to a serious and important study. Throughout, documentation is excellent, although most readers would prefer it at the foot of the page rather than the end of the book. The bibliography is extensive and up to date, and the index very serviceable.

McMaster University

E. T. SALMON

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND THE INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY: A STUDY OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. By G. L. Keyes. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 206. \$5.95.)

WHILE Dr. Keyes's study testifies to the powerful influence and challenge of one of the most provocative interpreters of history, he gives his readers an interpretation of St. Augustine that rejects the validity of the Augustinian philosophy of history. For Keyes, Augustine is a fifth-century Christian intellectual whose response to the crises of his era was conditioned by the theological presuppositions of the late fourth-century Church and, most significantly, by Augustine's philosophical presuppositions, particularly "his peculiar theory of knowledge."

Keyes introduces his study with a concise summary of the salient features of Greco-Roman civilization. This summarization is a fresh restatement of the view that the great African father was "also the last or almost the last great representative of Graeco-Roman civilization." Thus the development of the "classical attitude" that Augustine inherited is introduced with a simile that seeks to establish the pattern of intellectual development in classical civilization: from dependence upon authority during infancy to skepticism and faith and finally to "senile certitude."

The chapter devoted to St. Augustine's theory of knowledge enables the author to discuss the implications of this topic for interpreting history. Keyes moves with ease through intellectual terrain all too often terra incognita to many of his fellow historians. The Augustinian theory of knowledge completely relies upon faith. For this Keyes would not criticize Augustine were it not for the consequences of this position when he expounded on history. In the chapter "Procrustean Treatment of Evidence," he roundly scores Augustine, the "apologetical historian" who "is a Christian bishop, and he never forgets it." The chapter is a useful review of the state of education and culture during this vital transitional era, and Augustine, indeed, is a fine representative of what was best and what was changing in the later Empire. From Augustine's many works Keyes reconstructs the Augustinian version of *A Divine Comedy*, a panoramic view of history charted by a divine author. Keyes concludes that St. Augustine does indeed have a philosophy of history, but it is one that is "fatal to historical studies." This analysis will not satisfy those who hold that "unbelief" also constitutes a *praejudicium*.

This provocative and informative study ends with a good, selective bibliography and a short index. The publisher has done well by Keyes in providing a pleasant format and a text remarkably free from errors.

Colorado State University

HARRY ROSENBERG

THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE ARMENIAN CHURCH.

By *Karekin Sarkissian*. (London: S.P.C.K. 1965. Pp. xv, 264. 50s.)

PUBLICATION of this important work on the Council of Chalcedon and its disruptive consequences, as seen by a bishop of the Armenian Church, should be greeted by all students of ecclesiastical history and doctrinal questions. It is the first such study in English in which the stand of the Armenian Church vis-à-vis the Council of Chalcedon is presented in a forthright if at times somewhat repetitious manner.

More than half of the book is solid ecclesiastico-political history, though most of the introduction is devoted to ascertaining the year in which the Chalcedonian Creed was rejected by the Armenian Church. In the first chapter is a brief and adequate account of the council. In Chapters II-V under "The Historical Background" the author depicts in detail the political and religious conditions in Armenia before, at the time of, and after the council. In these amply annotated chapters, and in the "Additional Notes," he builds up a good case against the Chalcedonian Creed with consummate care, capping it with another chapter on the doctrinal position of the Armenian Church, which position, he insists, has as its base the Nicene Creed. In arriving at such a conclusion he demolishes the frequently repeated but mistaken notion that the Armenian Church is Monophysite. Rather, its adherents cling steadfastly to the tenets of the orthodox Nicene Creed, refusing to have their church identified either with the Greek Orthodox, or the splintered Monophysite churches of the East. Then, reverting to the question he raised in his introduction, the author shows that the rejection of the Chalcedonian Creed by the Armenian Church took place at the Council of Dowin in 506, for it was only then, and somewhat indirectly, that the question was raised. During the intervening fifty-five years since the Council of Chalcedon in 451, the Armenians were waging a life-and-death struggle in defense of their church against Mazdaism, and therefore could not be seriously distracted by purely doctrinal matters.

In his scholarly and well-written book the learned bishop has naturally and quite properly emphasized the religious aspects of the subject, thus bringing out the importance of the works of Armenian Church fathers, as is shown in his excellent bibliography. It seems to me, however, that the worldly and non-ecclesiastical views of these fathers are not given due weight, for in expounding their doctrinal creed they were in all probability motivated as much by their religious zeal as by their awareness that their course was the only way to maintain the Armenian Apostolic Church as the primary national institution in the country. Not inadvertently they were thus acting as architects of that church.

Library of Congress

A. O. SARKISSIAN

JUSTINIAN AND THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE. By *John W. Barker*.

(Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1966. Pp. xviii, 318. \$5.00.)

POSSIBLY only a college instructor who has sought desperately to find up-to-date monographs in English for students of Byzantine history will know how welcome Professor Barker's monograph on the Age of Justinian really is. Avowedly

designed to introduce the general reader to the period, it admirably serves that purpose since it is written in the clearest and liveliest of styles and contains useful sections on the centuries before and the decades after the protagonist's reign. The author has so well digested recent literature that he can thread his way quickly but without major misstep through the stickiest issues: the relations between demes and factions for one or the nature of the "Heraclian reforms" for another.

In many instances the interpretation, or at least the emphasis, is fresh and provocative. We do not always remember that both Justinian and the greater part of his entourage were parvenus of the first or second generation. Possibly only folk owning (or disowning) such origins could have sponsored an official propaganda designed to prove that the Emperor was, after all, the noblest Roman of them all. The suggestion that the Nika riots were catalytic, that Justinian's suppression of them permitted him to undertake the major campaigns of the 530's, seems thoroughly defensible, too. Certainly the wealth Justinian was able to confiscate from dissident and defeated members of the senatorial class would have helped to equip the armies Belisarius shortly led to the west.

In a book where the author cannot protect his flank with footnotes and closely reasoned arguments, the specialist inevitably will find statements to question or attack. Was the *chrysargyron* really "inequitable?" Was John of Capadocia really a rapacious roué first and foremost? Or was he rather one of the few genial bureaucratic reformers the world has ever known, so successful at his job that he alienated the second-level functionaries upon whom we depend for so much of our knowledge of his works? Was Justin II's foreign policy really puerile if, by Barker's own analysis, the contrasting measures taken by Justinian had proved dismal failures in practice?

Perhaps the least appealing aspect of the book is the author's personal solution to a problem no historian of the period has yet successfully solved. We know so much about the many things done by the "emperor who never slept" that it is difficult to organize a coherent account of them. Barker has commendably abandoned the old schema inherited by most of his predecessors from Procopius, yet his own categories of "old and new problems" are not fully satisfactory either. The reader does not gain the feeling he should for the tremendous changes worked upon state and society by the pressures many of Justinian's subjects had to face at one and the same time.

But considerations such as these only suggest that there is still work to do in a field already well plowed by the standards of Byzantine historiography. Until more significant works appear, the reader will find this a reliable and by far the best-written introduction to the period he could hope to discover.

Mount Holyoke College

JOHN L. TEALL

Medieval

THE CAMBRIDGE MEDIEVAL HISTORY. Volume IV, THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE. Part I, BYZANTIUM AND ITS NEIGHBOURS. Edited by J. M. Hussey. With the editorial assistance of D. M. Nicol and G. Cowan. ([2d ed.,] New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. xl, 1168. \$25.00.)

THIS revised edition of Volume IV of *The Cambridge Medieval History* was first suggested by Norman Baynes and was planned by him with the collaboration of J. M. Hussey. Baynes, no doubt, intended to participate actively in the preparation of the new volume, but his protracted illness and then death left it up to Hussey to carry on the work. She is to be congratulated for having brought it to completion.

The new volume is patterned after that which appeared in 1923, except that two introductory chapters have been added covering developments from Constantine the Great to 717, important in the formation of the character of the Byzantine Empire. Described as a second edition, the volume is really a new work, completely rewritten and by new authorities. As completed (a second part is scheduled to appear soon), it consists of nineteen chapters, ten of which relate to the history of the Byzantine Empire, while the other nine deal with its various neighbors with the emphasis, usually but not always, on the relations of the latter with the Empire: the Muslims, both Arab and Turk; the Armenians and Georgians; the various peoples north of the Balkans, including the Russians; the Balkan States; the Hungarians; and Venice before the Fourth Crusade. Appended are listings of rulers, not only of Byzantium, but also of the various other states discussed and also of popes and patriarchs; ten genealogical tables, nine of which relate to the great dynasties of Byzantium; and a bibliography that covers 234 pages. How useful this bibliography can be, especially for the uninitiated, is a matter open to question; it is not annotated.

A book such as this with its varied contents contributed by different authors cannot as a whole be given detailed critical appraisal by any one reviewer. It is particularly important to determine to what extent the results of scholarship since 1923 have been incorporated in the new volume. In so far as matters directly relating to Byzantium are concerned, I think, in general, full account has been taken of them. To illustrate, Nicol accepts Stiernon's observations concerning the origin of the despotat of Epirus as against the view that he himself expressed some years ago. Dvornik takes the position, established earlier by me, that at Piacenza the envoys of Alexius Comnenus in their appeal for help "mentioned the Holy Places in Jerusalem, knowing the veneration which the Westerners had for them," and adds, "the initiative taken a few months afterwards at Clermont was inspired in great part by Alexius' suggestion." This position, however, is contested elsewhere in the volume. Grégoire fully incorporates his reappraisal of the ninth and early tenth centuries, even to the extent of reasserting as against the well-founded observations of such scholars as Vasiliev, Ostrogorsky, and Jenkins, that there was no Russian attack against Constantinople under the leadership of Oleg. In the affair of the ecclesiastical quarrel between Rome and Constantinople in 1054, Dvornik, and to some extent Hussey, following Jugie, puts the

blame where it belongs, on the shoulders of the papal legate, Cardinal Humbert. A number of matters discussed in the volume should be examined at length, but this discussion will have to be deferred for another occasion. Two matters should at least be mentioned: Dvornik's view that in the coronation of Charlemagne Pope Leo III acted as the representative of the army, Senate, and people; and the circumstances, once more an object of controversy, under which Calabria, Sicily, and Illyrium were removed from the jurisdiction of the papacy.

There should be some general remarks on the book as a whole. Its core, of course, is the history of the Byzantine Empire, and in this there is some unity, but the volume cannot be described as an organic whole. Some chapters have only slight relation to the others, and there is considerable repetition. As a whole, it is not and could not be inspiring. No reader is likely to read it through. As compared to a more unified work as, for instance, Ostrogorsky's *History* with its vital notes, its usefulness is bound to be limited. It does, however, contain considerable information and also points of view that can be found elsewhere, if at all, especially by the uninitiated, only with difficulty. Here is where its merits lie.

Rutgers University

PETER CHARANIS

BYZANCE ET LA MER: LA MARINE DE GUERRE, LA POLITIQUE ET LES INSTITUTIONS MARITIMES DE BYZANCE AUX VII^e-XV^e SIÈCLES. By *Hélène Ahrweiler*. [Bibliothèque byzantine. Études, Number 5.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1966. Pp. 502. 60 fr.)

THIS book is a general political history of Byzantium from the seventh century, with emphasis upon imperial and provincial naval armaments. Despite the subtitle, which suggests that the author's account is carried on into the fifteenth century, the work actually ends in the early fourteenth century when Andronicus II drastically reduced the Byzantine navy to save money for the field campaigns against the Turks in Asia Minor. The medieval Greeks' political and commercial inheritance from the Roman Empire depended upon their being able to maintain Roman naval supremacy in the Mediterranean and led to the illusory dreams of Justinian and Manuel I Comnenus to reconquer former imperial territories in the west. But while Rome had once dominated the Mediterranean from the mid-point of *mare nostrum*, Constantinople stood on the Bosphorus, far removed from the west, making Justinian's achievement short-lived and frustrating Manuel's ambition.

Assailed by a long series of barbarian invasions, the Byzantine emperors for centuries drew from the land the soldiers who defended the state. The naval interests of the commercial classes inevitably yielded to those of the peasantry, which provided the armies to defend the contracting frontiers of the Empire. An interesting problem thus arose which "soulignait l'opposition entre les deux ressources fondamentales du pays, le commerce et l'agriculture, la mer et la terre. . . ." During the early period of the Empire the tensions between the land and sea forces were religious as well as social; while the armies recruited in Asia Minor were iconoclast, the provincial fleets recruited from mainland and island Greeks were iconodule. The survival of Byzantium was owing to the statesmanship that could keep these two opposing forces in balance.

To the centrally controlled imperial fleet Leo III the Isaurian added several independent coastal commands corresponding to the provincial (or "thematic") organization of the interior land forces. The first maritime Theme was that of the Cibyrrheotes in southern Asia Minor, created sometime before the year 732. The author analyzes the whole range of naval officialdom (*strategos*, *droungarios*, *archon*, *tourmarches*, and *komes*) and tries valiantly to identify the major commands and the location of their bases.

The author considers the Byzantine navy and merchant marine in relation to economic conditions as well as to the Empire's victories and defeats in warfare; the rise of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa; the Turkish occupation of Asia Minor; the development of "feudalism" (*pronoia*, *oikonomia*), piracy, and the like. Alexius I Comnenus built three fleets in fifteen years (1090-1105) to combat assailants of his hard-pressed state, and Michael VIII Palaeologus (1261-1282) required a naval armament for protection against the plans of Charles of Anjou. Under Michael's successor, Andronicus II, however, the navy suffered reductions for economy's sake from which recovery proved impossible.

This is a very good book, clearly written and well documented. It makes valuable corrections of a number of current points of view and will be required reading for graduate students for years to come.

University of Wisconsin

KENNETH M. SETTON

ÉTUDES D'HISTOIRE MARITIME DE BYZANCE: À PROPOS DU
"THÈME DES CARAVISIENS." By *Hélène Antoniadis-Bibicou*. [Bibliothèque Générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1966. Pp. 220.)

WHILE not alone or unique, Mme. Antoniadis-Bibicou has been one of the most articulate of the recent scholars who have called attention to the paradoxical place that the Empire's naval history has held in Byzantine studies. There is no question that geography, military conditions, and commercial interests made possession of a strong naval arm essential for both the defense and the prosperity of the Empire. Though challenged and disrupted at times, its naval strength was maintained with fair success through much of its history. It was the collapse of that strength in the eleventh century that particularly exposed the Empire to the external powers that would ruin it. Yet, the Byzantines themselves were equivocal in their attitudes: while often proudly recognizing the uniqueness among Christian states of their naval power, they nevertheless discriminated against it and undermined it in various ways. Correspondingly, while recognizing the function of sea power in Byzantine history, modern scholarship has tended to deal with it backhandedly, in scattered, diffuse, and unintegrated fashion. The time is coming when someone must produce a comprehensive and coherent synthesis of present knowledge.

This study is an important step in that direction. The opening section includes some recapitulation and expansion of the author's similarly titled article that appeared in the *Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, XIII (Apr.-June 1958). Her specific concentration here, however, is on the question of the evolution of the Empire's naval "themes," in relation both to the development of the total Theme System itself and to the Empire's naval organization.

She reviews the source problems and theories involved in the much-debated question of the origins of the Theme System in a discussion also useful as a historiographic essay. Her conclusions generally follow those of Ostrogorsky, dating the first clear initiation of the thematic innovations in the middle of the reign of Heraclius (610-641). The heart of her study is a long chapter on the so-called Carabisiani or Sailors' Theme. She concludes that, unlike the earliest Themes, this one was never a geographic and administrative entity, but merely an organizational unit of over-all naval command. The beginnings of the first true naval Themes she ascribes to Leo III (717-741), and the process of their organization was completed before the end of the ninth century. In a brief section she argues that the administration of land grants for the sailors in the naval thematic forces was perfected under Nicephorus I (802-811). This is followed by a somewhat cursory consideration of the place the naval establishment held in the eleventh-century deterioration that so completely undermined the Empire's carefully interrelated economic, social, and military institutions, and, with them, the Empire's viability. Appended are two excursions on technical details of Byzantine naval affairs and an especially valuable essay on naval terminology used in Byzantine source texts, supplemented further by a glossary of terms at the end of the book. Many of the author's conclusions are not entirely new, but her broad and carefully documented perspective produces a comprehensive picture never before so well assembled. There are a few minor omissions from her bibliography, but this and her footnotes are rich mines of information on the literature, secondary and primary.

The author has made a major contribution to the study of Byzantine naval history in this extremely important addition to the broader literature on the Byzantine Theme System itself.

University of Wisconsin

JOHN W. BARKER

ORBIS BRITANNIAE AND OTHER STUDIES. By *Eric John*. [Studies in Early English History, Number 4.] ([Leicester:] Leicester University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 303. 42s.)

As the title indicates, *Orbis Britanniae* is a series of essays. The first three, about half the book, are a sequel to John's *Land Tenure*. The first deals with bookland as a royal prerogative, first of kinglets and later of the Bretwalda and the great kings of Mercia and Wessex. Originally developed to furnish permanent endowment for ecclesiastical communities, bookland, because it could be disposed of by will, proved so attractive that lay magnates sought possession of it by any available means. Restraint in the issuance of bookland then became a mark of royal efficiency.

The second essay—the heart of the argument—deals with folkland, an institution so familiar to the Anglo-Saxons that they never bothered to explain it. Our written sources are scarce and ambiguous, and interpretation of the term must be based largely on the logic of prevailing conditions. John's argument that tenure of folkland was essentially feudal—life tenure for service—seems to me persuasive, although many of the details of his thesis and of his treatment of English feudalism in the following essay do not. In challenging the views of the "Ger-

manists," John has adopted the Celtist idea that the English invasion was not a folk migration but the imposition of an aristocracy like that of the later Normans on a conquered native population. This ignores Bede's clear statement that the Angles all moved out of their old territory to England. John's treatment of the fyrd assumes that there was little or no change in English military customs between 450 and 1066, in spite of the evidence for a very marked change on the Continent during this period.

This indifference to continental military changes is the more surprising because in the next section, which considers documents related to the monastic reforms of the tenth century, John does, quite legitimately, introduce continental analogies to support his interpretation. Since many of these documents are charters, comments on this section should perhaps be left to experts in diplomatics. A final section contains notes on various documents from the Anglo-Saxon period: Bede's use of *facultas*; the Newminster charter; the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the *ordo* of Edgar's coronation, and the *Vita Oswaldi* on the coronation of Edgar; *Maldon*; and the fyrd in post-Conquest sources.

In so far as this rather miscellaneous work has a center of gravity, that center is land tenure, and its principal importance is probably that it reiterates and amplifies a theory of early English land tenure, which, in its main outlines, seems to fit such scanty data as we have.

University of Colorado

J. D. A. OGILVY

COLUMBUS IN THE ARCTIC? AND THE VINELAND ADVENTURE.

Part I, NOTES ON THE LITERATURE OF THE VINELAND VOYAGES; Part II, SUBSEQUENT VOYAGES WITH REFERENCE TO COLUMBUS. By J. Kr. Tornøe. (New York: Humanities Press. 1965. Pp. 92. \$5.00.)

EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY: NORSEMEN BEFORE COLUMBUS. By J. Kr. Tornøe. (New York: Humanities Press. 1965. Pp. 126. \$3.00.)

WE have probably now reached a point when the written sources relating to the Norse discovery of parts of the eastern coast of Canada, and possibly of America too, have been drained of all the information they hold. This neither will nor should prevent further speculation about the locality of the areas mentioned, in particular Helluland, Markland, and Vinland. But it seems unlikely we shall reach certainty without scientifically established archaeological finds. The sagas provide us with a moderate amount of information that is consonant with the broad geographical situation and with common sense and much material that, in the light of our increased knowledge of saga making, we must set aside. In between are such debatable matters as sailing directions and topographical descriptions. Some people feel that these should be regarded in a highly critical way. Mr. Tornøe, on the other hand, accepts them with an almost unquestioning reverence. As a result he is able to trace the Norse voyages, both accidental and deliberate, with exactitude and to place Baffin Island, Labrador, Belle Isle, Cape Cod, Falmouth, Manhattan, Delaware Bay, and Chesapeake Bay on the Norse map. I think Tornøe's most sympathetic reader may be worried by the frequency of such phrases as "it is likely," "it is probable," "we can assume," and "no

doubt." And since we cannot define the sailing directions, even if we bring ourselves to accept the saga numerals, he has assuredly sailed a risky course.

Columbus in the Arctic? consists of two main sections: "Notes on the Literature of the Vineland Voyages," that is, postsaga writings on the subject, and "Subsequent Voyages with Reference to Columbus." *Early American History* helpfully discusses the ships used in Viking times, then plots the voyages made by Bjarni Herjolfsson, Leif Ericson, his brother Thorvald, and Thorfinn Karlsefni. Whatever one thinks of Tornöe's main contentions, and they can no more be disproved than they can be proved, he offers much welcome information over the wide field of the western and northern voyages of the Norsemen. I conclude by saying in an entirely amicable way that he credits me with views on the location of Vinland and the meaning of the name that I have never held and never expressed.

University of Wales

GWYN JONES

WARFARE IN ENGLAND, 1066-1189. By *John Beeler*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 493. \$12.50.)

THOSE who think "drum and trumpet" history is written only by romantics or antiquarians should read this book. Beeler has omitted from his work the drama, glory, and emotionalism so often found in military history, and he has directly related his findings to the major issues debated by historians of Anglo-Norman military institutions. The result is a rather dry but significant book that ranks with the recent studies of Hollister, Powicke, and others.

Beginning with Hastings and ending with the last campaign of Henry II, Beeler gives a detailed account of every battle, "show of force," and siege that occurred in England or Wales. In the chronological presentation of this massive evidence he often descends to an annalistic style, particularly when treating the military operations of Stephen's reign. The total effect of his description of events is to portray medieval warfare as a dull, dreary, and almost continuous business, and that, I suspect, is precisely what it was. Certainly he proves that the "age of cavalry" thesis is untenable; in most engagements infantry played the major role.

Beeler sees the Norman Conquest as "revolutionary," but argues that England's new rulers preserved certain Saxon institutions (as, for example, the fyrd) and, by a shrewd combination of the best elements of Norman and Saxon military systems, attained a "degree of military efficiency superior to anything known at the time in Western Europe." He believes that the most important military innovation of the Normans was their introduction of the castle into England and presents evidence to show that castles were the determining factor in warfare until the reign of Henry II. He also concludes, by plotting the location of castles on a map, that Norman kings systematically and strategically placed castles in such a fashion that their lines of communication were protected. Another major point concerns the abilities of medieval commanders. Beeler sees them not as "incompetent dolts" but as able and intelligent men working with a crude and often unreliable military machine. Stephen in particular is upgraded as a general.

In the last two chapters Beeler brings his evidence to bear upon the problems

of institutional history, with good discussions of military quotas, length of service, mercenary troops, *fief-rente*, and castle-guard, to name but a few. In dealing with these controversial topics he ably synthesizes the views of other scholars while presenting the results of his own research. Whether or not one agrees with his conclusions, it is doubtful that a better summary of the many problems of Anglo-Norman military history can be found.

This book contains a massive bibliography, useful maps, and is well indexed; the appendixes are redundant.

Lehigh University

CHARLES L. TIPTON

DOMESDAY STUDIES: THE *LIBER EXONIENSIS*. By R. Weldon Finn.

([Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1964. Pp. x, 172. \$6.50.)

DOMESDAY RE-BOUND. [Public Record Office.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1954; reprinted with corrections 1960. Pp. viii, 55. 80 cents postpaid.)

FOLLOWING his *Domesday Inquest* and *Introduction to Domesday Book*, this is Mr. Finn's third recent volume on the Domesday Survey and Domesday Book. In this study the author is concerned primarily with the nature and contents of the manuscript preserved at Exeter Cathedral, the Exon Domesday or *Liber Exoniensis*. The analysis and detailed description presented are the result of thirty years' study. One of the most interesting sections is Finn's further development of a hypothesis put forward earlier, that, like a modern doctoral dissertation, the results began to be written up before the investigation had been completed, and that Domesday Book itself was written locally, circuit by circuit. The hypothesis is intended to account for the whole Domesday Survey, but it fits the southwestern evidence, the main concern of this study, more plausibly than it accounts for such evidence as Evesham A or parts of the Domesday Monachorum. It is misleading to the reader unfamiliar with all the Domesday and Domesday-related texts to speak of Exon Domesday as "the senior survivor of the mass of original documents produced in connection with" the Domesday Survey, and the references to "Exchequer [*sic*] officials" present when provincial drafts were being drawn up, or to "Exchequer clerks" throughout the book, cannot of course be taken literally. What is meant must be officials and clerks associated in some way more with the text of Great Domesday than with the texts on which Great Domesday was based. The two chapters on the *Terrae Occupatae* are full of factual details whose import or bearing for more general problems fails to emerge. The author's paleographical examination, in these chapters and elsewhere, will probably be the most helpful to others interested in these texts. The index would have been much more useful if it were complete with respect to personal names; the same cannot confidently be said about place names because the author has deliberately left most of them in their various Domesday forms, without modern identification.

In contrast with the current scholarship of Finn's study, *Domesday Re-bound*, when it first appeared in 1954, was an almost nostalgic reflection of the state of historical knowledge of the days of Maitland and Round. Now that it has been reprinted "with corrections," the errors of the first note on page

eight have been removed; the Pipe Roll of Michaelmas, 1130, has been redated in the first note on page forty-seven from 1131 to "1129-30"; and a slip has been corrected in the last line of the first full paragraph of page fifty-one. The enduring value of the pamphlet consists of the discussion of, and especially the representation in Appendix I of, the gatherings of the two Domesday volumes. When this printing is exhausted, a new edition would be welcome, including radical revision of the introductory matter and a few further corrections, such as setting straight the nonsense in the fourth line from the end of the first full paragraph of page three and an end to the confusion between the Yorkshire *Clamores* and the so-called "Summary."

University of Minnesota

ROBERT S. HOYT

THE LORDSHIP OF CANTERBURY: AN ESSAY ON MEDIEVAL SOCIETY. By F. R. H. Du Boulay. ([London:] Nelson; New York: Barnes and Noble. 1966. Pp. xiv, 418. \$15.00.)

THIS study of the lands belonging to the archbishopric of Canterbury from Domesday to about 1546 brings a new dimension that will change the writing of ecclesiastical history. No longer can an investigation of the formalities of church administration be considered adequate in such studies. Professor Du Boulay also makes a fine contribution to the history of manorialism with an example that suggests the possibility of using other episcopal records to supplement recent studies of monastic estates. These pages, reflecting the inspiration of Marc Bloch, are worthy of the association.

In dealing with the subject of knights' fees, the book stands also in the succession of British medieval scholarship based upon the earlier studies of J. H. Round and Helena M. Chew. The author adds somewhat to their work in a systematic account of the fees of Canterbury and provides an appendix summarizing the descent of each fee. His discussion of the close connection between gavelkind tenure and knight tenure in Kent is particularly valuable. One weakness of this treatment is that he gives little attention to the strictly military aspect of these holdings and largely ignores the contact between the lordship of Canterbury and the monarchy.

The archbishops followed a varying pattern in respect to the management of the demesne: until about 1200 it was leased to "farmers"; from 1200 to 1400 the policy was one of direct exploitation; and the final phase of the medieval estates saw a return to leasing. The conclusion that the final phase was one of "moderate prosperity" may have wider significance for the understanding of the English economy during the fifteenth century.

With his emphasis upon the Domesday "endowment" and implicit treatment of the estates as an entity, the author gives little attention to short-term fluctuations. Royal intrusions upon the death of an archbishop or the loss or restoration of manors (such as carried out by Archbishop Hubert Walter) provide examples of fluctuations that are not fully examined. Of course Du Boulay is right in emphasizing the importance of the professional management that continued in spite of changes of archbishops, but he has probably underestimated the influence of certain archbishops. His appendix listing many of the officeholders in

temporal administration is a helpful addition. Like many really good books this one opens up new possibilities for research while at the same time providing a definitive study of the medieval estates of Canterbury.

Duke University

CHARLES R. YOUNG

DIE BÜNDNISSE DEUTSCHER HERRSCHER MIT REICHSANGEHÖRIGEN VOM REGIERUNGSANTRITT FRIEDRICH BARBAROSSAS BIS ZUM TOD RUDOLFS VON HABSBURG. By *Günter Rauch*. [Untersuchungen zur deutschen Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte, New Series, Number 5.] (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1966. Pp. xxiv, 251. DM 39.)

THIS is a study of the pacts between ruler and ruled in the medieval Empire from the mid-twelfth through the late thirteenth century, the period of their greatest incidence. Specifically it concerns those pacts (*Bündnisse*) "through which the emperor or king declares that he has secured for himself the promise of an effect or action [*Leistung*] from a constituent of the Empire, and that he in exchange promises a reciprocal action or effect [*Gegenleistung*]." These are promises of future performance by both parties, not merely the confirmation of past acts or privileges. The privileges and acts of grace of an earlier period are direct forerunners of the *Bündnisse*; "both were compensations."

The author, using published documents, traces the variation in the extent to which the *Bündnisse* were employed and examines the purposes for which they were used at different times. During the Great Interregnum (1250-1273), for example, they often took the form of documents of recognition and of promises of military service. Throughout their history the *Bündnisse* were particularly important as a form used to create and to field imperial armies. Their continued utilization was "atavistic," a sign that the emperors did not succeed in attaining sovereignty for the state or in "centralizing the Empire with the help of the centripetal forces of feudal law."

No specific notarial formula ever evolved for the *Bündnisse*, and they continued to be designated by such differing terms as *pactum*, *conventio*, and *confoederatio*. The reader is left, indeed, in some doubt as to whether the *Bündnis* was in fact a special arrangement that took differing shapes. And is it so startling as the author states in his introduction for us to conceive of pacts between a ruler and members of the political entity of which he is ruler, especially in areas where, in the Middle Ages, authority, duties, and rights were not clearly defined constitutionally and accepted in fact?

This is a well-written and enjoyable book that poses and suggests answers to interesting questions. It contains useful discussions and summaries of numerous aspects of German and imperial military, diplomatic, and constitutional history now being debated in scholarly literature.

University of Nebraska

WILLIAM M. BOWSKY

I POLENTANI FINO AL TEMPO DI DANTE. By *Augusto Torre*. [VII Centenario della Nascita de Dante: Collana di studi storici, Number 4.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore. 1966. Pp. vii, 250.)

THIS fourth volume of the historical series published by the *comitato ravennate* created to celebrate the seven-hundredth anniversary of Dante's birth does not quite meet the high standard established by its predecessor in this series, A. Vasina's study of the Romagnese in the Age of Dante. In his preface Augusto Torre states that his purpose is to present a "systematic" account of the Polenta family from its origins until the expulsion of Guido Novello da'Polenta, Dante's host in Ravenna, from the signory of that city in 1322 by studying the political successes of the Polentani during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Torre refers the reader to John Larner's recent study of the Romagna for the social and economic aspects of the story. For a historian to attempt to isolate "political" from other events is dangerous in itself; Torre's reliance on a book that deals primarily with the *trecento* and whose limitations are serious (*AHR*, LXXII [Oct. 1966], 160) is equivalent to setting for oneself the goal of composing an unsatisfactory book.

From 1240, when Frederick II occupied Ravenna, the history of that once important and glamorous city became inextricably bound to that of the Polentani. After breaking their alliance with the Traversari, in the mid-1270's, the Polenta, directed by Guido Minore, attained an increasingly important position in communal politics and were instrumental in formulating their city's foreign policy. Probably the most satisfactory part of Torre's history of the Polentani is the recounting of the delicate diplomatic maneuvers that had to be executed by Ravenna to maintain its independence, owing to Bolognese and Venetian interests over the salt mines of Cervia and papal insistence on maintaining control of the entire Romagna.

Had Torre's description of the Polentani role in the formulation and implementation of Ravennate foreign policy been coupled with a thorough description of the means they employed in order to consolidate their position within the city, this could have been a valuable book. But the author fails to construct the broad socioeconomic and institutional framework within which the Polentani moved. As a result, he leaves too many questions unanswered: what, for example, was the authority of the *Consiglio Generale* and of the *Consiglio di Credenza*? The author's brief description does not explain how the Polentani were able to manipulate these two councils in their attempt to enhance their position in the city.

In conclusion, one might say that Torre has performed his task diligently but unimaginatively. But the author did not raise a serious question that has concerned historians of the High Middle Ages and of the early Renaissance: what was the complex process contributing to the transformation of the communal into a signorial type of government?

Brown University

ANTHONY MOLHO

ANCIENT PETITIONS RELATING TO NORTHUMBERLAND. Edited by C. M. Fraser. [The Publications of the Surtees Society, Volume CLXXVI.] (Durham, Eng.: Andrews and Company; London: Bernard Quaritch for the Society. 1966. Pp. xiv, 273.)

THE editor has arranged the documents under ten headings and provided short introductions to each section. The petitions themselves are calendared in English, printed *in extenso* in the original Latin or French with the contemporary endorsements, and almost all provided with explanatory notes or references to related sources. Because of the sometimes cryptic nature of the petitions, these editorial notes, based upon a thorough knowledge of the area and period, add greatly to the usefulness of the volume.

In addition to the obvious value of *Ancient Petitions* for local history, they provide life in Northumbria in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with a viewpoint different from other records. By their very nature they illustrate the editor's statement that English government in the fourteenth century centered so directly on royal authority that to override custom or statute it was necessary to make a request to that same authority. Many petitions throughout the volume (in addition to those in the sections explicitly dealing with war service and war damages) reflect the hardships caused by sporadic fighting with the Scots. An example of the problem caused in trying to identify a prisoner as a Scot or an Englishman and other examples of shifting allegiances from one side to the other give life to the rather dreary episodes of border troubles. One section of the book is devoted to the 1317 rebellion of Sir Gilbert de Middleton, who later went over to the Scots. Another person mentioned in several petitions is Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham from 1283 to 1311, and these references supplement the documents relating to his episcopate edited by Mr. Fraser for the Surtees Society in 1953. Some other subjects illustrated in the present volume are the administration or miscarriage of justice, royal officials at work or misusing their authority, appropriation of churches by monasteries, use of influence to sway judicial opinions, trade in coal and wool, and circumvention of customs duties by shipping wool to Berwick from Newcastle to avoid the higher English duties.

Duke University

CHARLES R. YOUNG

ENSAIOS DE HISTÓRIA MEDIEVAL PORTUGUESA. By A. H. de Oliveira Marques. [Coleção Portugal. Series 1, História.] (Lisbon: Portugal Editora. [1965.] Pp. 307.)

SEVEN valuable studies in medieval Portuguese economic history, all previously published in various journals between 1956 and 1962 and now revised, are assembled in this welcome volume, the title of which hardly discloses its genuine importance.

In the initial essay the author, who has rapidly established himself as among the ablest and best-equipped specialists on the Portuguese Middle Ages, provides a concise survey of the whole subject of Portugal's medieval economy, assessing its past historiography and emphasizing the many central topics awaiting investi-

gation. This is followed by an admirable analysis of late thirteenth-century Portuguese demography, which, on the basis of texts concerning royal taxation of notaries (*tabeliães*) discovered by Oliveira Marques in the Torre do Tombo and here first edited, advances beyond the long-raging controversy over fourteenth-century statistics to illumine the distribution patterns, rural-urban contrasts, and the surprising pre-eminence of riverine and cropland towns over coastal (Lisbon excepted). The next two papers treat social and economic trends in the fourteenth century; they address themselves respectively to the revealing *pragmática* issued by King Afonso IV in connection with the Santarem Cortes of 1340, and to the class structure of the town and *termo* of Arruda dos Vinhos near Lisbon, with its striking predominance of small over large landowners. Another pair of essays deals with fifteenth-century Portugal's commercial connections with Northern Europe, the first discussing ties with the Prussia of the Teutonic Knights, the second outlining the organization and operation of the Portuguese factory at Bruges. The latter is particularly helpful in view of the creeping obsolescence of standard treatments of Luso-Flemish trade. Finally, there is a lucid account of Portugal's monetary evolution, emphasizing the later Middle Ages, which goes well beyond conventional chronicling of coinage strikes to tackle basic problems of gold supply, royal currency devaluation, and inflationary cycles.

The whole collection constitutes an extremely useful work; with its historiographical and bibliographical data, publication of key documents, and application of modern techniques of analysis and interpretation, it is an indispensable guide to the present state of medieval Portuguese economic studies and the obvious point of departure for future research in the field.

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

JEAN DE FRANCE, DUC DE BERRI: SA VIE. SON ACTION POLITIQUE (1340-1416). Volume I, DE LA NAISSANCE DE JEAN DE FRANCE À LA MORT DE CHARLES V. By *Françoise Lehoux*. (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard & Cie. 1966. Pp. li, 459.)

Of the four sons of John II, the Good, a most unlucky person himself, his namesake has fared worst with historians. Famous as a patron of the arts, the Duke of Berry is also known as a prodigal and egocentric, as unscrupulous as he was untalented. Mlle. Lehoux insists that these defects are unproved; legend has won out over history. To judge him equitably, one must identify with him and live, so to speak, at his side. Thence, one may eventually discern his thoughts and most secret intentions.

Surprisingly enough, one must be selective, even when writing a two-volume biography. The history of the Duke's appanage has been written, and his role as a patron of art is currently being studied by another. Lehoux has decided to examine, in this first volume, the Duke's other activities up to Charles V's death: his family life, the recovery of Poitou from the English, and the pacification of Languedoc. Her method and purpose result largely in what in France is called *l'histoire événementielle*. Her prose is entirely readable, but often not enlightening. Living at the Duke's side creates detail that overwhelms. He was an indefati-

gable traveler, and his itinerary dominates this book. Some of this is not intrusive, but throughout the work we are kept in motion with the Duke as the minutes of his journeys are carefully recorded by the year, by the month, and sometimes by the day.

If this detail is a fault, it is also the source of strength, for by this vehicle the author accomplishes her purpose. The flaws in the Duke's character remain, but are more clearly seen as he assumes human dimensions. Financially incapable and never the military captain, he was often irresolute amid the exigencies of his day and gradually lost the confidence of his brother, the King, while Charles V gave more important assignments and greater consideration to Philip of Burgundy and Louis of Anjou.

In addition to the rigorous method used, the author has exhausted the sources. The unpublished archival material alone—preponderantly financial in nature—fills twelve pages of the thirty-five-page bibliography. The author has made an auspicious beginning here on a justifiable subject. More studies of this kind will improve our understanding of medieval society in an important period of tumult and deterioration.

Ohio State University

FRANKLIN J. PEGUES

THE SPANISH COLLEGE AT BOLOGNA IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. Edition and translation of its statutes, with introduction and notes by *Berthe M. Marti*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1966. Pp. 393. \$12.00.)

THE author announces her purpose to be twofold: to edit the Latin text of the foundation statutes of the Spanish College at Bologna as they were revised in 1375-1378 by Gregory XI and then to provide a translation. The Latin text printed in this volume is based primarily on a fifteenth-century manuscript copy of these statutes. Both the rendering of the text and the translation seem scrupulous and intelligent. Thus we have materials for a history of this remarkable college founded by a remarkable cardinal.

In 1364 Alborno, architect of the reconquest of the Papal States, dictated his will providing for the endowment of a college devoted to needy Spanish students. Soon after his death in 1367 the lovely doors were opened. Architecturally it was a triumph, and, judging from portraits of famous fellows of the college in the upper gallery, this education fitted men well for roles in the ecclesiastical world. The statutes are what one would expect, and indeed the author traces their derivation from comparable medieval colleges founded about the same time, particularly Toulouse, where Alborno received his doctorate of law.

This is another work furnishing valuable materials for that historian of education soon to come and make the synthesis. When will the ivy-covered knight-scholar rescue history's neglected stepchild? We know so much about the price of grain and so little about education! Here we have a formal and externalized description. Perhaps texts like these may someday be utilized to suggest something of the interior world of the *trecento* student as well as the universe of animating public ideals. Meanwhile, those interested in reading documents can

learn that at the college in Bologna students had more rights than in many a modern university.

University of Rochester

MARVIN B. BECKER

JOHN THE FEARLESS: THE GROWTH OF BURGUNDIAN POWER.

By *Richard Vaughan*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1966. Pp. xiv, 320. \$7.50.)

THIS book continues Professor Vaughan's work on the Valois dukes of Burgundy that began with his study of Philip the Bold. It has all the virtues of the early book: clarity, succinctness, and good judgment. This last quality is especially evident in the discussion of John's assassination at the Bridge of Montereau; Vaughan's reconstruction of the crime is more convincing than that of any of his predecessors. The author is equally convincing in describing John's character, a curious mixture of impulsiveness and shrewdness, of aggressiveness and skill in political manipulation. John was perhaps the only Valois duke with real military ability, and he was not greatly inferior to his father as an administrator.

As before, the reader is left wishing for more detail in some places. On the narrative side, the Cabochien affair is passed over rather hurriedly. In the discussion of John's government, we learn much about finance, very little about justice, and almost nothing about local administration. The enlightening lists of financial officers are woven into a description of their work; the lists of *baillis* are not. It is hard to make any administrative system come alive; a little more biographical detail, such as Rey has provided in his recent studies of the finances of Charles VI, would have helped.

Was there a Burgundian state by the time of John's death? Certainly the Burgundian territorial complex was less parasitic than it had been under Philip. John had to exist for years without royal subsidies; his subjects, especially those of Flanders, furnished a larger proportion of his income than had occurred under his father. John was less dependent on borrowed royal officials for administrative personnel than his father had been. He was more independent diplomatically; he could negotiate with kings as an equal. Yet it is curious to note that John lived in Paris whenever he felt it safe to do so and that his personal activities were concentrated on keeping a dominant position in the French royal government. Without such a position John felt financially and politically insecure. It was not quite so easy as it seems to found a new state in the fifteenth century. John had no special loyalty to France, but he needed France to make Burgundy great.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

THE REIGN OF EDWARD IV. By *Eric N. Simons*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1966. Pp. 320. \$7.00.)

For scholars this book has little to offer that is new. It is essentially a condensation and popularization of the more picturesque portions of Cora L. Scofield's exasperating but scholarly two volumes on *The Life and Reign of Edward the*

Fourth (1923). Scofield's book was based on an exhaustive and exhausting study of the sources, both narrative and documentary. Scholars who knew her regret that she never went on to further research. Readers generally may well regret that she was so fully immersed in her material that she did not show a proper consideration for the reader's ignorance. She presented her material chronologically, but forgot the date signposts that help the reader follow the narrative. Any scholar who has used the book extensively has had to insert dates in the margins. Simons' narrative is not so difficult to follow, yet some chronological confusion intrudes.

No new interpretation emerges from this book, and the most important aspects of the reign, that is, Edward's administrative and legislative innovations are ignored or neglected. Simons' final estimate of Edward ("He gave his people a spell of peace and prosperity that was worth all the military glory, and strengthened the foundation of their coming greatness.") is stated at the end of a work in which the author has ascribed to Edward as positive attributes mainly military competence, good luck, and good looks. Simons refers to Henry VI in an early chapter as "feeble-minded," an unworthy epithet for that weak, long-suffering, but by no means unintelligent monarch. Yet in describing Henry's funeral in 1471, Simons speaks of him as an "innocent, simple, devout, unworldly and gentle prince from childhood upwards." This is rather different from being "feeble-minded."

The book seems to have been written with undue haste. The account of the Battle of Towton, for example, is confused by vagueness or misapplication of terms. In a discussion of the prebattle position of the armies, we are told that the "royal troops" were posted behind a deep trench. At this time Edward IV had already been crowned. Which, then, were the "royal troops"? And, in the next paragraph, whose was "the enemy left wing"? Later in the same battle, "the English rushed forward again." Who were "the English" in this battle? Other battles are perhaps somewhat more clearly described, although the confusion about who is "the King" persists. If Simons emphasizes the military history of the reign at the expense of other matters, he has an obligation to make his accounts of battles clear to the reader.

Rutgers University

MARGARET HASTINGS

DAS TÜBINGER STADTRECHT VON 1493: HERKUNFT UND BEDEUTUNG. By *Wolfgang Schanz*. [Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Tübingen, Number 1.] (Tübingen: H. Laupp'sche Buchhandlung; distrib. by J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1963. Pp. x, 120. DM 20.)

THIS solid but unimaginative contribution to the study of legal change on the local level gives a precise though formalistic answer to a narrowly conceived question pertaining to the codification of the town law of Tübingen, which, in 1493, upon orders of the *Landesherr*, Count Eberhard of Württemberg, was drawn up by unknown authors. The purpose of the present inquiry is to determine the historical significance of the legal code of 1493. Is this possible without seriously attempting a qualitative assessment of its substantive content and of its impact on actual life? Mr. Schanz seems to think so. In essence, his efforts involve

preoccupation with the scrutiny of surface aspects and with immaculate exercises in philological accounting. Not by intent, but in effect, he pays homage to the false idol of quantification as an end in itself. By comparing the texts of various contemporary codes, Schanz conclusively shows in minute detail that the compilers of the Tübingen law were largely copyists who used as their principal models the Stuttgart statute law of 1492 and the more pioneering Nuremberg experiment in municipal legal codification, the so-called Reformation of 1479, which had effected a systematized blending of traditional local law with Roman law. Beyond doubt, the technical question as to the derivation of the amalgamative content of the Tübingen code is successfully clarified, but we learn almost nothing about its complex historical meaning.

The last third of Schanz's book supplies, again with emphasis on the quantitative measurement of "historical influence," new information concerning the extent to which in subsequent decades the Tübingen law served as a pattern for other local statute laws and, thus, as an intraregional transmission belt in the widening process of codification. Thereby it illuminates the penetration, more nominal than real, of Roman law into the rural hinterland of Württemberg, and also the feeble beginnings of the territorial standardization of legal norms.

University of California, Berkeley

HANS ROSENBERG

Modern Europe

WILLIAM III AND THE DEFENSE OF EUROPEAN LIBERTY, 1650-1702. By *Stephen B. Baxter*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1966. Pp. xi, 462. \$8.75.)

WILLIAM OF ORANGE: A PERSONAL PORTRAIT. Volume II, 1674-1702. By *Nesca A. Robb*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 580. \$12.50.)

WITH the appearance of the first volume of Miss Nesca Robb's life of "Dutch William" I expressed the hope that an almost totally unsatisfactory work would not hamper the appearance of a competent scholarly biography of the stadholder-king (*AHR*, LXIX [July 1964], 1051); it has not done so. Professor Stephen Baxter, in scarcely more than half the number of pages that Robb uses, paints a portrait that is richer, deeper, and far more perceptive of William III as a historical figure. Fortunately, Robb has learned enough about the United Provinces since writing her first volume to avoid committing inexcusable errors and misunderstandings in her second volume with anywhere near the same frequency. But her "personal portrait" remains just that and nothing more; her ventures into political and military history are still amateurish.

Baxter's book merits comparison with the standard Dutch biography by N. Japikse, *Prins Willem III: De Stadhouder-koning* (2 vols., 1930-33). The work of the American historian complements rather than replaces that of the Dutch scholar. Each is strong where the other is weak. Baxter cannot approach Japikse's command of the extraordinarily convoluted political structure and the intricate politics of the Dutch Republic. But Japikse's knowledge of the English

arena where so much of William's life and career were enacted does not rise beyond the level of a good textbook, while Baxter here shows that he is truly a master of his own field of specialization.

He has enriched our understanding of William's role in English politics with factual fullness, sharp analysis, and firm judgment. He brilliantly shows how William's dual character as quasi dynast in the United Provinces and heir in waiting in England resulted in an anomalous and difficult position, from which he managed to draw maximum benefit for himself and, in Baxter's view, for his two countries and Europe as well. Some of Baxter's judgments are novel. His presentation of William's generalship rebuts at least in part the common view that William's talents lay wholly elsewhere. Nor has anyone before Baxter found the Princess Royal, Mary Stuart, quite so good a mother to the young Prince of Orange, although he presents a view of her character and her position that has persuasiveness, not as the complete picture, but as the other side of the portrait, full of distaste and scorn, painted by Pieter Geyl. I must admit that I have difficulty recognizing Johan de Witt and his brother Cornelis in Baxter's picture of them, painted, alas, with colors from an Orangist palette. The conflict of Orange and "Republican"—the contemporary term was not this, but the more precise *Staatsgezind*, "States' party"—is thereby reduced from tragedy to melodrama. Baxter's decision to foreshorten the story of the first two decades of William's life is regrettable. It slights the story of the struggle between the Orangists and the Republicans, although that story is necessary for the explanation of William's attitude and methods in Dutch politics. But once William comes of age, Baxter's grip on his story becomes much tighter. His handling of the issue of William's role in the lynching of the De Witts is both fair and perceptive; like Fruin in his classic study of this episode, he finds William not guilty of participation in the conspiracy clearly set afoot by some in his camp, but cynically partisan in rewarding the perpetrators.

The flaws in Baxter's book are few and venial; they result from his daring to do a necessary and impossible task: the story of a statesman whose life was lived in two distinct countries, either of which presents more than enough matter for any historian to master. Let us be thankful for the important and valuable book we have.

Rutgers University

HERBERT H. ROWEN

THE METHUENS AND PORTUGAL, 1691-1708. By A. D. Francis. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 397. \$15.00.)

DURING the last years of the reign of Pedro II, the geographical position of Portugal gave that country a great and dangerous importance in European affairs. Its economy was also significant, especially after 1700 when the gold mines of Brazil became so productive. This development almost coincided with the famous Methuen Treaty of 1703, which led to a great expansion of Anglo-Portuguese trade. It was not simply an exchange of cloth and beaver hats for wine; the Portuguese imported surprisingly large quantities of foodstuffs. In return, much Brazilian gold ultimately found its way into the English mint. Mr. Francis is particularly good in discussing these economic matters. His defense of the terms on

which Portugal joined the Grand Alliance is open to question, but it is a valid point that access to Lisbon Harbor was far more important to the allies in 1703 than it would have been two years later.

This is not a biographical study but a careful and minute analysis of the work of John Methuen and his son Paul at Lisbon in the years 1691-1708. Thus the father's position as Irish Chancellor and as a leading Whig is given summary treatment, while the son's career after 1708 is relegated to an epilogue. What we have, therefore, is a monograph and a good one. In his preface Francis refers to himself too modestly as a "mere amateur." Since he brings to his task a thorough knowledge of Portuguese, Spanish, German, and Dutch as well as a liking for manuscript research, the profession has reason to hope for the enlistment of more such mere amateurs in its ranks.

Because the treatment is analytical rather than narrative, there is some repetition, and at times the prose is not easy reading. There is, however, one lyrical chapter on "Portugal at the Turn of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" where the author puts his personal knowledge of the country to excellent use. Economic questions generally are handled with more assurance and authority than political and military ones, but all are treated thoroughly. The Methuen dispatches have been collated with those of the Dutch minister Francis Schonenberg and with the few surviving Portuguese sources, and the result is a useful contribution to the literature on the War of the Spanish Succession.

University of North Carolina

STEPHEN B. BAXTER

JEAN-FRANÇOIS BION ET SA RELATION DES TOURMENTS SOUFFERTS PAR LES FORÇATS PROTESTANTS. By *Pierre M. Conlon*. [Travaux d'histoire éthico-politique, Number 12.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1966. Pp. 116.)

JEAN-FRANÇOIS Bion was a Catholic priest serving as chaplain on *La Superbe*, one of Louis XIV's galleys. Leaving ship, country, and religion after three years of service, he went to Geneva and became a Protestant, the brutality of Catholicism and the faithful constancy of the Huguenot galley slaves under torture, as he later told it, having influenced him to take these steps. A short time later he went to England and published an account of his experiences.

It is the first edition (1708) of this *Relation* that Pierre Conlon has edited and provided with a lengthy introduction, and the edition is well done and fully annotated. Landlubber scholars will especially appreciate his explanation of the nautical terms that Bion used so freely. He has, unfortunately, completely misread the purpose and significance of Bion's *Relation*. Rather than merely "the story of resistance to oppression," it is an example of the massive effort made by the French Protestant refugees in two wars to influence public opinion and official policy among the allies against making peace before Louis XIV had been brought to his knees and forced to accept the re-establishment of Protestantism in France. The conformity of Bion's book with the works of Jurieu, Benoît, and Le Vassor, among others of the refugee zealots, is too striking to be ignored. The publication dates of 1708 and 1712 coincide with flurries of peace activity of which the refugees were well aware. Its appearance together with writings such as Jean

Claude's venerable but still battleworthy *Complaints of the Protestants* bears this out, as do the courting of the English crown (Bion dedicated his book to Queen Anne), the fear of military extermination of Protestantism, the warnings against a great international Catholic conspiracy, and the call for the transformation of the war into a crusade.

University of Waterloo

HERBERT SCHLOSSBERG

THE MIND OF THE EUROPEAN ROMANTICS: AN ESSAY IN CULTURAL HISTORY. By *H. G. Schenk*. With a preface by *Isaiah Berlin*. (London: Constable. 1966. Pp. xxiv, 303. 50s.)

IN his preface to this book, Sir Isaiah Berlin claims that it constitutes a notable addition to the minimum information needed to understand how men in the West came to be what they are. There can be no quarrel with the importance of romanticism, or with the scope of the analysis promised by this book: from romantic ideas of progress and disenchantment, through their malady of the soul, to the emphasis on love and friendship. Within the book, however, this large vision is sharply contracted. The book's purpose is to provide an introduction to the romantic movement through "pen portraits" of selected figures. This method works against depth in analysis, while the tendency toward oversimplification and didacticism jars the reader.

The essence of romanticism is said to consist of the tension between nihilism and a yearning for faith. Mr. Schenk judges his romantics with the yardstick of orthodox Christianity, and nihilism denotes the absence of such a faith. Small wonder, then, that he misses the importance of the occult for the romantics and slights their concept of myth and symbols. Romantic egoism is emphasized, but their efforts at reintegration are left dangling; such efforts emerge as unfulfillable ambitions, leading either to pessimism or psychological deformity. Consequently, the book is silent about romantic political thought, failing to consider the important concept of the community. While national messianism is discussed, Adam Mickiewicz provides the sole "typical" example. Nature mysticism, part of the enchantment of the romantic mind, is never related to national messianism in order to explain romantic politics. The political dimension is missing; De Maistre and Bonald are read out of the romantic movement in summary fashion.

Within the narrowed vision of romantic individualism this book can provide some interesting insights, and most of the examples are taken from men and women who prized their singularity. For the necessary minimum information on romanticism it is better to turn elsewhere; this book is both too narrowly conceived and too subjective to satisfy this need.

University of Wisconsin

GEORGE L. MOSSE

THE TRAVEL DIARIES OF THOMAS ROBERT MALTHUS. Edited by *Patricia James*. (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Royal Economic Society. 1966. Pp. xvi, 316. \$8.50.)

FOR well over a decade there has been an upsurge of interest in the Reverend T. R. Malthus. Publication of this volume testifies to the continuing strength of

the movement. In the first edition of his *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798), Malthus confined himself to theory. Subsequently, in 1799, Malthus traveled to Scandinavia in search of the necessary empirical evidence to support his theory. His journey took him from Hamburg in the south to Trondheim in the north, and included parts of Sweden as well. During this trip, from May through August, Malthus kept a diary, and it constitutes the major portion of this work. Not surprisingly, the evidence for which Malthus was looking was found and incorporated into the later editions of his *Essay*. A diary often contains a considerable amount of trivia, and this is no exception, but it further contains the observations of an acute observer of economic life, and, as such, is of interest to a far wider range of readers than just those concerned with the history of economic doctrine. Although in no way comparable in richness of material to the travels of Arthur Young, it constitutes an interesting addition to the available material for the period and illuminates the character of Malthus himself. Also included in this book are a diary Malthus wrote in 1825 when he visited the Low Countries and Germany and a further diary kept during a holiday in Scotland in 1826. Both are shorter and less interesting than the larger Scandinavian work.

The editor has done a remarkable job, employing all the apparatus of editing that could be used on these diaries. No proper name has been left unidentified, and no confusion in the original text has been left unexplained. Relevant texts of the diary and of the *Essay* are juxtaposed in an appendix so that the extent to which Malthus relied upon his diary would be clear. Future editors could well use this volume as a model of excellence in their craft.

University of South Carolina

CHARLES W. COOLIDGE

NAPOLEON III AND EUROPE: BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES. ([Long Island City, N. Y.:] Pergamon Press. 1965. Pp. 170. \$6.00.)

THIS volume deserves note more for its aims than for its accomplishments: an anthology of synthetic, interpretive essays directed at Napoleon III as a modifier of the European order, produced by the International Commission for the Teaching of History. This organization not only represents many nationalities; it also seeks by such publications to reduce national bias in the teaching of history.

Inevitably these essays vary in significance and usefulness. Ottavio Barie of Milan offers nothing not already available in Pierre Renouvin and A. J. P. Taylor on the Italian question. Jacques Willequet of Brussels, in contrast, presents some unorthodox views of Bismarck's sympathy for Napoleon III, which are sufficiently provoking to make us regret the absence of footnotes in the volume. Paul Henry of Paris gives us an unusual essay on Napoleon III's attitude toward the Balkan nationalities. The concluding essay on "The True Place of Napoleon III in the History of Europe" by Émile Lousse of Louvain suffers from brevity and an uncritical spirit.

Each essay appears twice in the volume: in French and in English. If the editors have evidence that this bilingual presentation enhances international use of their books, they should take pains to get accurate and readable translations. Several of the translations are adequate, but the English version of Henry's essay,

which is the longest and one of the more useful of the four, is unfaithful and sometimes unintelligible. The editors might also consider the technique, widely used in translations of important literary works, of printing the essays side by side, facilitating the reader's ability to check a passage in the original. I see little merit in having the English translations follow the French originals.

The bibliography, perhaps in keeping with the educational aims of the commission, is organized not by subject matter but by nationality of publication. What is needed to make such volumes more useful is a critical bibliography limited to the topics covered in the essays and including the periodical references that are missing here.

University of California, Santa Barbara

ROGER L. WILLIAMS

NAPOLEON III AND THE GERMAN CRISIS, 1865-1866. By *E. Ann Pottinger*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXXV.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1966. Pp. 238. \$5.95.)

HERE is a monographic study dealing with a single year. It is an important year when the Prussian victory over Austria at Sadowa changed the whole power balance in Europe, and this thorough and careful study tries to explain the enigmatic policy of Napoleon III in this crisis. Miss Pottinger begins with the Gastein Convention and then traces the vagaries of French diplomacy through the Biarritz interview and Napoleon III's various flirtations with both Prussia and Austria until the signing of his neutrality agreement with the latter. The account continues with a study of the post-Sadowa negotiations, the Emperor's choice of peaceful mediation, and the terms of the Preliminary Peace at Nikolsburg. The reader will find this study particularly valuable for new details and emphases on such things as French Army reduction growing out of an economic recession, Napoleon's cautiousness after the legislative debates, the long series of official and semiofficial negotiations with Prussia and Austria, and, especially, the consensus of the opinions of French military attachés that Austria was the stronger of the two contestants in spite of the widely known needle gun. The author feels that Napoleon's sympathy for nationalism played a larger role in his decisions than did his desire for Rhine territory or for a balance of power. His acceptance of the Nikolsburg terms was due to his belief that both German nationalism and balance of power were being served by separating southern Germany from the North German Confederation. She rejects the Oncken thesis that the French Emperor's motivation was primarily to obtain Rhine annexations. As for her claim that public opinion was not decisive in preventing French intervention in early July 1866 because, when it later became more belligerent, it did not cause the Emperor to intervene, it might be countered that France would have been unable to intervene in late July because by that time Austria and southern Germany were out of the war.

The author is to be complimented on her wide use of archival and printed sources, especially the attaché reports in the Vincennes *Archives du Ministère de la Guerre*. Although she consulted several private collections in the Archives Nationales, it is to be regretted that she did not use their microfilms of the Gramont papers which might have enlightened her assessment of Gramont's role.

In general, however, this work contributes to an understanding of this fateful year in European diplomacy.

University of Pennsylvania

LYNN M. CASE

WEIMAR GERMANY & SOVIET RUSSIA, 1926-1933: A STUDY IN DIPLOMATIC INSTABILITY. By *Harvey Leonard Dyck*. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1966. Pp. 279. \$6.75.)

PROFESSOR Harvey L. Dyck has mined the German government archives in Bonn and Koblenz with magnificent industry. Hundreds of secret documents, pierced by the author's needle and sewn together with a narrative thread, tell the story of Soviet-German relations in the seven turbulent years before Hitler's accession to power. Dyck's performance is good orthodox scholarship and an important contribution to our knowledge of a crucial segment of the interwar decades. Nothing I may add below should diminish this deserved praise.

The subtitle of the book reads *A Study in Diplomatic Instability*. The word "instability" is the thesis of the volume. Dyck characterizes the relationship between Weimar Germany and the USSR throughout this period, however, as "chronically unstable, but useful and perhaps only temporarily unreliable." This is probably all one can ever expect of diplomatic ties, especially in such a volatile era as that between the two world wars when international relations were generally as unsettled as Moscow-Berlin relations. With all the cyclonic disturbances that the archives drained by Dyck reveal, German-Soviet relations were built upon the rock of collaboration between the *Reichswehr* and the Red Army. The house stood until the Nazi hurricane blew it down.

A document dated February 25, 1931, and cited by Dyck, asserts that the Western Powers attempted to draw Germany away from Russia but "no side offered political concessions in any form for the abandonment of our political relations with Russia." "With similar words," Dyck comments, "[Foreign Minister] Stresemann had rejected the idea of a reorientation of German foreign policy four years earlier during the Anglo-Soviet crisis." This suggests considerable continuity rather than prolonged instability. The Kremlin as well as the Wilhelmstrasse was in the market, or on the street, ready to be bought, but the price was never right.

I have before me another valuable book, by Kurt Rosenbaum, based on the same archival material, about Soviet-German relations in an earlier period—1922-1928—with its thesis stated in the title, *A Community of Fate*, a term used by Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, long the German ambassador in Moscow. Yet in those seven years Soviet-German relations were just as full of sizzling crises as in the seven years assiduously studied by Dyck. It is apparently in the nature of nations to be unstable and inconstant though fate has married them.

One further criticism can be made of both these books: the stringing together of documents, no matter how informative, does not result in a history. Dyck neglects the internal politics of Germany and the Soviet Union more than does Rosenbaum, and neither gives adequate attention to the global background

against which Moscow and Berlin played the diplomatic game. The consequence is a two-dimensional product. Yet one is grateful for the rich material.

Princeton University

LOUIS FISCHER

HITLER AND RUSSIA: THE THIRD REICH IN A TWO-FRONT WAR, 1937-1943. By *Trumbull Higgins*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1966. Pp. x, 310. \$6.95.)

In this book the noted military historian Trumbull Higgins presents a view of the background and course of Hitler's war on the Soviet Union until the end of the Stalingrad campaign in the spring of 1943. Based on a thoughtful analysis of the memoir, documentary, and monographic literature (almost entirely in English), Higgins' book will serve both the scholarly community and the general public as an excellent introduction to this fascinating subject. He has taken advantage of some recently available information from the Soviet Union to give his picture of the eastern front a considerably more balanced approach than most previous Western writers, although in a few places Higgins still appears to be following the memoirs of Guderian and Manstein somewhat too closely. The author is particularly interested in assessing the factors responsible for the Soviet defeats of 1941 and in relating the failure of Britain and the United States to launch a cross-channel invasion in 1942 or 1943 to the development of the war as a whole. In this latter subject he builds on his prior work, *Winston Churchill and the Second Front* (1957). Those who disagreed with that book will find little comfort here.

Any general survey having the scope of this book is likely to have some errors and omit some relevant publications. Instead of a list of such items, a few general distortions in emphasis should be noted. The discussion of the diplomacy of 1939 overlooks the key dilemma of the Western Powers: how to protect the independence of the East European states. The evidence suggests that Hitler's long-term aims toward Britain were not nearly as kindly as Higgins repeatedly asserts. The Tripartite Pact was hardly the key factor in leading Japan to turn southward. Meaningful comparisons of casualty statistics for a rapidly advancing and a rapidly retreating army cannot be confined to the killed and captured, but must include some estimates of the wounded; those of the retreating army tend to show up among the prisoners captured by the advancing army, while the wounded of the latter do not.

A clearer view of the first year of fighting in the east would have been aided by appropriate emphasis on Soviet counterattacks on the central part of the front in 1941 that culminated in the temporary recapture of Yelnya, and by a more thorough discussion of the Soviet winter offensives of early 1942 on the central and northern parts of the front. Surely a book detailing military operations in Eastern Europe needs some maps to accompany the text; the only one provided, inside the cover, is inaccurate. This is particularly regrettable in a work that is gracefully written and both will and should be read for years to come.

University of Michigan

GERHARD L. WEINBERG

CHANGING VIEWS ON BRITISH HISTORY: ESSAYS ON HISTORICAL WRITING SINCE 1939. Edited for the Conference on British Studies by *Elizabeth Chapin Furber*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 418. \$9.00.)

"A historian's idea of hell could well be the task of preparing a bibliographical terrine to the inaudible but anticipated cacophony of his learned colleagues' reactions." These words of Roger Prouty no doubt express the feeling of most of his collaborators in this useful volume, wherein the authors were expected to indicate developments rather than to catalogue items. The fourteen essays vary in length from eighteen pages (L. B. Smith, "The Taste for Tudors") to fifty-seven pages (Bryce Lyon, "From Hengist and Horsa to Edward of Caernarvon"), with most of the others running twenty to thirty pages. The authors likewise vary in their interpretation of their assignment, for there is no correlation between length and the span of years or sweep of generalization. Some have scarcely gone beyond bibliography; others have preferred historiography, effectively combining a great number of titles with signs pointing the way research is going. Some essays are merely useful; others are exciting as they carry the reader into the arena of conflicting opinions.

The judgments, one must expect, are subjective, even personal, and none the worse for that. On the whole it appears that more poor books are written than good ones, and, while scarcely earth shaking, this discovery is worth noticing because presumably only pieces of merit are cited. By and large, though reflecting the new ways in history, especially as evidenced in periodical literature, the essayists reveal that historians are newer in their criticisms than in their preoccupations; they are revisionists rather than revolutionaries; they seek new passages, but they start from the old ports. English historians, it often seems, are filling gaps; American historians are venturing into new areas. The American historian of England, it may be emphasized, faces the same dilemma as the American historian of France that was so expertly assayed by David Pinkney in *French Historical Studies*, I (No. 1, 1958). The American in England is there by fits and starts; the Englishman lives among the archives. Because the first explores too little, he has small chance of adding significantly to knowledge. He may, however, contribute signally to understanding, to re-examination without presuppositions. Even though there is no end to the making of books, every student of English history, as he scans these chapters, will find themes still awaiting their Gardiner or their Maitland. Historiography, homage to Clio's apostles, for instance, gets significant attention only for the medieval period. Why has the influence of historians, the makers of history, upon their own and later generations escaped analysis? If historians neglect their kind, how then can laymen be aware of them?

University of Missouri

CHARLES F. MULLETT

ENGLISH LAND MEASURING TO 1800: INSTRUMENTS AND PRACTICES. By *A. W. Richeson*. [Monograph Series, Number 2.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Society for the History of Technology and the M. I. T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1966. Pp. x, 214. \$5.95.)

For many years it was known that Professor Richeson was gathering material on the history of surveying, and this book, the proof of which he did not live to correct, is the tangible result. The work reminds one, on a more modest scale, of the volumes on *Mathematical Practitioners of . . . England* (1954, 1966) by Miss E. G. R. Taylor, another indefatigable chronicler who also has died recently. Despite the impression given by the subtitle, and unlike E. R. Kiely's *Surveying Instruments: Their History and Classroom Use* (1947), Richeson's little volume is more concerned with books than with instruments and practice. Section headings generally bear the names of authors, and only in the last part, covering the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, do instruments dominate the account. The earlier illustrations are, moreover, chiefly reproductions from books (somewhat inadequately identified), whereas the last five "figures" are from photographs of instruments of the period. This is, perhaps, symptomatic of the fact that "during the first half of the eighteenth century . . . the new surveying texts . . . reveal that the surveyors had not kept up with the instrument makers." Incidentally, the tyro in surveying is advised, when reading this book, to keep a dictionary handy, for he may not know how a protraction is carried out or the difference between a geodetic theodolite and a cradle-type theodolite. The author was, after all, an *aficionado*.

It is good to have the fruit of the author's years of effort available, disappointed though some readers will be in the undistinguished style and in platitudinous chapter conclusions. It is not very enlightening, for example, to read that "The surveyors of the second half of the seventeenth century continued to progress," especially when one learns in the next paragraph that "Surveying instruments at the end of the seventeenth century were not essentially different from those in use at the beginning." The book may not provide significant new historical insights, but it will be an exceptional reader indeed who does not acquire new information. The ubiquitous footnotes and an ample bibliography, especially of older sources, will also be quite useful. That there was need for some such volume as this is seen in the fact that it has so little in common with Kiely's volume, in which English contributions play an insignificant role. In its emphasis on the printed tradition in England, this posthumous work by Richeson does much to complement the literature on the history of surveying.

Brooklyn College

CARL B. BOYER

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SCOTTISH FRONTIER, 1513:1603. By *Thomas I. Rae*. [Edinburgh University Publications, History, Philosophy and Economics, Number 19.] (Edinburgh: University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1966. Pp. vii, 294. \$8.50.)

ADMINISTRATIVE history is popular now, and Dr. Rae, following the fashion, has filled a gap in Scottish historiography with this well-written monograph. The

book is divided into two parts. In the first and much larger section, Rae, after describing the geography of the Scottish border and its economic and social structure, plunges into a detailed account of border officials, particularly the wardens: who they were; their duties; their relations with the central government and with the men, usually great lords or privy councilors, who were occasionally sent from Edinburgh to supersede them. In the second section he abandons analysis for narrative and describes the functioning of border administration at selected periods: during Angus' regency, 1525-1528; under James V, 1534-1539; under Mary of Lorraine, 1552-1557; during Morton's rule, 1573-1580; and under James VI, 1587-1598. Every chapter is meticulously documented; Rae has a thorough command of the sources and interprets them most perceptively.

Several important conclusions emerge from this study. Rae has convincingly shown that the state of international relations was frequently decisive in border policy; the government was much more concerned with keeping order and supervising the wardens during those years when the continental situation dictated a policy of friendship with England. With respect to the methods of supervision, the government vacillated between a policy of cajoling and building the power of the great border magnates, Maxwells, Kers, and Humes, since these men, if they would, could keep order better than anyone else and trying to replace them either with local rivals or with men without important border connections who were dependent on the central government or allied with the faction that controlled it, a policy that seldom worked well for very long. Rae also stresses the adverse effect of the incessant feuds between major border families on efficient administration; a secure central government was needed. Instability in government, frequent in Scotland, especially during the long regencies, was also known in England. The Pilgrimage of Grace, for instance, seriously affected border administration.

This very useful book deserves a wider readership than it is apt to get. It is of interest not only to Scottish specialists and Tudor historians, but also to all students of the relations between central authority and local officialdom, a timeless problem that is perhaps the most important issue of all administrative history.

Rutgers University

MAURICE LEE, JR.

HENRY VIII AND THE LUTHERANS: A STUDY IN ANGLO-LUTHERAN RELATIONS FROM 1521 TO 1547. By *Neelak Serrawlook Tjernagel*. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House. 1965. Pp. xii, 326. \$6.95.)

PROFESSOR Neelak Tjernagel belongs to the Lutheran branch of the European school that sees the English experience as a mere doctrinal eddy in the tide of European spiritual revolution. He argues that "Wittenberg, not Zurich, Strasbourg, or Geneva, provided the form and often even the phraseology of the English theology." In many ways Tjernagel has written an excellent book. The association between Wittenberg and Westminster was close, profitable, and tumultuous, and the story is well worth the telling; the narrative of Henry's dealings with Luther and the deep antagonism existing between the two men is presented in a fresh and useful fashion; and the thesis that the so-called "reaction" of the 1540's was not so much a policy to stifle Lutheran heresy as an effort to maintain

a moral commonwealth is an important contribution to Tudor history. Yet for all its redeeming features, it is questionable whether the total product constitutes good history. The handling of atmosphere is poor; the spirit and mood of Tudor England rarely come through; motivation hardly ever rings true; and the nuances of the age are missing. On almost every page the reader is confronted with generalizations that are so stark and uncompromising that they call out for refutation.

The author does least well with Henry's extraordinarily muddled and essentially "healthy minded" attitude toward God. In a way the thesis itself is to blame: by insisting that the English Reformation was positively and fundamentally shaped by Lutheran thought and not by humanism or by the natural erosion of Catholicism without a pope, the author is confronted with the problem of where the "Supreme Head" stood in relation to Lutheran theology. The result is hopeless inconsistency. In one breath he reports that the King always retained "his faith in the old religion," in the next that he was "'not a Catholic,'" and finally that he was "not far from being a Lutheran" at the moment of death. Possibly Henry was approaching a Lutheran position, but any confidence in such a judgment is weakened by the assertion that the King's persistent faith in transubstantiation, Communion in one kind, and clerical celibacy was "only a peppercorn of Roman Catholic orthodoxy" separating him from Luther. Not only is the theology open to dispute but, more important, the statement conveys an utterly wrong impression. Such doctrinal niceties may seem to the twentieth century to be peppercorns standing between Catholic and Protestant, but Henry would have been aghast at the suggestion that his beliefs were mere trifles dividing him from a man he detested.

Any final judgment on this book is dependent on what is being sought: if the reader is looking for a suggestive summary of the relations between Henrician Catholicism and Lutheranism, then Tjernagel's labors are laudable; if, however, he seeks new information upon motives and personalities in an age that viewed religion as the vortex of society and salvation as the purpose of life, then he will be disappointed.

Northwestern University

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH

THE CHRONICLE AND POLITICAL PAPERS OF KING EDWARD VI.

Edited by *W. K. Jordan*. [Folger Documents of Tudor and Stuart Civilization.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the Folger Shakespeare Library. 1966. Pp. xxxiii, 214. \$5.75.)

THE Folger Shakespeare Library is sponsoring a series of original documents, edited by able students and published by the Cornell University Press. One of the most recent, Professor Jordan's book, consists of a chronicle or private diary by the boy king, from 1547 to 1552, together with six political papers.

This is an unusual production for a lad who was ten years old when he began his chronicle and only fifteen when he discontinued it. Edward gives us very little about himself, almost nothing about his half sister Elizabeth, and in some sixteen one-line references speaks unfavorably of his half sister Mary. Like John Stuart Mill, Edward seems never to have known a normal boyhood. His diary is

serious, precocious, matter of fact, and laconic. In reference to his uncle, the bald, complete entry for January 22, 1552, reads: "The Duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower Hill between eight and nine o'clock in the morning."

Jordan has given valuable assistance to the reader by his 668 notes, which are terse, relevant, and helpful. He might have explained "ledger," "dot," "teston," and "St. Peter's day" for the reader, but we are grateful for his ferreting out elusive information on little-known persons and events, both in Britain and on the Continent. He has a high score for accuracy; the only mistakes I noticed were that Richard Cox's dates should be 1500-1581, that Sir John Cheke was Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, not Oxford, and that Sir Anthony Cooke also seems to have served as a tutor to Edward.

There are a brief bibliography, a lengthy index, a good introduction, and an excellent critical apparatus.

Claremont Graduate School

LELAND H. CARLSON

MARGARET CLITHEROW (1556?-1586). By *Mary Claridge*. With a foreword by *Philip Caraman, S.J.* (New York: Fordham University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 196. \$5.00.)

MARY Claridge's *Margaret Clitherow* is a bold, interesting, and not entirely satisfactory hagiographic foray into the minutiae of the religious distemper prevailing in the city of York from Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries to Mrs. Clitherow's death under *peine forte et dure* in 1586.

It is bold because it steadfastly adheres to what Father Philip Caraman's foreword states as the author's objective: principally an attempt to make its subject "one of the most attractive figures of the Reformation period." This is interesting because the volume's prologue and first several chapters present an excellent survey of the development of the Catholic rationale of resistance to political authority during the above period and frustrating because of the author's uncritical acceptance of Father John Mush's manuscript accounts and his 1587 publication, *A True Report*, as edited by Father John Morris in 1877, in reassessing the life, trial, and death of the fatally pressed butcher's wife. In addition, many readers will not agree with Claridge's reduction of source citations to a minimum, and others will find her intertextual glosses redundant. Her statement that the use of informers was introduced into English anti-Roman Catholic legislation in 1581 is factually wanting. Their utilization in curbing Romish practices in churches is implicit in Henry VIII's proclamation of May 6, 1541, and is clearly indicated in Elizabeth's edict of censorship of July 1, 1570.

Yet, historical research is presented in many guises, and one should be less critically interested in its immediate vehicle than in its ultimate contribution. And despite the criticisms herein this monograph makes a welcome scholarly contribution in two areas of the English Reformation: it focuses on the significance of local governmental institutions, and their administrators, in the bitter intercourse between the York recusants and their tormentors; and it further illuminates the later Tudor political state's attitude toward Nonconformity so effectively studied by William Trimble in *The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England, 1558-1603*. And, finally, Claridge's incorporation of hitherto unused Vati-

can and local documentary materials in her investigation of the martyr brings one more historical figure into clearer perspective.

DePaul University

PAUL L. HUGHES

THE DANGEROUS QUEEN. By *Francis Edwards, S.J.* (New York: Hillary House. [1966.] Pp. xiii, 17-432. \$8.00.)

It might seem almost impossible to write a dull book about one of the conspiracies involving Mary, Queen of Scots, but Father Edwards has managed to do it. This work is a long and vastly detailed account of the Ridolphi plot; it begins with the seizure by Elizabeth's government of the money destined for Alva in the Netherlands at the end of 1568 and ends with the execution of the Duke of Norfolk in 1572. Edwards' thesis, an interesting and provocative one, is that the whole business was prearranged, a scheme of Cecil's to entrap and destroy Mary, and Norfolk as well, because the Duke had opposed the seizure of the payships. The marriage project was not Norfolk's idea, says Edwards, but rather a contrivance of Cecil and the Regent Moray. As for Ridolphi, this wily schemer became an agent of Cecil and Walsingham in the autumn of 1569 and devoted his considerable talent for intrigue to the ruination of his upright and essentially simple-minded victims.

It is true, as Edwards says, that "if Ridolphi became . . . perhaps the most significant member of Walsingham's secret service, much can be explained in the events of these few years which must otherwise remain not merely obscure but contradictory." Ridolphi was apparently a very clever man, but his plot was extraordinarily inept. Yet Edwards weakens his case by his biased method of presenting it. He especially dislikes Cecil; the Secretary is described as a Machiavellian and a warmonger, religiously intolerant, wildly anti-Catholic, and a political totalitarian. As evidence of Cecil's lack of religious conviction, Edwards offers us the fact that from June 1554 to December 1555 Cecil spent only two pence on Protestant literature from the Continent. He neglects to remind us that this was during the reign of Spanish Mary. Edwards is also convinced that with Mary's ruin in Scotland, "Elizabeth was to be regarded as the true sovereign of Caledonia." This extraordinary view of Cecil is apt to cause the unprejudiced reader to doubt the interpretation of Ridolphi. Edwards' style does not help matters. His writing is turgid, ornate, and full of conditionals; he quotes documents constantly and at wearisome length; and he maintains no chronological continuity, so that the book is hard to read and the argument difficult to follow. If the book had been cut by half, it would have been much better.

Rutgers University

MAURICE LEE, JR.

HOBBS'S SCIENCE OF POLITICS. By *M. M. Goldsmith.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 274. \$7.50.)

HOBBS'S political philosophy continues to fascinate, and the scholarly output devoted to it, far from diminishing, is greater than ever. Although few thinkers can have equaled Hobbes's insistence on clarity and rigor, the literature of recent years expresses fundamental differences concerning the meaning and intention of

some of his principal ideas. It has been affirmed and denied that his politics depends on his psychology; that his materialist metaphysics is indispensable to his political doctrines; that his conception of obligation and the law of nature makes sense only if grounded in the commands of God.

Professor Goldsmith's work avoids these controversies directly, though it does illuminate them. Its tone is unpolemical and modest. While it contains no striking revelations or profundities, it nevertheless presents the reader with something of real value—a general account of Hobbes's politics founded on close, continuous contact with the texts. His study is also sustained by a governing purpose: to reinstate the character of Hobbes's political theory as forming part of a consistent system, dominated by the assumptions and principles of seventeenth-century natural science, in which political and natural philosophy stand closely connected. Goldsmith pursues this aim in a careful and persuasive exposition. Along the way he occasionally pronounces quiet judgment on some of the topics in Hobbes's thought that have furnished matters of dispute. He has added several appendixes on detailed points and a useful bibliography. Serious students of Hobbes will want to read this book and will find instruction in it.

University of Rochester

PEREZ ZAGORIN

THE WORLD WE HAVE LOST. By *Peter Laslett*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. [1966.] Pp. xvi, 280. \$5.95.)

PETER Laslett, distinguished scholar and cofounder of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, has written a book that is both exciting and frustrating, provocative and disappointing. Believing that the "rise-of-a-class" approach to modern history has led to errors of both fact and interpretation, he proposes instead to compare and contrast preindustrial with industrial society, holding the family or household to be the center and unifying social force in the early period—"the world we have lost." Stuart England provides the focus, with a chapter on the twentieth century to point up the contrast, and a splendid chapter on history and the historian that will be the best part of the book to some readers is tacked on at the end. Throughout his work, Laslett makes clear the historian's debt to his allies, the sociologists and demographers.

Both the approach and the techniques proposed for its implementation are, to me at any rate, promising. After all, there is more than one road to heaven. The disappointment comes when the performance fails to keep pace with the promise. Chapters on "A One-Class Society," "Social Change and Revolution," and "The Pattern of Authority in our Political Heritage" are stimulating in the fresh ideas they offer and their challenge to old interpretations. They are disappointing in that too often the supporting evidence is thin; relevant facts and factors are either summarily dealt with or else omitted entirely; and though some terms are carefully defined, others are carelessly used. Too much backing and filling can lead to contradiction or seeming contradiction. The sentence of penetration and insight that we have come to expect from Laslett is not lacking here, but at times words seem to get in his way.

Chapters on the village community and matters involving the people who lived there—three-fourths of England's population—present new material. Information that they seek to give on births, marriages, deaths, illegitimacy, sui-

cide, and the question of whether the people at the bottom of the social ladder "really starved" is important to American as well as to English history. Material from the several villages "worked" is rewarding. And the thought of what those thousands of parish registers so carefully kept over centuries may be made to yield is indeed exhilarating. But here again promise outruns achievement. England is a bundle of local differences; generalizations are risky. The author is conscious of this. He constantly apologizes for the "rougher facts and figures used here," and warns, often without heeding his own warning, about such things as "the uselessness of trying to argue overall from a sample too small." In his last chapter Laslett expresses an "irreverent impatience" with the "established conventions" of historical study. This seems to me a healthy attitude to take toward conventions, but not a safe one to apply to facts and figures. I see little if any irreverence in this book, but much impatience. It is a stimulating book: one to think about, to write about, and to argue about, surely all good exercise for historians.

Vassar College

MILDRED CAMPBELL

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT, 1610. Volume I, HOUSE OF LORDS; Volume II, HOUSE OF COMMONS. Edited by *Elizabeth Read Foster*. [Yale Historical Publications. Manuscripts and Edited Texts, Numbers 22 and 23. Published under the direction of the Department of History.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. lxxix, 366; xxi, 422. \$17.50 the set.)

IN these two volumes Mrs. Foster has presented us with a magnificent scholarly work on the fourth and fifth sessions (both in 1610) of James I's long Parliament (1604-1611) which was prorogued on December 6 and dissolved on February 9, 1611. The editor has given us an intimate picture of the activities in both houses. We see the Lords and Commons repeatedly (far more frequently than is thought to have been the case) adjourning themselves into committees of the whole house or "Grand Committees," and we see conferences or joint committees of the two houses meeting many times. We see Lord Treasurer Salisbury delivering many speeches, all of them excellent according to the standards of his time. We see Sir Edwin Sandys, like Salisbury in Lords, acting as a true leader of the Commons. All this we see in discussions and debates essentially on the subjects of impositions and the great contract. This work will make it necessary to reconsider the events and procedure of the two sessions where in the past almost the sole sources were the *Journals* of the two houses and S. R. Gardiner's edition of *Parliamentary Debates in 1610* published over a hundred years ago. The introduction, confusing in organization but abounding in erudition, presents fascinating bits gleaned from the sources, discusses the nature and origin of these sources, and describes their disposition in the two volumes.

All of the editor's sources are manuscripts, most of which are copies in seventeenth-century clerical hands. In the superbly edited footnotes and in numerous bracketed comments in the text she has added information from or, more frequently, referred to additional information from every available printed primary source.

There are three different accounts for the House of Lords, each following the

other, of which the notes of Henry Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, is basic, the longest, and the most interesting. It is followed by the notes of Robert Bowyer, recently appointed clerk of Parliament and the editor's favorite. Bowyer's fascinating notes filled with many gaps are relatively short and are the only survivors from his lost "scribbled books" for this Parliament. Finally the notes found in Petyt MS. 537/8 give a very short account from June 18 to November 22, 1610, in the fifth session. An appendix contains a long speech by the Earl of Northampton on November 14, 1610, and the rather brief "Observations of Lord Ellesmere."

In dealing with the Commons, Foster has woven into a consecutive whole their activities from February 9, 1610, to the dissolution a year later, using nine different manuscripts plus very short accounts from a dozen manuscripts in the State Papers. Interpolations from printed sources are numerous. There is no bibliography; there are, however, sixteen pages of abbreviations in each volume, both the same, and an excellent index for both volumes at the end of the first. Now the scholar can read or locate a day-by-day account of the last two sessions of James I's first Parliament.

New York University

HAROLD HULME

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY OLDENBURG. Volume I, 1641-1662; Volume II, 1663-1665; Volume III, 1666-1667. Edited and translated by *A. Rupert Hall* and *Marie Boas Hall*, with the collaboration in Volume I of *Eberhard Reichmann*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1965; 1966; 1966. Pp. xl, 504; xxvi, 678; xxix, 649. \$12.50 each.)

HENRY Oldenburg won a lasting scientific reputation, even though he was not a scientist, for he was the founder and editor of the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London. Indeed, this publication—one of the two contenders for the title of the oldest continuing scientific or learned journal—apparently originated as an extension of his scientific correspondence, and for a century or more it established the style of the printed "epistolary dissertation." Through Oldenburg the Royal Society "gained the greater part of its information concerning scientific activity upon the Continent, and from him Europe learned of the progress of science in England."

Born in Bremen about 1617, Oldenburg was educated in philosophy and theology; he came to England (possibly for the second time) in 1653 and soon became acquainted with John Milton and Lady Ranelagh, sister of Robert Boyle, through whom Oldenburg met Boyle and began his associations with English scientists. Eventually he became one of the first two secretaries of the Royal Society that had been founded in 1660, and his many continued contacts with men of science and learning on the Continent assured a wider dissemination of new ideas than would have been possible for a secretary with an ordinary English background.

Although the letters exchanged "with some of the intellectual giants of his age" have "already been printed"—in the correspondence of Boyle (partially), Huygens, Leibniz, Leeuwenhoek, Milton, Newton, Spinoza—until now, "the great bulk" of Oldenburg's correspondence "has been accessible only in manu-

script." Hence, scholars will long be grateful to Professor A. Rupert Hall and Dr. Marie Boas Hall for having undertaken to edit and publish the entire "voluminous correspondence" of Oldenburg, which, to judge from these first three volumes, is certainly "one of the most complete and detailed sources for the scientific life of the later seventeenth century." The collection should be of use to all historians concerned with seventeenth-century problems since the subjects discussed deal not only with science but also philosophy, history, theology, business, politics, and international affairs.

The primary interest of these volumes is, of course, that they record in intimate detail the scientific life of the late seventeenth century. In these letters we find men of science and learning sending opinions to Oldenburg and soliciting information from him, writing (usually at his specific request) extended accounts of new books, or discussing their own, or others', publications in the *Philosophical Transactions*. It is fascinating to follow the rise of the rival *Académie Royale des Sciences*, established by Colbert in Paris, and whose members included some of Oldenburg's old friends and correspondents. It was more difficult to obtain correspondents in Italy, but finally Oldenburg was successful. Despite the enmity between England and both Holland and France, Oldenburg nevertheless kept up a correspondence with both countries that had a "large political content," and he managed to establish a circuitous route so that books and pamphlets could be exchanged, even though they could not be sent by ordinary post. Oldenburg's correspondents, notably in France and Holland, sent important political news that Oldenburg transmitted to Lord Arlington, the Secretary of State. This service did not prevent Oldenburg's becoming imprisoned in the Tower, which temporarily halted the publication of the *Philosophical Transactions*, perhaps for his criticism of the conduct of the Dutch War.

The editing has been carefully done. All letters in German, Latin, and French are given both in the original language and in English translation, and the same procedure is followed for extracts in other languages within English letters. I wish the notes had either been printed at the bottom of the page to which each refers, or at the end of each volume where they would be found easily, rather than at the end of each letter. The editors have wisely spelled out some contractions, and have "regularized" the use of *u* and *v* "to conform to modern spelling practice," but they have retained some abbreviations, in which raised letters are lowered to the line. In the seventeenth century, neither author nor printer used such difficult forms as "ym" or "yt" (for "ym" or "y^t") or "Ldip" or "Majies" (for "Lordship" or "Majesty's").

The great merit of this collection is that it is being edited and published in its entirety, even though much of this correspondence necessarily concerns itself with petty details. We are not asked to refer to other collections, and we are given none of those frustrating summaries that send us back to the archives to find out whether the letter in question just might possibly have been of interest to us, if not to the editors. The Halls are thus to be thanked for having undertaken an assignment of this magnitude and for having provided us with this new wealth of source material.

CHARLES II AND THE CAVALIER HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1663-1674.

By D. T. Witcombe. (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966. Pp. xiv, 218. \$8.00.)

THIS is the first detailed study of the activities of the Cavalier Commons from 1663 to the arrival of Danby as chief minister. Its value has already been recognized by those having access to the unpublished version.

In an attempt to ascertain why Charles II failed to achieve a *modus vivendi* with the Commons, Dr. Witcombe made a thorough examination of the *Journals*, published debates, and related sources before turning to a careful reading of the larger and some lesser collections of correspondence and papers. The result is a more balanced record and analysis of the Cavalier Commons than heretofore existed.

But Witcombe has done much more. Instead of the convenient court-country arrangement, which has appealed to many, he finds a complex array of court and country, or opposition, groups, which were not unified and were changing in composition, and an anonymous and uncommitted majority. The court groups left a better record of their views, actions, and membership than the country or opposition groups, and reliance on such materials has misled historians. The debates and other sources are essentially silent about the views and actions of 80 per cent of the membership of the Cavalier Commons. Who was present for a debate or division can seldom be determined; nor is it possible, except occasionally, to gauge the impact of the debates on the silent majority and others. Contemporary estimates and party lists are of little help, for the division figures rarely approximate the predicted results, and participants were often surprised by the outcome of divisions and sessions. These and other findings indicate how little we know about the political community that helped Charles II govern England, and they suggest enough topics to engage students for some time.

The author's interpretations are interesting but not necessarily final. The court's attempts at instruction and leadership were inadequate, inefficient, and often confusing to the membership, and Witcombe offers some plausible explanations as to why this was so. The Commons was not niggardly in voting supply, but its grants were less sufficient than the author suggests, though more generous than the King's apologists have concluded. Religion and foreign policy were perhaps more important issues than this volume would have us believe, and it is possible that Witcombe attributes too much good will and loyalty to the silent majority. Although specialists will question some of the author's judgments about individuals, events, and significances, they can learn much from this fresh, provocative, and informative addition to the literature on Charles II and his era that will also save them much labor. I hope that Witcombe will find the time to continue his research, and I am confident that others will join me in that feeling.

University of North Carolina, Charlotte

GEORGE R. ABERNATHY, JR.

GEORGIAN LINCOLN. By Sir Francis Hill. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1966. Pp. xvi, 336. \$15.50.)

SIR FRANCIS Hill opens his preface with: "It is pleasant to turn, in this third in-

stalment of my history of Lincoln, from a community in decay to the growing community of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries." *Georgian Lincoln* continues the story of the city of Lincoln so ably told in *Medieval Lincoln* (1948) and *Tudor and Stuart Lincoln* (1956). It is truly a labor of love written by one of its distinguished citizens, an active solicitor and former mayor of the city. This is not local history by an antiquarian, although antiquarians and genealogists will find a mine of information in which to dig and an excellent index to guide them. This is very good local history in which the sources both printed and in manuscript have been sifted and used extensively and intensively by a man steeped in his subject. One has the feeling that every scrap of material relating to Lincoln has been tapped and evaluated, and his preface is an admirable guide to his sources.

Beginning with a description of the old walled city on the hill, the author delineates the life and structure of the society of aristocracy and gentry in the county town and of the cathedral clergy. He moves down the hill to describe "Society Below-hill," the city of the artisans and tradesmen, both socially and administratively sharply differentiated from, and having little traffic with, the hill.

He describes the impact of both the growing market for wool, meat, and corn in the eighteenth century and the French wars on Lincoln: the building of toll roads and waterways, the draining of the fens, enclosure and improvement of agricultural techniques, the growth of a modest affluence reflected in rise of population and rebuilding. Appendixes furnish valuable information on corn prices and accounts of the Fossdyke. The aftermath of the wars and the attitudes in Lincoln to the reforms of the 1820's and 1830's are treated. There is an excellent chapter on the government of Lincoln before 1835, describing the functioning of the old corporation. The book ends as it began, with a description of life on the hill and below—now the High Town and the Low Town—reflecting the radical changes in outlook and the increased integration.

At the present moment, when on both sides of the Atlantic there is great concern with the problems of the city, it is good to have a study of a community in which historical perspective is given to problems that are usually treated as purely contemporary.

Brooklyn College

MADELINE R. ROBINTON

WILLIAM COBBETT: HIS THOUGHT AND HIS TIMES. By *John W. Osborne*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 272. \$10.00.)

Nor since 1924, Mr. Osborne points out, has there been a serious attempt to assess Cobbett's ideas and their significance in an England that was changing at a terrifying rate. Obviously the Rural Rider was less than the soul of consistency, as the existence of admiring biographies by G. D. H. Cole and G. K. Chesterton should attest. He has been hymned, on the one hand, as the prophet of democracy and, on the other, as one whose Heavenly City lay in an agrarian England of responsible landlords and contented tenants, before the fundholders and boroughmongers took over. Indeed, Cobbett's thought, if one can call it that, embodies such irreconcilable elements that one is sometimes inclined to dismiss

it simply as the weekly outpouring of a gifted but unreflecting and violent journalist.

Let it be said at once that Osborne, in this thoughtful and critical analysis, does not estimate Cobbett beyond his deserts nor impute to him a false consistency. His study, based primarily on a close examination of the eighty-nine volumes of the *Political Register* and Cobbett's other published writings, together with some manuscript material in Oxford and London, takes a considerably less enthusiastic view than does Cole's. For all his good intentions, he concludes, Cobbett was "a failure in politics, a dunce regarding most economic matters, out of touch with the changing society, and of very limited influence in his lifetime." Admittedly, Cobbett was a man of no great understanding. Much of his literary vehemence, Osborne notes, came from simple bafflement. The more complex a problem, the more furious his prose. He always sought the simple solution, seeing what he wanted to see and turning to the past for answers. His sovereign remedy for England's distress lay in abolishing the control that he assumed was exercised in English politics, even over the Church and the royal family, by a ring of fundholders and boroughmongers.

On the credit side, Osborne points to the simple, vigorously written manuals, *Cottage Economy* and *Advice to Young Men*, and to the *Rural Rides*, that vivid survey of the countryside in the years after Waterloo, with its sharp observations and trenchant political asides. But was Cobbett's influence in his own day as trivial as Osborne implies? Opinions will differ, depending in part on the political sympathies of the historian. Clearly it does not follow that, because Cobbett's notions were self-contradictory and often absurd, he was of little importance. He did not succeed either in diagnosing Britain's malaise or in prescribing a sensible remedy. Yet it is at least conceivable, as E. P. Thompson suggests, that the tone and style, rather than the substance, of the *Political Register*—earthy, argumentative, its figures of speech drawn from the experience of his audience—encouraged its working-class readers of varied backgrounds to discuss their assorted grievances and led them toward a common reform program. If a "Radical consensus" came to exist, Cobbett, I think, was one of its creators.

Harvard University

DAVID OWEN

"THE MOST ENGLISH MINISTER . . .": THE POLICIES AND POLITICS OF PALMERSTON. By *Donald Southgate*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1966. Pp. xxx, 647. \$15.00.)

WHEN Palmerston first publicly evinced an interest in foreign policy, he was forty-five years old, an undistinguished former holder of a minor ministerial post, an unimpressive speaker, and an unexceptional member of the House of Commons. At his death, thirty-six years later, he was Prime Minister, had stirred the nation with an address (the "Civis Romanus" speech in 1850) that, as an evocation of British pride and defiance, ranks with Churchill's orations in 1940, and had become, to most of his countrymen, the personification of the national character—John Bull in the flesh. It was Palmerston's involvement with foreign affairs that was responsible for this metamorphosis. For almost twenty-four years,

either as Foreign Secretary or Prime Minister, he spoke for Britain, despite opposition in the court, Commons, and cabinet.

Since any discussion of British foreign policy in this period would not be completely intelligible without an understanding of the man who dominated it, Dr. Southgate has chosen as his subject "not British foreign policy, 1829-65, but Palmerston's effect upon it." He wishes particularly to correct the distortion that has caused the image of Palmerston "the quarrelsome bully, the showman, the poseur" to obscure the reality of Palmerston the statesman, whose foreign policy, adventurous as it seemed, was one "of traditionalism, of conservatism, and of high responsibility in the hour of greatest crisis."

Southgate has succeeded in placing his subject sharply in focus. Palmerston is shown to be, above all else, a British nationalist. The key to his policy is the phrase "the interests of England," which recurs frequently in his speeches and correspondence. He was also a liberal, in the sense that he wished to see the peoples of Europe living under constitutional regimes of their own choosing. To bring about that happy dispensation he was willing to resort to diplomatic pressure, interference in the internal affairs of other nations, and the threat of armed force, especially since he was convinced that the interests of free, liberal, independent states must be identical with those of England. But when the emergence of such a state seemed, if only indirectly, a threat to Britain's interests, the nationalist in Palmerston prevailed over the liberal. In 1848, for example, he was considered rabidly pro-Italian and anti-Austrian because he wanted Austria to give up Lombardy and Venetia. "As long as she stayed there, her ability to play effectively her more general role in Europe, and her special role in the Balkans (both invaluable to British interests) would be impaired." But the very next year, on the basis of an equally cold-blooded analysis, he sided with the Austrians against the Magyars. When he wrote to Granville in 1859, "I am very Austrian north of the Alps, but very anti-Austrian south of the Alps," he meant in effect that he was pro-British at any point of the compass.

Quoting A. J. P. Taylor, Southgate argues "that 'the policy of Palmerston was not based upon sentimental considerations of nationalism, but upon the enduring principles of the Balance of Power.'" He was in fact so concerned with preserving as much as possible of the settlement of 1815 "that, in his desire to maintain peace and to retain the familiar landmarks of the European system, he was too cautious, too fearful, too wedded to the [Vienna] Treaty. He did not try very hard to substitute a strong Germany for Austria as Britain's ally in central Europe, although he would not thereby have sacrificed Austria as an ally in the Balkans. He did not deviate from what he thought the path of safety and of duty, even though constitutionalism was often a co-victim with the nationalism which Palmerston failed to support." Here, as elsewhere in this scholarly and extremely well-written book, it is apparent that Southgate has not allowed his enthusiasm for his subject to affect his critical judgment of the man whose contemporaries regarded him, in the words of the *Daily Telegraph* obituary, as "the most English minister that ever governed England."

EVOLUTION AND SOCIETY: A STUDY IN VICTORIAN SOCIAL THEORY. By J. W. Burrow. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. xvii, 295. \$8.50.)

RARELY does one have the opportunity to read a book that elicits the immediate reaction of wondering why someone else had not thought of the subject long ago. Usually only very good books evoke that kind of reaction, and Dr. Burrow's is no exception; it is a very good book.

He has addressed himself to the problem of why the Victorian pioneers of social science tended to approach the study of alien societies, primitive or otherwise, from both a positivistic and an evolutionary point of view; why they so often sought general laws and stages of progress and so rarely sought an understanding of those societies in terms of their uniqueness as working systems.

Those who feel that there is a magic key marked "Charles Darwin," guaranteed to provide access to the answer to this question, will learn otherwise from Burrow's book. Many of the leading figures involved—Maine, McLennan, Spencer, perhaps even Tylor—wrote several years before the appearance of *The Origin of Species*. If any natural science influenced them, it was uniformitarian geology, not Darwinian biology. But the point is that natural science played rather a small part in creating the climate of ideas in which people like Maine and Tylor produced their work. If one is to talk of influences here, one would do much better to turn to the realms of comparative philology and legal history, to the writings of Savigny, Ihering, and Max Müller.

It is one thing to trace such intellectual influences, and Burrow does it very well and to good effect. But what is far more difficult and, at the same time, far more significant, is to fit the particular problem with which he deals into the general framework of Victorian thought and feeling. In this sphere the author has made a really important contribution. He puts the seemingly built-in evolutionary tendency of so much of Victorian anthropology and sociology into its setting: the revolt against the fundamentally ahistorical utilitarian system that had held sway during the opening decades of the century and that, in spite of the exaggerated claims of some recent defenders, never paid much more than lip service to the power of time and place as determinants of human behavior. Furthermore, evolutionary theory, with its implications of progress, provided comfort and reassurance for a generation whose religious, ethical, and political beliefs had become increasingly precarious.

The Victorian social theorists' unremitting search for general laws must also be seen in this same context, as part of a great need to believe in the universality of natural causation, in a cosmic order of some sort. Burrow, cleverly adapting Lovejoy, appropriately speaks of nineteenth-century theories of social evolution as the temporalization of natural law. Maine, Tylor, and Spencer are the three figures about whom his book is most informative. But its insights reach considerably beyond them. It is an indispensable volume for all concerned with Victorian social and intellectual history.

LEFT IN THE CENTRE: THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY, 1893-1940. By *Robert E. Dowse*. (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 231. \$6.95.)

As the nine-page select bibliography indicates, this history of the Independent Labour party is well researched. The author has used the several weekly papers and the quarterly that, in spite of a relatively small membership, the party was able to support, and the voluminous writings of its leaders. For the years 1921-1937 the minutes of the National Administrative Council were available, so that for this period the contribution is most detailed and important. The point of view throughout is that of an avowed sympathizer.

The author recounts briefly the ILP's socialist pioneering and its role in the founding of the Labour party. So long as the latter remained a federal organization based mainly on trade-unions and socialist societies, the ILP, with its branches in parliamentary constituencies, provided the main avenue of entry for nontrade-unionists who desired membership in the Labour party. The ILP flourished. At its peak it could claim 60,000 members, and of the 191 Labour M.P.'s elected in 1923 some 120 were enrolled in the ILP. But the unique position of the ILP had already ended when in 1918 the Labour party's new constitution provided for the establishment of a local Labour party in each constituency.

The author's thesis, to which most of the volume is devoted, is that this structural change in the Labour party left the ILP with little room for maneuver and led to its decline. The ILP was in a dilemma. If it accepted MacDonald and gradualism, there was no reason for separate existence. If it opposed the leadership or advanced a competing program, the Labour party could not tolerate it. The result was not cooperation, but conflict. It was serious under the first MacDonald government. The publication of a rival program (1926) widened the breach. Matters grew worse under the second Labour government and led directly to the disaffiliation of the ILP in 1932. The ILP promptly lost half its membership. It lingered, trying to make a place for itself by adopting revolutionary postures and participating in united front movements against fascism, but decline was rapid. The war reduced it to insignificance, whereas in 1945 the Labour party it had helped to create achieved both office and power.

Stanford University

CARL F. BRAND

THE EVOLUTION OF NATIONAL INSURANCE IN GREAT BRITAIN: THE ORIGINS OF THE WELFARE STATE. By *Bentley B. Gilbert*. (London: Michael Joseph. 1966. Pp. 497. 84s.)

BRITISH historians have largely neglected the history of ideas in writing modern British history. It is not surprising that American historians have ventured to fill the gap, using an approach so fruitful in the study of American history. Professor Gilbert now enters this select company; his book ought to be definitive (to use an often misused word) on the history of the social legislation of 1906-1911 and its background. It is a work of great importance, as much for its questions as its answers. It is thoroughly researched, using the cabinet papers, Gilbert being

the first to profit in print from their recent opening, departmental archives, private papers such as Asquith's, Beveridge's, and Braithwaite's, and also contemporary books and the mass of periodical literature. The bibliography is exceptionally full, and its value is enhanced by astringent annotation. Lady Williams' *State and the Standard of Living* should have been mentioned, however. Only the index is disappointing.

The heart of the book—very good reading in spite of its great detail—is the account of the coming of the School Meals Act, the medical inspection and treatment of school children, old-age pensions, labor exchanges and unemployment insurance, and finally, in a Gargantuan chapter, national health insurance. The first three were, as Gilbert says, ancient matters finally brought to fruition; the remainder were an "untrodden field" invaded by Churchill and Lloyd George, exponents of what he calls the "New Liberalism," which the cabinet unenthusiastically accepted. Though much of this story is generally familiar, much of the detail is new, and only careful reading can do it justice. In his first two chapters Gilbert admirably traces the movement of ideas about social questions from the 1880's, rightly acknowledging Mrs. Lynd's too neglected study. He documents the importance of the Trafalgar Square riot of February 8, 1886 (he has read the *Times*' reports and proves its magnitude), the concern for the nation's health after the poor showing of recruits for the Boer War, and the ideas of "national efficiency" in vogue after 1901. In his account of the struggle for the National Insurance Act he emphasizes the work of the lobbies (the doctors, friendly societies, and industrial insurance companies) and shows how Lloyd George used them to get his bill passed, though it was completely transformed in the process. It is only at the end, when he speculates on the decline of the Liberal party, that Gilbert falters. Though praising the party for a "stupendous" achievement, he believes it took up social legislation too late and too reluctantly to save itself, though admitting that this was never an electoral issue before 1914. The great enigma still awaits its historian.

University College of North Wales

C. L. MOWAT

THE MILITARY INTELLECTUALS IN BRITAIN: 1918-1939. By *Robin Higham*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 267. \$7.50.)

IN so far as this book has a theme, it is the impact of mechanized and aerial warfare on British military thought and policy in the interwar period. The author gives fair warning, however, that "the approach, which will not satisfy every critic, is in terms of men rather than of ideas. . . ." Four leaders are given special attention: Fuller and Liddell Hart for the army; Richmond for the navy; and Trenchard for the gospel of strategic bombardment as embodied in the Royal Air Force.

The book, indeed, is neither a unified historical analysis nor a series of intellectual or personal biographies. If a connecting thread has been drawn, it has escaped me. Instead, the reader is presented with a potpourri of ideas, narrative, information, and gossip centering on the men and time limits chosen, but sometimes wandering far afield. The English style is careless.

To some extent the author has been unlucky in his timing. "This manuscript was completed in the spring of 1962"; since that time, as the preface indicates, a number of books have appeared in this area. One of these, Liddell Hart's *Memoirs*, is of prime importance, while the best introductory account of Fuller and Liddell Hart is to be found in Luvaas' *Education of an Army*.

Even so, *The Military Intellectuals* will be indispensable to specialists and useful to others. In addition to such fascinating tidbits as the sales figures for Liddell Hart's books and much bibliographical information, the book has at least two solid merits. For one, it includes summaries of the works of the soldier-scholars mentioned, as well as of a number of lesser figures. For another, it contains a good account of the vicissitudes of air power policy, with particular emphasis on the early years.

There is no formal bibliography. Apart from a few letters to the author, the abundant materials cited in the footnotes are all published.

This is Higham's fourth book, not counting a text written in collaboration. The first two were in some respects model monographs; the third was a valuable contribution to general history. The present work is a more ambitious project than the previous ones; it is not, however, as well digested. May one hope for a revised second edition?

New York University

PAUL GUINN

HALIFAX: THE LIFE OF LORD HALIFAX. By *The Earl of Birkenhead*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1966. Pp. xiii, 626. \$8.50.)

PREVIOUS studies, notably those of his father and of Viscount Cherwell, have demonstrated that the Earl of Birkenhead is one of the leading British practitioners, perhaps the leading practitioner, of the art of political biography. This study of Lord Halifax, although it is disappointing in some ways, confirms that judgment. Based on meticulous research in available sources and on correspondence and conversations with scores of people who knew Halifax in one connection or another, it is a thorough, sympathetic, but hardly sycophantic study of a complicated human being.

The best sections of the book deal with Halifax' rich family heritage: his early years, evidently influenced by a deeply religious and somewhat eccentric father; his devotion to the land; his intellectual gifts, which earned him a scholar's fellowship at All Souls; above all, his commitment to an Anglo-Catholicism that became the major force in his private life. Birkenhead does not neglect the public career that gave Halifax whatever lasting importance he may have. Indeed, the sections on Halifax' term as Viceroy of India, like those on his tenure in the Foreign Office and as wartime ambassador to the United States, make up the major part of the study. Yet somehow Halifax emerges from these pages a bigger man than he actually was. His vicereignty, for example, was not really so successful as it appears here. His recommendation that the Hindus and Muslims be excluded from the Simon Commission was a serious error, and his insensitivity in dealing with political offenders symbolized the failure of his policy, despite the undoubted personal success he achieved at home and even among many Indians.

In particular, the puzzle of Halifax' role in the Munich era requires explanations that are not provided in this study. Birkenhead himself is obviously a critic of the appeasement policy; though he makes clear that Halifax was firmly behind Neville Chamberlain in that policy, he does not indicate how fully this was the case, nor how long Halifax' illusions persisted. As late as September 2, 1939, Halifax continued to think that some *modus vivendi* could be worked out with Hitler. And he contributes little—perhaps it is one of those issues on which concrete data are not very revealing—on one crucial question. Chamberlain, Simon, Hoare, all were tarred, after 1939, with the brush of an unsuccessful appeasement. Yet Halifax, who was at least as responsible for the disasters of the period as were Simon and Hoare, somehow managed to escape. In 1940, incredible as it now appears, he almost became Prime Minister, an indication of what Francis Williams has called the "unique moral eminence" he attained among his countrymen. Why this should have been remains obscure, even after one has read Birkenhead's thoughtful biography. But probably the elucidation of such mysteries is too much to ask of any author, particularly one who has written so honest and, for the most part, so balanced a study of a politician whom many will find less attractive than does his biographer.

Rutgers University

HRW

MÜNCHEN 1938. ENGLAND ZWISCHEN HITLER UND PREUSSEN.

By *Bernd-Jürgen Wendt*. [Hamburger Studien zur neueren Geschichte, Number 3.] ([Frankfurt am Main:] Europäische Verlagsanstalt. 1965. Pp. 150.)

THE subtitle, *England between Hitler and Prussia*, cryptically hints at the theme of this monograph. Dr. Wendt's thesis is that Chamberlain and his fellow appeasers of 1938 had a choice between Hitler and Hitler's underground opposition. The latter, however, was the more unattractive because of its association with the Prussian tradition. With specific reference to Goerdeler, Koerber, and Kleist-Schmenzin, the author shows the connections of the opposition with the *Deutsch-nationalen*, with the imperial military tradition, and, worst of all, with the Prussian inclination toward an accommodation with Russia. Hitler was not an attractive alternative, but at least he represented stability, limited his ambitions to the Continent, and could be relied upon not to pull any Rapallo-type tricks with the Bolsheviks. So thinking, English appeasers ignored the "Prussians" and stuck with Hitler until even they could stick no longer.

The author's portrayal of the appeasers' mentality is convincing though not particularly novel. One of his more telling points is the bitter-funny description of how the appeasers hoped to keep Hitler from falling under the influence of the "extremists." Only too late did they realize that this was self-delusion, that Hitler was the extreme extremist.

The scope of the book is rather unsatisfactory, being either too much or too little and not well organized in either case. The author, however, shows an awareness of this, for in the foreword he tells us that this monograph is both an expanded version of an address and a contracted portion of a longer study that he

plans to publish on the whole question of the British image of Germany in the 1930's. His larger study should prove interesting.

Department of State

WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). CIVIL AFFAIRS AND MILITARY GOVERNMENT: CENTRAL ORGANIZATION AND PLANNING. By *F. S. V. Donnison*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1966. Pp. xv, 400. \$11.00.)

THREE earlier volumes of this series dealt with civil affairs in specific areas. This volume gives an account of the organization evolved in London, of the machinery created for Anglo-American cooperation, and of central planning. The author prepared two of the area volumes and is therefore also familiar with theater problems and practices.

The book is divided into three parts. The first deals with the background, United Kingdom organization, and Anglo-American organization in the field and at headquarters. The second treats such special problems as legal, supply, finance, relation with voluntary societies, displaced persons, protection of monuments, and recruitment and training. The final, brief part indicates certain problems and presents some conclusions. One appendix summarizes German plans for military government in England, and another gives a chronology of civil affairs. There is also an index. The author has had full access to official documents, but detailed references to sources not open to the public are not given. Where published sources are used, there are footnote references.

The author presents a bewilderingly complicated subject with great clarity; he expresses the fear that he may make it sound too clear and simple. He does not hesitate to express judgments; nor does he disguise the existence of friction between British governmental departments and between the British and Americans. He does make it quite clear, however, that such friction did not seriously interfere with activities. In the case of Anglo-American friction he indicates that the fault lay sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, and that such friction usually arose, not because of personal ill will but because of different traditions, practices, and resources. A picture of very considerable accomplishment in a great variety of fields emerges.

In one respect the book is clearly "official." It is largely impersonal, though not because the author underrates the importance of persons. Occasionally someone is praised, but where adverse criticism is made, no names are mentioned.

The book's clear and readable style is lightened by a quiet but effective sense of humor. The basic conclusion is the need to educate army officers in civilian matters. Another conclusion, implicitly but not explicitly stated, is the need for advance but flexible plans. The book is useful both as an account of a specific activity and as a case history of the evolution of an organization dealing with a variety of problems involving many departments and nations.

Barnard College

GEORGE WOODBRIDGE

THE ELIZABETHANS AND THE IRISH. By *David Beers Quinn*. [Folger Monographs on Tudor and Stuart Civilization.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the Folger Shakespeare Library. 1966. Pp. ix, 204. \$5.00.)

In the preface Professor Quinn states that this book "is intended to convey an impression of what some Englishmen thought about some Irishmen and about Irish society." Admittedly, the book does have limitations: it is based exclusively on English-language sources, and the author is neither an anthropologist nor a specialist in early Irish history. On the other hand, Quinn is well qualified to assess English comments on Elizabethan Ireland; he has edited Irish materials and is an authority on English travel literature of the sixteenth century. Unlike Constantia Maxwell's *The Stranger in Ireland*, the present study does not deal separately with the observations of visitors; it is a topical discussion of certain aspects of Irish life as seen through the eyes of English officials, travelers, and literary figures. As the author points out, English writers on Ireland reveal both extreme cultural nationalism and a keen intellectual curiosity. They were at the same time repelled and fascinated by what they found.

The book's primary objective, to provide a more complete picture of Gaelic Ireland, proves a more difficult task than that of delineating English prejudices. Few if any Englishmen, even those like Barnaby Rich and Edmund Spenser, who spent several years in the country, understood either the pastoral character of Irish society or its traditional lore and law. English opinions were not only uncharitable; they were often irrelevant or stupid, and English policy was all too frequently based on "a lack of critical realism."

Like most social historians, the author finds it difficult to generalize from scattered and sometimes contradictory evidence. Occasionally he is tempted to stretch the evidence; more often he is overcautious. For the most part, though, his conclusions are enlightening. The book constitutes a valuable addition to our knowledge of Gaelic Ireland before the full impact of English penetration had altered its traditional culture. Although concentrating on the Gaelic Irish, the book contains much information on the "Old English," and the final chapter deals with the Irish in England. The book includes, with good discussions, over twenty contemporary illustrations drawn from several sources.

Tulane University

FRANCIS G. JAMES

THE OLD ENGLISH IN IRELAND, 1625-42. By *Aidan Clarke*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1966. Pp. 287. \$5.75.)

THE Old English in the seventeenth century were the descendants of those individuals who had colonized Ireland from 1066 to about 1534. They were not Irish, but neither were they purely English; they included Normans, Welsh, Danes, and Flemings, who had become assimilated, who were Roman Catholic in religion, and who were concentrated in the Irish Pale, though scattered remnants were found in most counties, excepting Clare and Leitrim. Economically, this group was significant because it possessed about one-third of the best land in Ireland.

Mr. Clarke has studied this group from the accession of Charles I to the out-

break of the Civil War. For the Tudor and Stuart periods we have six volumes by Richard Bagwell, and for the period of the Commonwealth we possess two helpful volumes of documents by Robert Dunlop. Within this framework Clarke has written a straightforward and competent account of the Old English.

The author has indicated how the Tudor victories of Henry VIII and Elizabeth were undone by the developments in the reign of Charles I. The assumption of power by the lord deputy, Thomas Wentworth, in 1632, the growth of Protestant power, the secret policies of Charles I, and the increasing threat to the security of the landowners and their rights of tenure were factors bringing change. Clarke clearly indicates that a crisis was reached in 1641 when the Old English refused to take a strong stand against the "rebels," rejected the appellation "traitors," and merely referred to the "discontented gentlemen." This defection of the Old English was of decisive political and cultural import. Forced more by immediate circumstances than by logic or conviction, the Old English had to choose between their traditional loyalties to king, Catholicism, and estates, and the newer demands arising from Protestantism, centralized control, and royal policy. By adhering to Catholicism, estates, and Irish nationalism the Old English made possible that emerging latent Catholic tradition that linked Irish and Catholic and became explicit in the eighteenth century.

There are three helpful appendixes on land, graces, and Catholic parliamentary representatives. The bibliography is ample, and the index is more than adequate. One suggestion: Dunlop's first name is Robert.

Claremont Graduate School

LELAND H. CARLSON

LE PRINCE DANS LA FRANCE DES XVI^e ET XVII^e SIÈCLES. By *Claude Bontems et al.* Preface by *François Dumont*. [Travaux et recherches de la Faculté de Droit et des Sciences économiques de Paris. Series "Sciences historiques," Number 7.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1965. Pp. viii, 286. 18 fr.)

THE connecting link among the three studies collected in this volume is concern with the position and power of a monarch—a subject hardly avoidable in political writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Jean-Pierre Brancourt tries, in the last essay, to elucidate the fundamental political principles behind the Duke of Saint-Simon's views on French politics. He establishes connections between the ideas of Saint-Simon and those of Fénelon, Bossuet, and the Jansenists, but I doubt that he succeeds in demonstrating that Saint-Simon possessed a coherent political system. The second essay interests students of the political thought of the French religious wars. The author, Léon-Pierre Raybaud, analyzes the writings of Matteo Zampini, a defender of the *Ligue* who became involved in polemics with Hotman.

The first essay, by Claude Bontems, makes a very substantial scholarly contribution. It contains an edition of Budé's *Institution du prince*. Since its publication in the sixteenth century, the treatise has never been reprinted. In a lengthy introduction Bontems establishes that the treatise was written in the last months of 1518 and the first months of 1519 when Budé was anxious to gain an influential position at the court of Francis I. Moreover, Bontems demonstrates that, al-

though the treatise consists primarily of a long list of historical examples, their selection was determined by the aim to show that the absolute monarchy is the perfect form of government. As a further example of the great hopes which the humanists placed on the monarchs of their time, Budé's treatise deserves careful attention.

All three studies reveal a rather insufficient acquaintance with the non-French scholarly literature and contain frequent references to two articles by François Dumont who wrote a preface to the volume.

Institute for Advanced Study

FELIX GILBERT

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF LOUIS LE ROY. By *Werner L. Gundersheimer*. [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Number 82.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1966. Pp. 163.)

ONE of the great needs in the intellectual history of the Renaissance-Reformation period is a series of monographs discussing the thought of important figures of the age. Mr. Gundersheimer's book deals with a significant scholar and thinker of mid-sixteenth-century France, focusing mainly on his writings and the major elements of his thought. Louis Le Roy has frequently been discussed by authors of works on the idea of progress, on religious toleration, and on other topics in intellectual history. But only one previous biography, by A. H. Becker, preceded this one, and Gundersheimer effectively demonstrates some of its shortcomings. Despite the virtues of Becker's biography, the present book is better founded on the sources, is more effective at meeting a sixteenth-century writer intellectually on his own terms, and is much less digressive. After briefly discussing the historiography of his subject and summarizing his life, Gundersheimer deals directly with his work as translator of Plato, Demosthenes, and Aristotle into French, his occasional writings and political pamphlets, and his masterpiece, the treatise *De la vicissitude*. The author makes clear Le Roy's attitude toward the classics, his sense that the modern age has outstripped the ancient past, his political conservatism, his peculiar notion that arms and learning rise and fall together, and his rejection of the idea of the exhaustion of nature. The strange intertwining of optimism and pessimism that is common in Renaissance thinkers comes forth clearly. Gundersheimer does little with Le Roy's views on toleration or with his contribution to the development of French prose, but both topics have been treated elsewhere.

If there is one flaw in this work, it is the book-by-book presentation of Le Roy's writings. The major themes of his thought are touched on, but they are not systematically developed, and they would often be more meaningful if the author related them more explicitly to general trends in the age. Nevertheless, Gundersheimer has produced a fine book, further enriched by appendixes on Le Roy's influence in England, by a thematic index, and by a bibliography and index.

University of Missouri

CHARLES G. NAUERT, JR.

LETTRES HISTORIQUES POUR LES ANNÉES 1556-1594. By *Estienne Pasquier*. Published and annotated by *D. Thickett*. [Textes littéraires français.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1966. Pp. 514.)

COMPLEMENTING the same editor's earlier volume of Pasquier's literary correspondence, this work contains some threescore letters to various addressees on the religious wars and the politics thereof. The author—prominent jurist, member of the *Chambre des Comptes*, and author of the *Recherches de la France* (1560 ff.)—was either an eyewitness to the events described or had spoken with participants. His letters touch upon all these tumultuous years except for one lacuna from 1574 to 1585. The style is admirable for a sixteenth-century Frenchman and is marred by none of the bombast and long citations from the ancients that one might expect of an author of Pasquier's attainments. He has often been labeled an excessively partisan Catholic, but perusing these letters one wonders what basis there is for such an accusation. In 1585 he wrote bluntly (while criticizing some aspects of his Church), "I want to live and die in this faith," which he did, but without ever failing to show much compassion for the Huguenots and complete revulsion for the fanaticism displayed by both sides. Even before the fighting had begun, he referred sadly to those "two miserable factional words of Huguenot and Papist" which he feared would bring the same calamities to France as Guelph and Ghibelline in Italy and White and Red Rose in England. One emerges from Pasquier's letters with the feeling that he was a man one would have liked to have known, which is not too common a sentiment to experience in reading the literature of this depressing period.

Pasquier's manuscripts have long ago disappeared, and the texts of these letters simply follow the edition of 1723 with minor corrections. Although the correspondence will not be new for historians of the Wars of Religion, the editor's copious and learned annotations should be quite useful. One could, given sufficient patience, compile from these notes the best available bibliography of recent work on the French Wars of Religion.

University of Notre Dame

LEON BERNARD

L'HOMME ET SON "INSTITUTION": DE MONTAIGNE À BÉRULLE, 1580-1625. By *René Bady*. [Annales de l'Université de Lyon, Third Series, Lettres, Number 38.] (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres." 1964. Pp. 586.)

IN the author's own words, the purpose of this massive volume is to distill from the very rich moral and spiritual literature that appeared in France between 1580 and 1625 the "idea of man, his place in the universe, his nature, and in so far as it was related to his condition, his destiny." Bady's approach to his material is comprehensive, and the contents of the book are correspondingly voluminous. The first portion examines the works that were published during the final years of the war (1580-1600), with special attention to their teachings concerning man's moral qualities, especially his constancy, and the precepts that various authors drew from the wisdom of the ancients and secondarily the Christian tradition. A lengthy second section shows that, although the period 1600-1620 witnessed a

sharp increase in the literature of religious devotion, this was accompanied by growing interest in such worldly virtues as *honnêteté*. The third part of the work examines the intellectual position that had been reached during the early 1620's and finds that the challenge of libertinism was being successfully met by a strengthened spirituality.

In this brief review it is impossible to do justice either to the richness of Bady's work or the literature that it examines. Suffice it to state that he succeeds in analyzing the entire range of themes that are treated in the moral and spiritual writings of the time: virtue, passion, reason, devotion, rational versus Christian man, and many others. His research is exhaustive and reliable. His method of exposition is generally to allow excerpts from various authors to speak for themselves, often with a minimum of commentary. Thus the book is rich in quotations from the sources, and many readers will find this its chief value. More questionable is Bady's success in writing the work of synthesis that the book purports to be. Although he examines a great variety of positions on many matters, he usually settles for those of a few of the most outstanding authors: Montaigne in the first section of the book and Bérulle in the second and third. The work is, nevertheless, of real value for its analysis and comparison of many themes in the moral and spiritual literature of a very productive period of French thought. His clear preference for the religiously oriented works over those of the more secular writers does not detract from the excellence of his presentation. Students of the intellectual and religious life of the age will find it a valuable work of scholarship and reference.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

LOUIS XIV. By *Vincent Buranelli*. [Twayne's Rulers and Statesmen of the World Series, Number 1.] (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1966. Pp. 223. \$4.95.)

Mr. Buranelli has written a brief biography sympathetic to the Sun King, and students seeking an alternative to Ashley's somewhat hostile introduction will find the book useful. Specialists, however, while admiring the author's references to recent monographic and interpretive literature, will be less enthusiastic. How, for example, does one account for the Dutch War if, as Buranelli generalizes, the "one constant" of Louis's foreign policy was defensive, "to seal off avenues of approach that would permit hostile armies to enter France"? Even the author at times retreats from his thesis. In another sphere, the influence Buranelli attributes personally to the King for the disciplined literary triumphs of the age does not rest on much evidence. The habit of Louis's thought was hardly inspiring, and the classical ideal more logically developed from social and intellectual conditions established in the first half of the century by the Marquise de Rambouillet, Malherbe, Balzac, Vaugelas, and, of course, Descartes. Moreover, to accept as conclusive, as Buranelli appears to do, the hypothesis that Louis attempted to run his system on Cartesian principles—a view that concerns one of the most thorny areas of intellectual history, the application of ideas to society—underestimates the lack of concordance in the King's political, military, diplomatic, and economic policies.

Other aspects of the book are subject to criticism. To slip into the popular cliché of equating Louis's conception of *Gloire* with that held by the present occupant of the Elysée ignores crucial differences of approach, means, and ends. The author seems to confuse the office of Habsburg emperor with that of Holy Roman emperor. And his use of sources—a judicious employment of Saint-Simon, Dangeau, the *Correspondance administrative*, and the King's own *Mémoires*, interspersed with much reliance upon Sainte-Beuve, W. H. Lewis, Mongrédien, and Gaxotte—might have been more selective.

Despite these qualifications, there are virtues to the book: Buranelli treats the religious problems of the reign with skill and good sense; his revival of a neglected figure such as Beauvillier is welcome; and occasional digressive insights, such as his unorthodox assessment of James II, are especially intriguing.

University of Oregon

RAYMOND BIRN

JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU. Volume I, 1712-1758; Volume II, 1758-1778.

By Jean Guénhenno. Translated from the French by John and Doreen Weightman. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 460; xi, 316. \$17.50 the set.)

JEAN Guénhenno's sensitive and poetic biography of Rousseau, first published between 1948 and 1952, has long been read and admired by almost all who are interested in Jean-Jacques. It is now available, superbly translated, in a somewhat expensive edition, for those who are interested but unable to read French.

Guénhenno's merits are obvious. He combines careful scholarship with insight and style. With rare empathy he projects himself into Rousseau's being, feels with him, tries to understand and explain the torments, contradictions, failures, and glories of his life. He comes close to achieving a delicate balance of sympathetic understanding and objectivity. No reader can forget the poetry of Guénhenno's account of the encounter with Mme. de Warens, the vivid narrations in which he makes his subject live, or the finely wrought passages that communicate Rousseau's anguish and moral dilemmas.

Less obvious are Guénhenno's limitations. This is a very personal document, and some readers will be embarrassed by the presence of the author's subjective reactions and emotions. More serious, scholarship in this field has made such strides in the last fifteen years that in many respects Guénhenno's biography is already outdated. New techniques of psychological and existential analysis (as exemplified by Starobinski and Grimsley) have added, and will continue to add, dimensions of understanding totally unsuspected by Guénhenno. Some of his judgments are more than dubious; they are occasionally amazing: among others, his apology for Rousseau's abandonment of his children, his statement that Rousseau was not naturally inclined to lying and deceit, and, also, his failure to understand the dialectic of natural man and social man, of "natural" goodness and of man's wickedness in society (*not* of society's wickedness!). Thus we are led to the gratuitous paradox that the "*optimistic* Jean-Jacques" distrusted human nature more than "the *pessimistic* Voltaire." What is the real value of these facile adjectival generalizations (underlined by Guénhenno)? The treatment of Rousseau's philosophy, and of its relation to his life and personality, is scanty and in-

adequate. In general, the author avoids the hard-core problems and does not penetrate into the inner meaning of the writings. Furthermore, new editions of Rousseau's works and correspondence have uncovered some serious errors of chronology and added new facts. The account of the famous quarrel with the philosophes was written before the appearance of Guillemin's prejudiced but invaluable *Un homme, deux ombres*, and there has been new material, by Guillemin and others, on the quarrel with Hume.

Guéhenno's biography, then, remains a brilliant work, one that must be read and that will be read with pleasure and illumination. But, from the scholar's viewpoint, it belongs already to a past generation, and new syntheses and interpretations are called for.

Western Reserve University

LESTER G. CROCKER

ROUSSEAU'S VENETIAN STORY: AN ESSAY UPON ART AND TRUTH IN *LES CONFESSIONS*. By *Madeleine B. Ellis*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 199. \$6.00.)

Miss Ellis' study is devoted to the proposition that Rousseau was wholeheartedly a truth-teller. In the Venetian episode, as throughout the *Confessions*, he was not only truthful in regard to facts (a disputable assertion, to say the least), but when he modified them it was to attain greater psychological, "spiritual," and aesthetic truth. There is some exploration of the rhetorical devices used by Rousseau, and a re-examination of documents and archives. This work is apologetic, but interesting, well written, and contains valuable insights. One cannot doubt the conclusion: that Rousseau was a great artist, a great psychologist, and that he has given a truthful portrait of his own soul. What he writes is only a part of the portrait, however; the scholar and psychologist have had to interpret and go beyond it.

Western Reserve University

LESTER G. CROCKER

BESANÇON RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE. By *Claude Brelot*. [Cahiers d'études comtoises, Number 9. Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, Volume LXXVII.] (Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 1966. Pp. 212.)

PUBLISHED with this text of 175 pages are bibliographies on other eastern areas by various specialists. Mlle. Brelot narrates the similarities and special characteristics of Besançon during the revolutionary decade. The book is divided into three parts: 1788-1792, 1792-1795, and 1795-1799. Despite its brevity, this important regional study is a worthy addition to the growing literature on a locality during the Revolution such as Egret, Bouloiseau, Ligou, Leuilliot, and Kaplow have provided. The text is based almost exclusively on manuscript materials and contemporary newspapers and pamphlets, with extensive documentation. An excellent survey of local revolutionary newspapers is provided.

Brelot found Besançon strongly attached to tradition in 1788-1789; nobles and members of the parlement who held power as deputies and municipal officers supported provincialism. Although the Jacobin Club was organized early, it was not important until after June 1792, when it defended Republicanism earlier

than did the municipality. Both were Girondist in 1793, but by summer the Jacobins had won power in the town government and took more drastic measures to further republican and democratic reform. Deputies *en mission* and sections played an important part in the promotion of Jacobin goals, but Jacobinism in Besançon remained tinged with localism, if not federalism. Bread shortages were a frequent incitement to ferment and riot and a constant concern of town government. Brelot considered the Terror at Besançon as more moderate than the Thermidorian reaction. *La Vedette*, the Jacobin newspaper, was published until 1795 and was more influential than *Le 9 Thermidor*. Electoral statistics for the Directory period showed the continuation of personal antagonisms and opposition of two nearly equal groups. It was only during the Consulate that this hostility abated.

Brelot concluded that Besançon was more traditionalist than conservative, resulting from its long history of autonomy, and that its reputed conservatism only developed in the nineteenth century. I wish that the author had consulted Besançon's general *cahiers* for public opinion in 1789 and had devoted more attention to anticlericalism, to the struggle between the regular army and the National Guard in this frontier town, to emigration, and to comparison with other eastern areas. In this brief text, however, Brelot has provided an excellent survey of the moderate and independent spirit of revolutionary Besançon, former capital of Franche-Comté.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

BENJAMIN CONSTANT ET SA DOCTRINE. In two volumes. By *Paul Bastid*. [Collection "Sciences politiques."] ([Paris:] Librairie Armand Colin. 1966. Pp. 485; 495-III.)

BASED on a mass of printed works and on manuscript materials in the libraries of Neuchâtel, Lausanne, and Geneva and in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, this is the most thorough study of Constant that has appeared. The first volume is devoted to the life of Constant, and the second, to an analysis of his ideas, particularly his political ideas. His private life was tumultuous, a series of ups and downs and of successful and unsuccessful love affairs—including a long one with Mme. de Staël—and of varied ventures in politics. But the evolution of Constant's political ideas showed a profound consistency. Born in Lausanne, Switzerland, he early came to believe in democracy. This was deepened by study at Oxford and later at Edinburgh, where he acquired a great admiration for British political institutions.

Living through the turmoil of the revolutionary era and of Napoleon and continuing his political activity during the Bourbon Restoration, he has often been considered a mere political opportunist. Through an exhaustive study of his political ideas, Bastid succeeds in showing the steady tenor of his political convictions. Constant first showed a deep interest in French political developments in the period of the Directory when he took the side of a conservative democracy. Becoming disgusted with Napoleon's dictatorship and being critical of it, he was exiled by Napoleon during the Consulate and did not return to France until 1814 when he made his peace with Napoleon and helped draw up the *Acte*

Additionelle. During the Bourbon Restoration—he died in 1830—he was active as a political pamphleteer and as a parliamentarian. He poured out a series of essays, but wrote no comprehensive work on politics.

Constant's political views were close to those of Royer-Collard and the Doctrinaires of the Restoration. He believed firmly in limited monarchy as represented by the *Charter of 1814* and Louis XVIII. As the Restoration government shifted toward reaction after 1820, he became more boldly critical. Constant was opposed to the revolutionary idea of the sovereignty of the people and to the idea of royal sovereignty. All sovereignty should be curbed by a host of limitations. As the average man has no leisure to devote to governmental problems, Constant believed in a restriction of the suffrage. But the individual must be left as independent as possible to live his own life and must be free from arbitrary and authoritarian interference. In practical affairs, Constant believed in the separation of political powers as in Britain. He vigorously espoused the causes of freedom of the press and of giving local units of government as much power as possible. For his time he was an important exponent of Liberal thought in France. The work contains much material on the intellectual life of the time and on the history of France in Constant's period. All these aspects of his time have been shown with elaborate detail in this magistral study of Constant's life and thought.

Oberlin College

FREDERICK B. ARTZ

THE CAMPAIGNS OF NAPOLEON. By *David G. Chandler*. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1966. Pp. xliii, 1172. \$17.50.)

IF David Chandler now finds his slumbers disturbed by strange rappings, he need fear neither burglars nor poltergeists. It will be the ghostly revenge of General Eble and his proud artillery pontoniers, protesting Chandler's summary reclassification of them as "sappers." This one small item delimits *The Campaigns of Napoleon*. It is a big, ambitious, entertaining book; it could have been superb.

Chandler has a good, interesting, confidential writing style. With just enough domestic and diplomatic history to form the necessary setting, he describes and analyzes Napoleon's campaigns and battles in considerable detail, reviews the organization and armament of the participating armies, and thoroughly explores the Emperor's concepts of tactics and strategy. This last section, soundly based on Camon's studies, is one of the best things in the book. Chandler's description of the *Grande Armée* is less successful. The imperial staff is inexcusably maltreated; the artillery is given more space than comprehension. The appendixes include some useful and specific orders of battle. Map coverage is extensive, but its quality is highly variable. Chandler's comments and judgments are generally sound, if not new.

Except for Napoleon's *Correspondance* and a collection of memoirs, Chandler has depended on secondary sources, and little discrimination is apparent. Rapp's sober recollections are mingled with Marbot's tall—and Ségur's still taller—tales. The secondary sources likewise vacillate from Wilkinson's outstanding *The Rise of General Bonaparte* through Petre's variable products to such feckless pot-boilers as MacDonell's *Napoleon and His Marshals*. Jomini is quoted concerning

Napoleon's crossing of the Danube before Wagram, but Jomini was not an eyewitness, and his account was proved both inaccurate and mendacious years ago. The old myth of how the "Aulic Council" throttled the initiative of Austrian generals reappears, as does the fable of Napoleon's breaking his marshals' initiative. Sir Sidney Smith's truly wild story of how Bonaparte used his artillery to murder all the prisoners taken by the French at Toulon is inserted on the pretext that it might be true. The Eylau and 1812 campaigns are feebly researched, but the Waterloo chapter has excellent references. The result is a colorful book, but erratic history.

To summarize, if one likes to read about the Emperor, he should buy *The Campaigns of Napoleon*; if he is a serious student of Napoleonic warfare, he should get something better.

Falls Church, Virginia

JOHN R. ELTING

THE POLICE STATE OF LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, 1851-1860.

By Howard C. Payne. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 340. \$6.50.)

PUBLICATION of this book adds another topic to that short list of subjects in the history of the Second Empire on which definitive monographs are now available: public works, ecclesiastical policy, public opinion, and foreign policy, among others, and now the police. The volume opens with a chapter on the theoretical bases of the French police power and with a skillfully guided tour through the maze of French police offices from the Ministers of the Interior and Justice down to the humble *gardes champêtres*. Professor Payne then devotes chapters to the extraordinary police regime of the four months after the *coup d'état* of 1851 and to the experiment with a ministry of police and its abandonment after it led to jurisdictional conflicts with the established holders of police powers. Succeeding chapters deal with the manipulation of the press; local police agents—the *commissaires* in towns and cities, the gendarmery, and the *gardes champêtres*; and the secret political police. The book is soundly based on archives of the Ministries of the Interior and Justice, the archives of the gendarmery, and on a sampling of departmental archives, as well as on trade papers of the profession, memoirs, and other published works.

The book's principal thesis is that the machinery and practices of the police under Louis Napoleon were not creations of the Second Empire, but were inherited from the preceding regimes and not fundamentally changed during the 1850's. Payne disputes the popular conception of an omnipresent secret political police during the Empire. Neither the number of secret police agents nor the magnitude of secret funds increased substantially after 1851. Lurid tales of half of France secretly denouncing the other half are only tales. Most political police work was handled by perfectly visible agents of the administration: prefects and subprefects, *procureurs généraux*, *commissaires*, and gendarmes. In practice the centralization of the administration was less than complete, and the police authorities were especially concerned by their inability in practice to triumph over local influences sufficiently to enforce uniform national policies.

University of Washington

DAVID H. PINKNEY

DANIEL HALÉVY AND HIS TIMES: A GENTLEMAN-COMMONER IN THE THIRD REPUBLIC. By *Alain Silvera*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 251. \$6.50.)

BORN in 1872 and alive until 1962, Daniel Halévy must surely have been the last survivor of the generation that lived through the Dreyfus affair. Of distinguished French-Jewish lineage, Halévy had all the advantages of birth, wealth, and influence. From his father, the gifted librettist Ludovic Halévy, he inherited some of the ambivalent political and social attitudes that marked him as a critic, journalist, essayist, biographer, historian, and polemicist all his life and that quickly became visible in the aftermath of the Dreyfus affair. Breaking with the Socialists and Radicals whom he charged with exploiting the turbulent episode in order to undermine the whole social order, he crossed over to the camp of the Third Republic's opponents. He abandoned his friend Charles Péguy and, always in need of a spiritual guide, turned to Georges Sorel. His political career culminated in collaboration during the occupation and in defense of Marshal Pétain and Charles Maurras at their postwar trials. To the end, however, he remained a man of many contradictions and paradoxes: a champion of popular liberties, but hostile to democracy; a spokesman for socialism as a morally regenerative force, but opposed to all socialist parties; a believer in elitism, but possessed of a genuinely libertarian spark. To explore the origins of these contradictions the author has successfully examined Halévy's family background, his career, and his diverse writings, including his unpublished diaries and correspondence, and in the best tradition of an intellectual historian has placed his analysis in a carefully drawn historical setting.

It is not a life-and-times book, despite the phrase in the title, largely because Halévy was not an actor on the historical scene in any significant sense. It is an intellectual study of a man who served as a prism through which are revealed some of the diverse strains in the French cultural heritage (most notably in his case the influences of Proudhon, Péguy, and Sorel). Occasionally an unnecessary note of adulation creeps into the writing; organization by topic makes for repetition and some obscuring of time sequence; and, despite the valuable footnotes, the book is in urgent need of a bibliography. It is, however, a serious study of a significant writer whose whole career reflects the transformation of values in the generation that matured in the intellectual revolution of the 1890's and emerged from the crucible of the Dreyfus affair.

Duke University

JOEL COLTON

EN ESPAGNE: DÉVELOPPEMENT ÉCONOMIQUE; SUBSISTANCE; DÉCLIN. By *José Gentil Da Silva*. (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1965. Pp. 219.)

PROFESSOR Da Silva has attempted a conjunctural explanation of the economic rise and decline of Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which is, if not totally new, nevertheless effective. The first half of the sixteenth century saw a substantial expansion of economic activity throughout Spain, an expansion based on the multiplication of small peasant farms and artisan producers. From mid-century, population growth accentuated the importance of subsistence produc-

tion, shifting resources away from production for export and deadening local markets for imports. New techniques were needed to increase per capita output, but peasants and artisans resisted such changes. The government abetted this because change might have damaged its overburdened revenue structure. While the economy moved toward subsistence activities, landholders and merchants became dependent on foreign manufactures for domestic and American markets. Landlords therefore began concentrating on export crops, wine, olives, and wool, thus aggravating the internal subsistence problem. The peasants were pushed to a minimal level of existence since they were dependent on the landholders for food and credit in the frequent drought years. This was intensified by price controls on grain, which limited peasant incomes, and by continued monetary inflation. Rising taxes were an additional burden that added to the final price of subsistence goods. Economically undermined, the peasantry of the sixteenth century disappeared in the seventeenth.

Hampered by economic conservatism at home and dependent on foreign markets and producers, Spain's external economy came increasingly under foreign control. This was encouraged by and re-enforced the sociocultural inclinations of the high-income groups which chose to use their incomes in ways that did not encourage economic expansion. This process was further re-enforced by the general trend toward international specialization, with Spain a producer of raw materials. Decline became collapse as the government continued policies that were established in the heyday of prosperity and that, by mid-seventeenth century, were insupportable.

Da Silva contributes new material, especially data on the flow of specie into the interior, and he has made heavy use of statistics. Some of these items are of dubious value, but collectively they substantiate his conclusions. On population in the seventeenth century, however, he should have examined Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La sociedad española del siglo xvii* (1963). Also, Domínguez Ortiz, Richard Herr, and J. H. Elliott suggest that the recovery of Catalonia began in the mid-seventeenth century. Da Silva does not refer to this, and it might modify his conjunctural framework.

The book provides a convenient basis for approaching the economic history of Spain of the period. It contains valuable new material, and it provides an impressive bibliographical guide to the mass of obscure secondary literature in the field produced by the many able Spanish scholars who rarely receive proper recognition.

Rutgers University

DAVID R. RINGROSE

LA ESPAÑA DEL ANTIGUO RÉGIMEN: ESTUDIOS HISTÓRICOS.

Edited by *Miguel Artola*. Number 0, SALAMANCA. By *María Dolores Mateos*. [Acta Salmanticensia. Filosofía y Letras, Number 52.] ([Salamanca:] Universidad de Salamanca. 1966. Pp. 64.)

PROFESSOR Miguel Artola, of Salamanca, known for his works on the Napoleonic era in Spain, is directing a series of studies on the structure of the different parts of Spain at the end of the eighteenth century. It is fitting that this first volume in the series deals with the province of Salamanca. Based mainly on official gov-

ernment sources, it describes the political divisions, the nature of seignorial rule, the demographic structure, and economic activity. Excellent unbound maps are included.

The major portion of the book is devoted to demography. Miss Mateos relies primarily on the cadastre of the Marqués de la Ensenada for 1754 and data of 1827 in the geography of Miñano. She publishes statistics on heads of households for these years in all towns of over fifty households. Since almost half of the population lived in smaller towns, however, the tables are not very useful for the serious demographer. She shows from her data that population grew faster in rural than in urban areas. (Salamanca's population declined.) There was also a trend for young men to emigrate. The great weakness of this demographic study is that the author has not used the original census sheets of 1786-1787 that are now in the Academy of History in Madrid; they give the population by sex, age group, and marital status for every town. Pierre Vilar has shown how valuable they are for Catalonia. Without their use, no population study of this period can be definitive.

The chapter on seignorial rule is comparatively more successful. The great variety of the rights of the lords and their origin comes as a surprise, since this subject has not been carefully studied for this period of Spanish history.

On the whole, the book is descriptive rather than interpretive. Since its value to historians lies primarily in the data it publishes, future volumes in the series should be based on a fuller study of available sources, and the tables should be complete.

University of California, Berkeley

RICHARD HERR

L'EXPANSION BELGE SOUS LÉOPOLD I^{er} (1831-1865): RECUEIL D'ÉTUDES. (Brussels: Académie royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer. 1965. Pp. 818, iii.)

THIS volume contains some thirty essays dealing with various aspects of Belgian foreign policy and interests during the reign of Leopold I. The essays are mainly written by Belgian specialists and augmented by contributions of a number of US historians. The book's seven sections include economic expansion, colonial expansion, emigration, foreign policy, missionary activities, the role of the Duke of Brabant in foreign affairs, and a bibliographical section. Written in either English, French, or Flemish, the essays provide a kaleidoscopic overview of Belgian external activities, but are not intended, as stated in the introduction, to cover all aspects of Belgium's foreign activities between 1831 and 1865.

The first section includes an essay on the ending of protectionism in Belgium and negotiations for free trade with the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. Subsequent essays discuss the evolution of the Belgian consular service, rightly called by one of the authors "a factor of commercial expansion." Other essays in this section deal with the overseas expansion of the Belgian textile industry, Belgian economic relations with France, which varied between extreme rivalry and close cooperation to the point of an envisaged customs union, and finally with coal mining in such important border areas as the Borinage.

Section II comprises an essay on the possibilities of colonial expansion under

Leopold I; a fascinating account of Belgian interests in certain Danish possessions; an eyewitness account of the Belgian Company for Colonization; Belgium and the Nicaraguan canal project; abortive colonizing efforts in regions as far apart as the Rio Nunez in West Africa and the New Hebrides. A very interesting article deals with the persistent anticolonialist attitudes of certain liberal groups and such important statesmen as Frère-Orban who thwarted the expansionist drive of the King.

A number of essays on Belgian emigration, most of which was directed toward other European countries, primarily France, comprise the third section. Only a few emigrants went to the New World, and beggars and released prisoners formed a substantial part of these, finally causing the US government to intercede. Belgian authorities then ended this kind of emigration. Another essay examines the role of Belgian volunteers in the Argentine Army. The next section contains several interesting essays on US-Belgian relations between 1832 and 1846, which were improved by Leopold I. One very interesting essay deals with the much-discussed possibility of Belgian participation in the Crimean War, and the final essay in this section covers Belgian-Chinese relations in the period covered as seen by the Belgian press.

The remaining sections contain less interesting materials. The section on religious missions abroad comprises rather minute pieces of little general interest as does the section on the travels of the future Leopold II, which scarcely illuminates his expansionist interests in Africa. A detailed bibliography for the whole period and the various aspects of Belgian external interests rounds out a volume that will considerably enrich the knowledge of those relatively few scholars interested in the rather uncharted field of Belgian expansionism before Leopold II.

American University

F. GUNTHER EYCK

LANGRAND-DUMONCEAU, PROMOTEUR D'UNE PUISSANCE FINANCIÈRE CATHOLIQUE. Volume V, CHUTE ET LIQUIDATION. By *G. Jacquemyns*. [Centre d'Histoire Économique et Sociale.] (Brussels: Université Libre de Bruxelles, Institut de Sociologie. 1965. Pp. 447. 300 fr. B.)

THE collapse of Langrand-Dumonceau's business empire was not an edifying spectacle. The Belgian financier ruthlessly destroyed many of his concerns, and their stockholders' interests, in a futile effort to save his basic enterprises. He issued false accounts and once proclaimed a fraudulent bankruptcy, and his ties with Catholic and conservative political interests in Belgium prevented legal punishment, although he found it necessary to leave the country. The essential rapacity of Langrand, despite his grand dreams of a Catholic banking power and his real contributions to insurance and banking, was quite clear.

Professor Jacquemyns has narrated Langrand's failure in great detail, relying on official judicial and financial archives for several countries and on press reports. The treatment is objective; the coverage, comprehensive. There is no real biographical interest, no personal drama. This is a history of business and its relation to politics, particularly Belgian but also Austrian. The focus is on accusations in the Belgian press and courts, from 1868 to 1879, on the withdrawal

of Langrand's railroad concessions in the Habsburg monarchy, on the successive liquidations of Langrand's banks, and on the relationship of this massive failure to Belgian politics, especially in the early 1870's.

The volume is unduly long and involved, for its subject is of limited importance. Lengthy citations of editorials become quickly repetitious; a catalogue of the liquidations of each of Langrand's firms could have been treated in a brief appendix rather than made into a full chapter. There is no question of Langrand's significance in European financial and political history, but it is needless to make too much of his collapse. Belgian politics was most clearly affected by the failure, but a treatment of Catholic-liberal disputes from this vantage point alone can easily become confusing. Greater selectivity and a clearer analytical focus are needed throughout.

The volume contains its own bibliography and index and also a subject index for the whole five-volume series.

University of Chicago

PETER N. STEARNS

AMBTIELIJKE ADVIEZEN VAN C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE, 1889-1936.

Volume III. Edited by *E. Gobée* and *C. Adriaanse*. [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Minor Series, Number 35.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1965. Pp. 1762-2228.)

It will take many years before the wealth contained in Snouck Hurgronje's published official communications to the Netherlands Indies' government and, after 1906, to the Ministry of Colonies at The Hague will be adequately mined. But even selective, and in part cursory, reading makes it clear that scholars will owe a lasting debt to these painstaking labors of the late Dr. E. Gobée and the late C. Adriaanse. The last, and shortest, of the three has finally been published. Gratitude for their labor will be overshadowed by growing admiration for Snouck Hurgronje whose stature they have so enhanced.

What a man! What untiring energy and unswerving rectitude, what towering intellect and grasp of things Indonesian, and, certainly not least, what style! Snouck was not only one of the few recognized giants in the field of Islamic studies; he was also a fantastically erudite, superbly honest, and outspoken public servant. He created and stamped with his vision and candor the office of Adviser on Native Affairs, the colonial government's sole agency in actual touch with the "natives" as human beings rather than as statistical entities or subjects of police surveillance. These pages show to what an extent Snouck saw himself as the conscience of Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia.

Unfortunately, Snouck increasingly became ineffective, especially after he left the colony to take up a chair at Leiden. Those who came after him—many of them his students, and all of them cast in his mold—found themselves even more isolated in an administrative structure little inclined to be "soft on the natives." In retrospect, Snouck seems to have been so right, so logical, so self-evident that one can only wonder what might have happened had he been heeded.

There are, in this volume as in the earlier two, fewer post-1920 entries than one might have wished. Whether Snouck, increasingly at odds with the "powers-

that were," was less frequently consulted or whether the editors deleted some of his later *adviezen* is uncertain. One also misses a more or less systematic re-examination of some of Snouck's policy tenets, especially with regard to Dutch Islamic policy, of which he was the prime architect. One of its cornerstones was the distinction between Muslim religious life which, so he had successfully argued, was to be granted the broadest tolerance, and Muslim political ambitions which, according to him, were to be rigorously suppressed. In a letter to the minister, dated December 23, 1925, Snouck admitted that, because of the swift evolution of Indonesian political life, it was becoming "increasingly more difficult to draw the line between manifestations of Muslim life with or without political significance." But one looks in vain for an elaboration of this crucial fact or an analysis of the manifold problems that Islamic reformism created in Indonesia.

Yale University

HARRY J. BENDA

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES BELGES, 1920-1940. LA POLITIQUE DE SÉCURITÉ EXTÉRIEURE. Volume III, PÉRIODE 1931-1936; Volume IV, PÉRIODE 1936-1937. Published by *Ch. De Visscher* and *F. Vanlangenhove*. [Documents relatifs au statut international de la Belgique depuis 1830, Part 1.] (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'Histoire. 1964; 1965. Pp. 509; 624.)

THESE two volumes, like the preceding ones of the series, deal with the issue of Belgian external security. Volume III contains documents arranged under chapter headings: "German Rearmament," "Four-Power Pact," "Withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations," "Military Assistance under Terms of the Locarno Pact," and "Termination of the French-Belgian Military Pact of 1920." Taken as a whole, the documents present a fascinating picture of the frustrations of a small government witnessing the deterioration of the bulwarks of its security arrangements (the Locarno Pact) and unable to do much about it. As early as 1933 the Belgians had no illusions about the goals of Nazi Germany. Brussels considered it inevitable that Hitler would seek an early reversal of the terms of Versailles. With virtually no leverage at their disposal, Belgian diplomats worked assiduously, but with little success, to unite Britain, France, and Italy in diplomatic opposition to Hitler.

The fourth volume is concerned with the events leading up to the German reoccupation of the Rhineland and its repercussions in terms of Belgian security. Chapter headings are: "Locarno Treaty Threatened," "Violation and Repudiation of the Locarno Treaty," "Negotiation of a New Western Pact," "Policy of (Belgian) Independence," and "French-British and German Guarantees." The theme of frustration is even more pronounced in these papers, particularly in the unsuccessful and tedious attempts to rebuild a Western security system after the wreckage of Locarno. By early 1937 it was clear to the Belgians that no new arrangement among the Great Powers would or could effectively guarantee their security. Hence, Brussels turned to a variant of its pre-1914 stance, seeking and obtaining from the neighboring powers guarantees of Belgian independence.

These collections are indispensable to a student of Belgian foreign affairs;

they should be of some value to historians of European diplomacy of the 1930's. Some of the papers have been published in other national series, and references are made to them in the text. The format of the series is attractive, and the reader is aided enormously by a table at the front of each volume describing briefly the contents of each of the documents. There is also an index of names and places.

Falls Church, Virginia

THEODORE B. HODGES

CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN. By *Curt Weibull*. [Scandinavian University Books.] ([Stockholm:] Svenska Bokförlaget. 1966. Pp. 186.)

THE enigma of Queen Christina, who "had nothing of a child but the age, and nothing of a woman but the sex," has attracted almost as many analysts as Mary, Queen of Scots. Professor Weibull's work, published originally in 1931 and only now put into English, deals largely with what might be called public problems, and it is based on thorough scholarly perusal of correspondence and other records and on an appreciation of the international as well as the national situation.

Weibull tends to exonerate the Queen from blame for her open-handed alienation of crown estates, arguing that there was no other way to repay the services of the nobility and that she was but continuing policies of Gustavus Adolphus and Axel Oxenstierna. The conversion to Catholicism is treated in detail and with understanding, along with the patient and farsighted process by which the Queen manipulated the succession for her cousin Karl Gustav and paved the way for her own abdication. Her rigid insistence, when in Rome, on her rules of etiquette the author explains convincingly as necessary for maintenance of her position as a queen without a power base. All in all, Weibull's investigation throws the emphasis on Christina's quick and inquiring mind, her unquenchable thirst for philosophical discussion, and her shrewdness in such matters as the appraisal of the personalities at the papal court. He mentions the pamphlets that charged the exile with Lesbianism, libertinism, and atheism, but he engages in no prolonged analysis of the facts, as does Sven Stolpe (*Drottning Kristina* [2 vols., 1960, 1961]).

Here is a book without an index, and the footnotes of the original have been replaced by a six-page bibliography, including a few books published since 1930. The translation is usually dependable, although there are some fuzzy or distorted passages. Six pages are hardly necessary to describe the confused situation in Italy as background for Christina's involvement, but this re-emphasizes the difference between Stolpe's concern with psychology and sexuality and Weibull's primary interest in the political and diplomatic scene and Christina's part therein.

Northwestern University

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

FALD OG FREMGANG: TRÆK AF BEFOLKNINGSUDVIKLINGEN I DANMARK, 1645-1960. By *Aksel Lassen*. [Jysk Selskab for Historie, Sprog og Litteratur, Number 13.] (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget. 1965. Pp. 565. D. Kr. 40.)

AKSEL Lassen has already devoted two books to discussion of the Danish popula-

tion around "the fateful year" 1659. Here he offers a somewhat expanded third volume. Ostensibly covering the entire period 1645-1960, the book does, in fact, contain some tables (among 247 pages of tables in the appendix) that cover all of the period. In the text useful comments are made about some eighteenth-century head counts, and the period after 1801 is accorded almost a dozen pages. Seventeenth-century developments, however, receive Lassen's main attention. What concerns him is how the Danish population fell dramatically in mid-century and then gradually recovered.

Although the subject is quite narrow, the book is not easy to read. There is, throughout, a display of demographic technique that often tends to bury the historical phenomena. Lassen is agile and knows his ground; he leaps purposefully from fragmentary data to shaky assumption and on to firm conclusion. In the process, however, he looses upon us such an avalanche of numbers—manipulated, quoted, and requoted—that we are swept away unless, in desperation, we also leap and cling to our guide. Once we stand with Lassen, of course, upon his conclusions, the view is great.

Spectacularly spread out before us is the evidence that between 1645 and 1661 Denmark's population was brutally reduced by pestilence brought in mainly by enemy and allied troops alike. Lassen points out, virtually parish by parish, the differential mortality, who died, when, and in what connection. Clearly, too, we see the rebuilding of population through migrations, earlier marriage (encouraged by empty farmsteads), and lesser nuances dear to demographers. Throughout, of course, Copenhagen and other centers replenished themselves from provincial surplus, spinsterhood was the main recourse when the land was crowded, and high grain prices apparently played no significant role in population fluctuations.

The source materials upon which all speculation is based become quite impressive as Lassen checks the fragments against each other, adding and subtracting births and deaths, correcting, interpolating, reorganizing, and interpreting. Annoying discrepancies are ignored. Lassen cannot control all the possible errors built into his material. We do well to rest uneasily upon Lassen's conclusions. Here, however, is a scholar who has found his way across a difficult landscape to attain a point of view from which Danish population fluctuations seem quite clear. Historical demographers who do not know and love Denmark, hamlet by hamlet, may have a hard time following Lassen, but his viewpoint cannot be ignored.

California Institute of Technology

HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK

NIELS BOHR: THE MAN, HIS SCIENCE, & THE WORLD THEY CHANGED. By *Ruth Moore*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1966. Pp. xvi, 436, vii. \$6.95.)

THIS is an honest, popular biography of the Danish theoretical physicist who, by power of mind and spirit, played a pivotal role in twentieth-century atomic physics and whose high sense of social responsibility led him to press on British and American leaders, long before Hiroshima, the need for early steps to avert a nuclear arms race. Ruth Moore, a Chicago *Sun-Times* science writer, has used

to advantage the abundant published material by and about Bohr and at least some of his papers: she specifies correspondence with Rutherford and letters to his wife. Her account of the development of Bohr's thought is a useful contribution. I stress "development," for this is no mere summary of scientific papers but a skillful explanation of how one insight led to another.

The touch is less sure when the author turns to the rush of events following the discovery of fission. I would not criticize the essentials of the story, but both technical and political details tend to slip out of focus. In my view, Bohr's efforts to forestall competition in atomic arms were not so central an influence as they appear in these pages. Yet there is something to be said for his importance that Moore overlooks. On July 3, 1945, Secretary Stimson convinced President Truman that the United States ought to bid for Soviet cooperation in nuclear arms control before using the bomb against Japan. Thus, American leaders accepted Bohr's essential point. It was the discouraging contact with the Soviets at Potsdam that diluted Truman's approach to Stalin to the point of meaninglessness.

According to the account here, which presumably comes from Bohr since the book has no footnotes, Justice Frankfurter told Bohr that President Roosevelt wanted him to carry the word to Prime Minister Churchill that the President would welcome Churchill's suggestions on international control. To judge from what FDR told Churchill and Vannevar Bush of his relations with Frankfurter and Bohr, it seems unlikely that he entrusted any such mission to the physicist. Did Frankfurter take it upon himself to encourage Bohr to see Churchill? Or did he misinterpret some evasive presidential comment?

Moore writes simply and directly, but a tone of breathless admiration and a forced effort to inject life and color into what is essentially a history of ideas detract from her work. Ideas are conceived by people in time and place, but descriptions of weather, laboratory high jinks, and airport and dockside reunions (greetings are invariably warm or heartfelt) can be overdone.

Bethesda, Maryland

OSCAR E. ANDERSON, JR.

DEUTSCHE MILITÄRGESCHICHTE: EINE EINFÜHRUNG. By *Carl Hans Hermann*. (Frankfurt am Main: Bernard & Graefe Verlag für Wehrwesen. 1966. Pp. xii, 626. DM 39.80.)

THIS military history text has been vetted by many German specialists in that field. Though Dr. Hermann, who teaches that subject in the German officers' schools, does not use the given names of those who have helped him, those of Erdmann, Freund (Michael), Fischer, Hahlweg, Hoehn, Hubatsch, Ritter, Krausnick, Rohwer, Ruge, and Teske are familiar to American specialists. Hermann's work is also as contemporary-minded as any American could wish, with 76 pages from the Cimbri and Teutons to 1648, 254 pages from 1648 to 1918, and 264 pages from 1918 to 1964. Campaign accounts are severely factual. The British escape at Dunkirk, for example, is blamed entirely on Hitler's distrust of the high command. There are no maps, but twenty-three interesting tables cover organizational, social, and political matters; this is one of the best features of the whole book. The chapter on the "Kaiserreich," 1871-1918, for example, deals with general problems of defense in "the constitutional mon-

archy," the separate problems of the army and navy, and the unsolved problem of the relations of the working class to the state and its armed force before considering both the external and internal history of the First World War.

Much of the text is necessarily too condensed for nonspecialists, German or foreign. The bibliographical notes are usually well abreast of modern scholarship, though the specialist will have some innocent fun with a list of war artists and writers that puts Erwin Rommel's *Infantry Attacks* with works by Thomas Mann and Franz Marc. But individual references are hard to find. Harold Gordon, J. Benoist-Méchin, and Gordon Craig are cited on the *Reichswehr*, but I could not locate Eugene Carr on German military thought in the nineteenth century. If the book is to be used for reference, index entries for at least the major authors would be helpful. Of the scholars mentioned above, only Ruge is so cited for a direct quotation. J. F. C. Fuller is in the index, but not B. H. Liddell Hart. While Austrian military history is treated, there are index references to Montecuccoli, Eugene, Archduke Charles, and Radetsky, but not to Benedek or Conrad von Hötzendorf. Since only specialists will want this work, they should be warned that it is relatively hard to use for reference purposes.

Duke University

THEODORE ROPP

STUDIEN ZUR SOZIAL- UND WIRTSCHAFTSGESCHICHTE: GESAMMELTE ABHANDLUNGEN. By *Friedrich Lütge*. [Forschungen zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Number 5.] (Stuttgart: Gustav Fischer Verlag. 1963. Pp. 395. DM 38.)

FRIEDRICH Lütge, professor of economics in the University of Munich, is, next to Wilhelm Abel, Germany's most notable agrarian historian of our time. Massive achievement, both as a specialist and as an erudite producer of major works of synthesis, characterizes Lütge's lifework. Some of the ten pieces that, in revised form, are republished in the present volume deal with large historical problems. Others are concerned with seemingly narrow topics. None, however, waste time and energy on trivial or pointless questions. All are of high scholarly quality and testify to the author's vast knowledge, interpretive acumen, and skill in exposition. The temporal range, too, is impressive; it extends from the days of Tacitus to the nineteenth century. Most of these articles are by-products of Lütge's principal works and, accordingly, reflect, thematically as well as methodologically, his primary, lifelong interest in the study of the transformation of the legal and institutional foundations of preindustrial agrarian estate society in German lands.

A somewhat archaic and nostalgic atmosphere emanates from the essays falling into that category, for their conceptual framework, methods of probing, and normative value scheme are deeply rooted in the German Historical School of Economics and in certain modes of thought of German romanticism. It is gratifying to note, however, that this book, written by one of the most distinguished members of the tightly knit "old guard" of West German historians, contains two articles of rather recent vintage that are much less timeworn in their lines of approach. In fact, they mark a feeble yet promising departure from cherished historiographical traditions.

The imaginative essay on the secular trends of economic growth and of social change in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the seminal discussion of the long-term dynamics of the German economy before the Thirty Years' War clearly demonstrate that Lütge has begun to pay constructive attention to alien new ways. More particularly, he is now attempting to come to grips with the theoretically oriented efforts of the "new economic historians" in the West, without falling, as many of them have done, into the trap of quantitative scientism. Aside from these two articles, American readers will find equally profitable and thought provoking Lütge's lucid essay on "The Repercussions of Peasant Emancipation in Germany," published originally in 1943. Though not the last word on the subject, it nevertheless offers a masterful reassessment of the dimensions and ramifications of this enormously complex problem and constitutes, in my judgment, the best that has been said about it by anyone since Knapp's great work on *Bauernbefreiung* in 1887.

University of California, Berkeley

HANS ROSENBERG

DIE WIEDERTÄUFER IM HERZOGTUM WÜRTTEMBERG UND IN BENACHBARTEN HERRSCHAFTEN: AUSBREITUNG, GEISTESWELT UND SOZIOLOGIE. By *Claus-Peter Clasen*. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg. Series B, Forschungen, Number 32.] (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1965. Pp. xvi, 222. DM 27.)

RECENT scholarly preoccupation with the "Left Wing" of the Reformation has been directed in the main toward specifically theological issues and topics. This work constitutes an exception. Judiciously blending historical, theological, and sociological considerations, it appears to be one of the best monographs on Reformation radicalism in recent years.

As the title indicates, the study is a history of Anabaptism in Württemberg, a region for which the primary sources are particularly rich, allowing for the assessment of the religious sentiment of a certain segment of the common people. On the basis of a careful examination of the sources, the author deals with the history of Anabaptism in this region (Chapters I and II), the various Anabaptist groupings (Chapter III), the views held by the Anabaptists (Chapter IV), the sociology of the movement, including the factors aiding the Anabaptist expansion (Chapters V and VI). Clasen may not always cite all the pertinent literature or analyze the sources correctly; still, he succeeds admirably in presenting a persuasive picture of the movement. Among the findings we note suggestions concerning the numerical distribution of the movement (not more than 200 out of a population of 400,000), as well as interesting comments concerning the economic characteristics of Anabaptism. The author's minute examination of the sources is commendable. At the same time, caution is in order, for the statement of one single Anabaptist must not lead to the generalization that all shared his particular view. Likewise the sources, no matter how ample, obviously are not exhaustive. They provide only a sample, and perhaps the author occasionally is too exuberant, as, for example, when he offers sophisticated reasons why there were bound to be fewer women than men in the movement.

Duke University

HANS J. HILLERBRAND

THE POLITICS OF DISCRETION: PUFENDORF AND THE ACCEPTANCE OF NATURAL LAW. By *Leonard Krieger*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 311. \$6.50.)

IN our time and place, political and legal theorists recognize the name of Samuel Pufendorf; they will normally assert that he in some sense systematized natural law teachings; they confidently give him place as a lesser light in the development and advocacy of international law; they know that he wrote ponderous, and now generally unread, tomes somewhere in the general area of European history. Whether he can properly be called a voice from the past is questionable; with certainty, he is *præterea nihil*, nothing more.

That, Professor Krieger makes us aware, is unfortunate, and to be regretted. He endeavors to repair the damage, to bring about a rebirth of interest in one who was in his day an important figure, who was for a generation and more thereafter read, and influential on thought, and who was for a still longer period granted the dignity of honorific reference. Yet, while Krieger gives us much information on the man, he does not achieve—it is not his purpose—the biographical resurrection of a person.

There does emerge a thinker who sought balance between knowledge and contemplation on the one hand and practical application and action on the other, and who was concerned to weigh and counterweigh mind and heart, analysis and intuition, reason and faith. He was convinced, finally, of the ultimate sovereignty over the universe of the Deity, whose perfect order transcended the necessarily partial counterpoises whereby imperfect man might achieve the best ordering available on earth.

Yet, in his conclusion, Krieger seems bent on restoring to Pufendorf his former status as pallid shade, once he has been held up as a mirror to concentrate and reflect the sins of today's scholarly brain trusters. For the politics of discretion is the practice of pusillanimity, polite dissembling, and purposeful prevarication. Pufendorf, preserver of the then present, justified its events and rendered them philosophically respectable by elegant yet puerile straddling, by endless eclecticism, by historical empiricism, and by appeals to faith. Should doubts recur, or others prove skeptical, one always has the final trump card: God.

I somehow feel that for Pufendorf, as for other believers, God was not quite so conveniently available. More generally, I fear that Krieger, in his desire to assure that his researches provide, by the indirection of mirroring, an acid exposé of our own times, and in them of the frequent misuse of gifts of mind through defects of spirit and misguided sophistical and rhetorical ambition, has been less fair to himself or his subject than the body of his book warrants. His ending, indeed, disguises the more serious parallel with our age, revealed also in the main text, concerning the problems of the thinker seeking to be a philosopher dealing with man, knowledge, society, and destiny in a vastly changing world. As Krieger convincingly shows, Pufendorf did have much to do with the acceptance of natural law as a basic foundation for politics as ethics in public action. Advocates of causes and thinkers with prior commitments selected what fitted their cases and stood out in their minds. Then as now, the qualifying moderate had limited appeal and few creative disciples. Nor did Pufendorf's changing emphases and successive preoccupations as he sought with critical

clarity (whatever the confusions and temporizings of his eclecticism) and sustained inquisitiveness to get to more embracing and satisfying resolutions, and, hopefully yet hopelessly, to find a fiscal solution, win understanding support and careful perusal, as against esteem and passing prestige. The manifest cautious careerism involved in his trimming facilitated yet corrupted his transformation into historian; objectivity and the making of cases as official historian are scarcely compatible. Access to material, which might have aided growth in understanding of the components of policy and the strategies of statecraft, led neither to fearless desertion of these activities nor to the broad perspective of the philosophical historian of cultures. At most it begat a chastened *laudator temporis acti*, and facilitated, perhaps even necessitated, resignation to the will and design of Deity.

Krieger is admirable in his depiction of the development of Pufendorf's ideas and in his picturing of the interplay of speculative thought, awareness of institutional matrices, tensions of public life, requirements of actors and leaders, and the requisites for personal advancement and secure status of the student of statecraft who needed the support of princely patronage. His book is not definitive, but it defines, in broadening the frame of reference for, future study; and, by reason of the very questionableness of his conclusions as derivatives from his exposition, poses acutely the issues to be debated and makes that discussion urgent.

What is involved is not the value and the fate of the moderate, or the recurrent, and in our time critical, issue of contacts and participation as vital to the acquiring of real information yet inimical to its full and disinterested use. It is, rather, the root issue of the good; the scientific validity of careful analysis of both forces and values, with attempted justice to, and just balancing of, all elements and commitments; and the awareness of the impossibilities of certainty, yet the inner demand for something more than subjective certitude. From Krieger's analysis it is possible to derive a view of Pufendorf as the great Aristotelian of his day. In law and politics, indeed, he is a Protestant link in a chain that unites Thomistic thought and that pragmatic idealism, or idealistic pragmatism, which is fundamental to the American venture in morals in and through action, and with recognition and harnessing of pluralism.

Perhaps more worshipful of princes than befits a true follower of Luther, Pufendorf nevertheless combines the latter's sense of the need for authority with the Renaissance appreciation of statesmanship best expressed in Machiavelli; and, for internal and external affairs, perceives sovereignty as necessary to an order that itself requires practical public morality, which approximates to the dictates of natural law. Yet, aware of abuses of power and their deleterious consequences, he supports political consensus as essential underpinning for moral striving through public activity. Lutheran again, he is also duly concerned with the ultimacy of the person and the proper claims to individual rights. Subtle in his distinctions of different realms, he is skilled and intricate in their counterbalancing; in his search for an ultimate harmonization, he reaches from Nicholas of Cusa toward L. T. Hobhouse. In an age where commerce has complemented agriculture, but not yet led to an industrial order, he nevertheless foreshadows a whole range of problems of tensions, balances, and the search for stability in change that become more difficult when time ceases to be a constant and integral element in social time-space.

Awkward, prolix, and easily construed as the caricature of the uncommitted intellectual, Pufendorf has been unduly neglected. He may well warrant a central place in the history of political and social thought. I venture to urge Krieger, certainly more conversant with Pufendorf than anyone else in the English-speaking world, that with the generosity fitting to the historian of ideas he revisit his own special subject and abandon cultivation of the acts of the critical logician which, proper in their place, miss the message of a thinker who transcended his sometimes narrowing inherited dogmas to become a great, and profoundly reflective, humanist.

University of Texas, El Paso

THOMAS I. COOK

LESSING AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT: HIS PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION AND ITS RELATION TO EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY THOUGHT. By *Henry E. Allison*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 216. \$7.50.)

THIS closely argued book traces the development of Lessing's religious thought in relation to the historical background of deism and the major issues of the Enlightenment. Little fault can be found with the author's conclusion, which, after all, is neither new nor in doubt, that "Lessing was the first thinker [before Kant] to separate the question of the truth of the Christian religion from the question of its historical foundation. This distinction enabled him to combine a rejection of the 'historical proofs' for the truth of the Christian religion with a recognition of the speculative and ethical significance of Christian thought."

Fault may be found, however, with Allison's view that the typical Enlightenment approach to religion was one of "superficial rationalism," and that, accordingly, if the claims of Christianity cannot be substantiated historically, "then Christianity must be rejected as a malicious fraud which has tyrannized over the human spirit for eighteen centuries." Would it not be more accurate, however, to say that the typical Enlightenment view was that Christianity is in fact a "malicious fraud," whether or not its claims can be verified historically; or that, because Christianity is such, it is unlikely that its claims can be historically authenticated? If so, it would seem that Lessing's separation of the question of Christian truth from that of its historical foundation was not so much a departure from, as a continuation of, the Enlightenment's "superficial rationalism." Diderot, for example, whom Lessing greatly admired, and whom Allison scarcely mentions, anticipated Lessing's sharp distinction between rational and historical proofs for the validity of revealed religion. And does Lessing's characteristic conviction that "Even what God teaches is not true because God teaches it, but God teaches it because it is true" really differ so greatly from Voltaire's definition of natural religion as "the principle of morality common to the whole human race"?

It is not surprising that Allison's interest in Lessing was aroused by his study of Kierkegaard. It was Lessing, he points out, who first suggested to Kierkegaard the paradoxical nature of Christian revelation and the concept of faith as a leap. We should bear in mind, however, as did Kierkegaard, that, while Lessing regarded the various positive religions as "necessary forms which

the religious consciousness assumes in the course of its development," he hoped this development would culminate in the realization of a purely rational religion. We should remember also that Lessing, unlike Kierkegaard, declined to make the leap into faith on the ground that it would be too much to ask of his "old legs and heavy head."

University of Southern California

ROBERT ANCHOR

FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER: THE EVOLUTION OF A NATIONALIST. By *Jerry F. Dawson*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1966. Pp. x, 173. \$5.00.)

THOUGH Schleiermacher is best known as a theologian, it is refreshing to see his nationalistic activities the focus of Professor Dawson's well-done monograph. The work is divided into three clearly defined stages, respectively marking the evolution of Schleiermacher's nationalistic ideas under the influence of Pietism, romanticism, and rationalism, the crystallization and application of these concepts during the years of French occupation, and his disillusionment and political ostracism after 1813. The author is commended for holding this focus throughout the work and studiously keeping the subject within the contemporary framework rather than dwelling on what had been or invoking the verdict of subsequent events. The freshness and clarity of the work are enhanced by a scrupulous attention to firsthand sources, notably speeches, sermons, books, and the extensive correspondence Schleiermacher maintained with Henrietta Herz, Charlotte von Kather, the Dohnas, his wife, Friedrich Schlegel, and Henrietta von Willich, among others. As the author points out, Schleiermacher never achieved a well-articulated nationalist ideology, a circumstance that doubtless reflected the incongruity of the ingredients—Pietism, romanticism, and rationalism—brought to bear on the problem, but that was equally true of most of the illustrious contemporaries striving for the same goals, men like Fichte and Stein, for example. It is surprising to read that Schleiermacher occupies an obscure place in German history unless this refers to his political role in the liberation movement. His patriotic activities are the subject of Boeck's monograph published in 1920, and even his part in Humboldt's educational reforms has been studied in depth in a work by Kade that appeared a few years later. Innumerable works appearing in several languages focus on Schleiermacher's contributions to theology, philosophy, and the classics. There are several other ambiguous or unhappily phrased statements in the book such as the observation that "Stein and Arndt only represented the desires of Russia and Austria to drive Napoleon from Germany." There are some misprints, and I hope that I will not be thought pedantic for alluding to the repeated misquoting of the title of my own book.

On the whole Dawson's work is an admirable example of sound historical scholarship, both in its choice and use of sources. He is both critical and objective in emphasizing the strongly religious and pietistic quality of Schleiermacher's nationalism which, despite his anti-Semitism and chauvinism, sees the love of his nation as synonymous with the love of God.

Pennsylvania State University

ALFRED G. PUNDT

SCHRIFTEN—AUFSÄTZE—STUDIEN—BRIEFE: DOKUMENTE AUS DEM CLAUSEWITZ-, SCHARNHORST- UND GNEISENAU-NACHLASS SOWIE AUS ÖFFENTLICHEN UND PRIVATEN SAMMLUNGEN. Volume I. By *Carl von Clausewitz*. Edited by *Werner Hahlweg*. With a foreword by *Karl Dietrich Erdmann*. [Deutsche Geschichtsquellen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, Number 45.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1966. Pp. 768. DM 135.)

THIS first volume of Werner Hahlweg's planned two-volume edition of Clausewitz' selected papers contributes useful information on the history of the Prussian Army and makes it possible to trace with new assurance the early development of ideas that came to dominate the theoretical work of Clausewitz' maturity. To the classic interpreters of the reform era, from Droysen to Meinecke, Clausewitz before 1815 was an interesting but still subordinate figure whose writings further illuminated the major personalities and events of the time. This is one reason why many of his essays and letters were published only in fragments in the biographies of other men. It is Hahlweg's purpose to fill gaps left by earlier scholars and to correct their many inaccuracies of transcription. He is an editor who holds that every feature of a document, including misspellings and the color of ink used, should be indicated in print. The value of such exactitude in marginalia may be limited, but accurate texts emerge from it. When his project is completed, Hahlweg will have placed Clausewitz scholarship on a firmer footing than ever before.

The present volume prints material from the years 1803-1812. Most important are three groups of manuscripts: correspondence that Clausewitz conducted in Scharnhorst's name from 1809 to 1812; lectures on tactics, now published for the first time, that he gave at the War Academy in 1810 and 1811; and letters he wrote to Gneisenau between January 1809 and his resignation from the Prussian service. It has always been known that Clausewitz assisted Scharnhorst in modernizing the army, but the kind and extent of his activities become clear only through the official correspondence. Together with the tactical lectures, the letters demonstrate the vast technical *expertise* that Clausewitz was acquiring and that on occasion he could already abstract into an understanding of violence in general. The letters to Gneisenau concern not only service matters; they are also filled with political and social comment, set down in a style that singularly mixes irony with brash vitality. The volume, which opens with a tactical study by the twenty-three-year-old, ends with the rediscovered first draft of the famous essay in which Clausewitz explained why he would not observe traditional loyalties if it meant fighting for a cause that was politically and morally wrong. The material almost exactly spans the years in which, intellectually and emotionally, he negotiated the change from the *ancien régime* to a new age.

Institute for Advanced Study

PETER PARET

DIE RHEINLANDE ZWISCHEN RESTAURATION UND REVOLUTION:
PROBLEME DER RHEINISCHEN GESCHICHTE VON 1814 BIS 1848
IM SPIEGEL DER ZEITGENÖSSISCHEN PUBLIZISTIK. By *Karl-Georg
Faber*. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1966. Pp. x, 491.)

PRUSSIAN acquisition of most of the Rhineland after the Napoleonic Wars had important consequences for the development of the kingdom. It gave a western orientation to a state that had until then constituted the eastern borderland of the Holy Roman Empire. It leavened an agrarian, aristocratic, Protestant society with a manufacturing, bourgeois, Catholic population. It counterbalanced the conservative outlook of the *Junkers* beyond the Elbe with the liberal sympathies of businessmen along the Rhine, and it gave the Prussian government a strategic position in the mainstream of German political life. While historians have long recognized the significance of this territorial rearrangement for the future of Central Europe, they have neglected the attitude of the Rhinelanders themselves toward their incorporation in a country that seemed so alien to their traditions and institutions. Karl-Georg Faber has now sought to fill this gap by studying Rhenish public opinion during the Restoration as expressed in the periodical and pamphlet literature of the time. While he also deals with the Bavarian and Hessian possessions in the Rhineland, the emphasis rests understandably on the westernmost province of Prussia.

The book is organized around a number of key problems. There is first of all an account of how the Rhinelanders felt about the annexation of their region by the Hohenzollern Kingdom. Then comes a description of their successful campaign to retain a legal and administrative system that differed in important respects from that established in the eastern provinces. Another section deals with the views of the Rhenish population regarding the introduction of a constitution in the state of which it was now a part. Finally, the author analyzes the prevailing attitude toward France, a country to which the inhabitants of the left bank had owed allegiance for some twenty years. What this scholarly study reveals is that the bureaucracy in Berlin and the people of the Rhineland succeeded in adjusting to each other with surprisingly little friction. The former recognized that the political and economic institutions of the east could not be rigidly imposed on the new provinces, which had been shaped by a different historical experience. The latter, attracted by the advantages of civic and material development within a large state, submitted peacefully to Hohenzollern authority. The result was a harmonization of interests and feelings that became strong enough to withstand the separatistic blandishments of the French a hundred years later.

University of Wisconsin

THEODORE S. HAMEROW

THE BATTLE OF KÖNIGGRÄTZ: PRUSSIA'S VICTORY OVER AUSTRIA, 1866. By *Gordon A. Craig*. [Great Battles of History.] (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1964. Pp. xii, 211. \$4.50.

THE Battle of Königgrätz on July 3, 1866, stands out as the largest battle of its time and as a decisive conflict of history. Observers, including Engels, placed

their bets on the numerically superior Austrians and tended to ignore the effect of advanced technology on the campaign. Which side benefited most from the extension of railways and the telegraph and the introduction of new infantry weapons and rifled cannon? Traditionally, Craig awards the palm to Prussia, while stressing the superiority of Austrian artillery.

Craig does not attribute an intricate victory to the single factor of the needle gun. The high quality of Austrian cavalry was more than counterbalanced by the superb Prussian infantry, the best in Europe not only in equipment but in training and tactical doctrine as well. Its discipline tended to overshadow its initiative and independence, characteristics that were even more pronounced in its leadership.

Moltke could rely upon a well-educated officer corps for the execution of his bold design. Though still unknown to at least one field commander, the chief of the General Staff was well acquainted with the strengths and weaknesses of his principal subordinates, whom he had trained—a fact that needs perhaps more emphasis. Thus, throughout the campaign he could balance the hesitations and dilatoriness of Prince Frederick Karl's First Army with the energy and activity of the Second Army of the Prussian Crown Prince. Moltke's concern with flexibility, knowledge, and independence justified itself at Königgrätz.

On the other hand, the Austrian Army showed its greatest deficiency in leadership. The weaknesses of an almost nonexistent staff system were compounded by unruly and ignorant subordinates. The popular hero, Benedek, of the type of French imperial generals, was plucky and experienced in war. But his successful extrication of most of the army from Prussian encirclement did not redeem his constant indecision, which came in part from his distaste for the command.

The Bohemian campaign, Königgrätz, and its military importance are described by exemplary clarity, aided by effective maps and a keen sense of geography. The portraits of the main figures are precisely and humanely drawn. Perceptive use of a multitude of sources makes errors minimal. For the political prelude and consequences of Königgrätz, particularly its interrelationship with the German liberal movement, there is no superior guide to Craig's *Politics of the Prussian Army, 1640-1945*, now in a corrected edition.

Duke University

FREDERIC B. M. HOLLYDAY

FRIEDRICH VON HOLSTEIN: EIN MITARBEITER BISMARCKS. By Günter Richter. [Historische Studien, Number 397.] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag, 1966. Pp. 188. DM 20.)

THE title of this book seems at a glance to be misleading. Holstein, though he served Bismarck longer than anyone else, is commonly regarded as his foe, and not as his collaborator. Herr Richter, however, sees it differently, and he deliberately chose that title to register his protest against the traditional view.

Richter's book bears witness to a thorough study of the more recent documentary evidence on Holstein contained in the Holstein Papers, the three document books by Rogge, and the two publications by Krausnick. In addition to this printed material he was able to use the correspondence between Holstein

and the Bismarcks, especially the Chancellor's son Herbert, in the Bismarck family archives at Friedrichsruh. Based on this evidence, Richter's book attempts to show that the real Holstein, far from undermining his chief's position, regarded himself as Bismarck's instrument, and that he was less despicable than is often assumed. While Holstein did become increasingly critical of the Bismarcks in the 1880's, his open breach with them, according to Richter, was more or less accidental.

Given the weight of the countless new documents, a re-evaluation of Holstein was due. By taking the lead, Richter gives us valuable information; he has used sources no other scholar has seen before. He is at his best wherever he uses this new material for correcting obsolete concepts. Perhaps it would have been preferable, however, if, like Rogge, he would have given us document books with his comments. Like many products of West German history training, he lacks adequate psychological and sociological tools. Blinded by material that shows Holstein as a reasonable and, seemingly, conscientious official, Richter fails to evaluate properly the chain of incidents in Holstein's life, which a man with sounder nerves would have mastered with more ease. While Richter is presumably correct in stressing that none of those incidents (the Sumner affair, the Marie von Bismarck case, and the Arnim matter) made Holstein an opponent of the Bismarcks *per se*, he lacks the flair for evaluating Holstein's frantic efforts to regain face in the eyes of his class—efforts that are illuminated especially by some of the material Richter himself has unearthed.

Holstein's pathological features and his fear of being regarded as inferior forced him always to look for political protectors and to play them against potential enemies. The replacement in 1885 of his intimate friend Count Hatzfeld, the German Secretary of State, by the brusque Russophile Herbert Bismarck and Hatzfeld's appointment as ambassador to London upset this sort of equilibrium and, as far as I see, was the main reason Holstein joined the German Anglophiles and drifted away from the Bismarcks. Richter's explanation of Holstein's break with Bismarck—when Holstein became a mature man he saw Bismarck's negative sides more clearly than in earlier years—is hardly adequate.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

THE CAREER OF LUJO BRENTANO: A STUDY OF LIBERALISM AND SOCIAL REFORM IN IMPERIAL GERMANY. By *James J. Sheehan*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1966. Pp. 223. \$6.95.)

A PROLIFIC writer and a dynamic professor, Lujó Brentano exerted a major influence on the study of economics in Germany from 1870 to 1918. His purely theoretical and academic work and his personal life are not the primary concerns of this book, and the author has justifiably chosen not to treat Brentano's life after 1918. Instead, Sheehan focuses on the influences that shaped Brentano's ideas about public policy and on his energetic advocacy of these ideas through the First World War. Chronologically organized, clearly written, and carefully documented, the study is based upon the unpublished papers of Brentano and several acquaintances, Brentano's publications, and an impressively comprehensive collection of secondary literature about the man and his times. The result

is a workmanlike contribution that particularly illuminates the history of *Kathedersozialismus* and of the *Verein für Sozialpolitik*.

Sheehan's major theses are convincingly presented. A youthful year in Dublin, doctoral study at Göttingen, and postdoctoral study in Berlin (1867) made Brentano, in turn, an Anglophile, an economic liberal, and a student of the social problems of his time. In 1868 he was again in England, viewing it as a social laboratory in which "Germany's own future might be discovered" and making there the sympathetic study of English guilds and trade-unions that established his early reputation. Sheehan might have put greater emphasis upon fear of Marxism in explaining Brentano's modification of classical liberalism, but even so it is made clear that Brentano saw the unions as "an essentially conservative, gradualist solution to the social question." He remained basically a liberal, retaining all his life a "passion for free trade" and hoping at least until 1905 for amelioration of the labor-capital conflict without significant governmental intervention.

Egotistical, not particularly original, and inflexible in his economic theories, Brentano nevertheless had the courage to adjust to changing social and political conditions. Eventually, in 1917, he spoke out for parliamentary government in the *Reich* and for "universal" suffrage in Prussia. (For equal suffrage? This is not made clear.) Favoring naval expansion before 1914, his war aims were limited to modest annexations at best. Sheehan shows, however, that Brentano denied himself political influence because he was unwilling to make the compromises required by active involvement in a political party. His public career illustrates many of Imperial Germany's characteristics and problems, including the frustrations of the too few bourgeois reformers who wanted to improve the economic and political status of the lower classes.

University of Pennsylvania

JOHN L. SNELL

STRUKTUR UND FUNKTION DER "KPD-OPPOSITION" (KPO):
EINE ORGANISATIONSSOZIOLOGISCHE UNTERSUCHUNG ZUR
"RECHTS"-OPPOSITION IM DEUTSCHEN KOMMUNISMUS ZUR
ZEIT DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. By K. H. Tjaden. [Marburger
Abhandlungen zur Politischen Wissenschaft, Number 4.] (Meisenheim am
Glan: Verlag Anton Hain. 1964. Pp. xvi, 350, 235. DM 31.50.)

ALTHOUGH we still have no comprehensive history of German Communism to replace Flechtheim's outdated volume, a number of worth-while monographic contributions to such a history have appeared recently, including the works of Angress, Bahne, Mitchell, Schüddekopf, and Waldman. To this list we may now add the valuable study of K. H. Tjaden, which analyzes the development of the Right-wing Brandler-Thalheimer current of German Communism during the Weimar Republic. Readers should not be intimidated by the title; its social science jargon all but disappears in the subsequent pages, where the author employs an essentially historical approach based on impressive use of published and unpublished sources and interviews with surviving members.

The work is colored somewhat by Tjaden's evident, but not entirely uncritical, sympathy for the Brandler group. With some exaggeration, but also with

some justice, he traces its ideology and tactical conceptions to the Luxemburgist roots of the KPD. Brandler and Thalheimer led the party from 1921 to 1923, and their united front policy was responsible for the "workers' governments" of Saxony and Thuringia. Subsequently outmaneuvered in the KPD leadership first by the ultraradical Maslow-Fischer faction and then by the Stalinist Thälmann cadre, Brandler and his followers found themselves expelled at the end of 1928 when the party adopted the pseudorevolutionary line of the famous "Third Period." Tjaden devotes most of his volume to the opposition organization (KPO) maintained by Brandler and Thalheimer from 1928 to 1933, which unsuccessfully attempted to win back the KPD to a united front policy with the Social Democrats and the Free Trade-Unions, as they all faced the growing menace of Nazism. Tjaden is best in analyzing the evolving tactical position of the KPO toward the official Communist party, the SPD, and other working-class organizations. His sociological survey of the six-thousand-member KPO is interesting but overextended from the tiny scraps of available statistical information. A final section deals with the fate of the KPO and its members in their resistance to the Nazi tyranny after 1933.

The book is well organized and is written, for the most part, with clarity if not grace. Its supplementary *Anhang* volume contains the footnotes and bibliography, together with useful thumbnail biographies of thirty leading opposition personalities and a documentary collection of thirteen key KPO pronouncements. One can only hope that further Marburg studies of the KPD, promised by Wolfgang Abendroth in the foreword, will maintain Tjaden's high level of competence and inspire someone to write a comprehensive history of German Communism.

University of Pittsburgh

RICHARD N. HUNT

AUSCHWITZ: A REPORT ON THE PROCEEDINGS AGAINST KARL LUDWIG MULKA AND OTHERS BEFORE THE COURT AT FRANKFURT. By *Bernd Naumann*. Translated by *Jean Steinberg*. With an introduction by *Hannah Arendt*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1966. Pp. xxx, 433. \$7.95.)

BERND Naumann, for two years *Frankfurter Allgemeine* reporter at the trial of the Auschwitz guards, furnishes an excellent summary of the proceedings in this book. Rarely allowing himself more than an occasional ironic comment, the reporter assembles horrifying detail and incredible denial into a clear reconstruction of life in this death factory. Attention is focused on only a few of the locations in the Auschwitz complex: the ramp (where the selections were made), the hospital, cell block eleven, and the black wall. Only occasionally are the gas chambers and crematories at Birkenau mentioned.

This was a trial of the guards for acts of murder or other cruelties. The witnesses were necessarily those privileged ones who found some refuge, however precarious, from the gas chambers. Thus the matters treated are tortures, surely a luxury when so many must be killed, single murders, and assorted barbarities. There is room for fleeting glimpses of a tragic romance, or the children of Zamość playing games before they were given their injections. Once there is

mention of a saintly *Oberscharführer* Flacke whose block was "an island of peace." Only faintly can one hear the steady tread of the millions who went directly from the transport to the gas chamber.

Oddly enough, in the midst of human extermination it was difficult to establish the fact of murder. The bodies were missing, and, in a world without clock or calendar, evidence was inexact. Even cruel memories were dulled by time's passage.

It is also surprising to learn that guards could and did refuse to carry out the work of the camp. In this case they were simply sent to the front. Hannah Arendt concludes, in her fine introduction, that the camp system selected from an ordinary cross section those most suited to the task.

The trial ended without answering such questions as the responsibility of certain higher officials or of the German people for these crimes; this was not its purpose. Yet within the limits it set for itself the court did achieve a just solution of sorts for a crime that has no adequate penalty.

Purdue University

JAMES H. McRANDLE

THE ADENAUER ERA. By *Richard Hiscocks*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1966. Pp. x, 312. \$5.50.)

THE author received his doctorate at Berlin during the first years of the Third Reich, served with the British military government of Germany, and has written valuable studies of postwar Austria, Poland, and Germany. This book must be considered the best yet to appear on the Adenauer era.

Mr. Hiscocks gives us thoughtful chapters on such diverse and important topics as German trade-unions, foreign policy, press and radio, problems of educational reform, the *Wirtschaftswunder*, and the efforts associated with Graf von Baudissin to create a responsible citizen army. The author is at his best in treating the central theme of his book: the character and career of Konrad Adenauer. While his analysis of personality lacks the psychological subtlety and depth of Edinger's recent study of Kurt Schumacher, we do get a clear description of an immensely complex man who, while wise and humane, can also be inept and vindictive. Hiscocks recognizes the difficulty of reaching a verdict on Adenauer's career so early and asks us to consider his appraisal "provisional." And so, inevitably, it will be considered. But his tentative conclusions will be respected for their balance and fair-mindedness. Thus while he shows the "Old Fox" to be a cynic, he also emphasizes that there is no cynicism in Adenauer's rejection of both Left or Right totalitarianism or in his support of Israel. Adenauer's adroit leadership is given due credit for helping to transform a pariah people into a sovereign state. Yet as his new country's first Chancellor, he was indifferent to educational reform, contemptuous of the courts of law, and frightening in his authoritarian arrogance and outright duplicity during the affair of *Der Spiegel*—a shocking and revealing incident that receives its best brief discussion in these pages.

The author's judgment is a harsh one: in spite of Adenauer's great achievements, his "contribution to German democratic development was, on balance, harmful." He failed to educate his countrymen in the difficult ways of democracy,

and the jarring memories of some of his words and deeds will remain to mar his career. With respect to the inevitable comparison with Bismarck, the author shrewdly observes that where Bismarck assiduously cultivated his own legend in retirement, Adenauer went far to destroy a legend before he retired.

Whatever else will be read on the subject of Adenauer's Germany, this well-informed, clearly written, and eminently judicious book must also be read.

Williams College

ROBERT G. L. WAITE

DAS ÄLTESTE GESCHÄFTSBUCH ÖSTERREICHS: DIE GEWÖLBE-REGISTER DER WIENER NEUSTÄDTER FIRMA ALEXIUS FUNCK (1516-CA. 1538) UND VERWANDTES MATERIAL ZUR GESCHICHTE DES STEIRISCHEN HANDELS IM 15./16. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Othmar Pickl*. [Forschungen zur geschichtlichen Landeskunde der Steiermark, Number 23.] (Graz: Verlag der Historischen Landeskommission. 1966. Pp. 495. Sch. 300.)

ANY student interested in economic history must be grateful for the publication of an additional primary source, especially if it is one from a private party. Too often, especially for medieval and early modern economic history, we are forced to rely for evidence on government records; they are so much better preserved than private records. The picture of economic life thus revealed to us is suspect; laws, government regulations, tax records, bankruptcy proceedings—all major sources in our attempt to establish a picture of the past—necessarily distort reality. A small sample of private economic life, as is represented by this volume, is therefore a welcome addition to knowledge. Ironically, the four sixteenth-century business books, whose contents have been rendered here, exist only because they were impounded in a bankruptcy proceeding.

The entries in these business records reflect the day-to-day activities of a retail store, originally owned by a member of a wealthy south German merchant family whose business relationships extended far into the Italian market. Reproduced in their original sixteenth-century language and organized by the editor in a somewhat curious topical system, the business book entries make rather dull reading. They change little except possibly some details concerning the standard view of early modern business life. In a world of scarce resources one might question, or marvel at, the decision to commit so much newsprint to a relatively insignificant record. The editor's long and scholastic introduction tells the reader substantially what he should know. This, supported by a small selection of pertinent entries, would, in my opinion, have sufficed to make this a worth-while publication.

A few critical remarks must also be made concerning the introduction. To bring the material "alive," its author felt it necessary to relate the monetary terms in some way to present-day currency, and for this purpose he used a formula devised some forty years ago by Rörig, the well-known German historian of medieval cities. This is a questionable procedure to begin with, and it is made more so by the absence of any mention of the excellent Austrian history of prices and wages by A. F. Pribram, which was part of the extensive international effort organized under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Sixteenth-century business conditions were so different from today's that equivalents in modern terms add little and tend actually to confuse. It is much more to the point to show, as Othmar Pickl does, what position relative to the Fuggers and other contemporary business families the Funcks of Memmingen held. In this way, Pickl contributed one more piece in the mosaic of German and European business in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Tulane University

HERMAN FREUDENBERGER

DIE SIXTUSAFFÄRE UND DIE GEHEIMEN FRIEDENSVERHANDLUNGEN ÖSTERREICH-UNGARNS IM ERSTEN WELTKRIEG. By *Robert A. Kann*. [Österreich Archiv.] (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik. 1966. Pp. 94. Sch. 65.)

POLEMICS over the "war-guilt question" and the "dictated Treaty of Versailles," which long dominated the historiography of the First World War, have recently abated. Historians are now studying the social and political tendencies of the war years more systematically. Those studying the Habsburg monarchy are now focusing on developments within and between the nationalities and the conflicts over internal and external policy within the ruling oligarchy. The new emphasis is reflected in Professor Kann's study of secret Austro-Hungarian peace negotiations, which is based, in part, on unpublished material in the Vienna Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, mainly the *Nachlass Baernreither* and the *Politisches Archiv*.

The first of the two related essays in this small volume is an expanded version of one that appeared in the *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs* (XVI [1963]). It focuses on a hitherto unknown résumé of the Sixtus affair by the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, Count Ottokar Czernin, that is, the peace "negotiations" between Emperor Charles and his brother-in-law, Prince Sixtus of Bourbon-Parma, in the spring of 1917 and the public disclosure of those "negotiations" one year later. The résumé, written in 1919 or shortly thereafter, was found by Kann in one of the unpublished volumes of J. M. Baernreither's diary. Publication of the résumé fills a gap in the literature on the Sixtus affair since Czernin, alone among the chief actors in the affair, never publicized his position. Kann places the document in its immediate context by presenting Baernreither's description in his diary of the Sixtus affair and by examining the relationship between Baernreither and Czernin. Although Kann describes Baernreither as a moderate and enlightened Austro-German and Czernin as a temperamental aristocrat with conventional feudal ideas, it is significant that both men agreed on maintaining a predominance of Germans in Austria.

The second essay is much broader in scope. Kann assesses the intentions of Emperor Charles and Czernin and the consequences of the Sixtus affair. Next, he places the affair in the general context of secret Austro-Hungarian peace negotiations and concludes with some observations on the differences between the various peace negotiations and why all the peace efforts undertaken during the war failed. Kann's conclusions take on added breadth because of their relationship to the perplexing problem of the dissolution of the Habsburg monarchy

and the impact of democratic pressures on foreign policy and traditional diplomacy.

In the text and in the footnotes Kann comments on old and new literature pertinent to his subject. This volume, which has a selected bibliography and an index, is a fitting addition to a series devoted to new analyses and interpretations of Austrian and Habsburg history.

Franklin and Marshall College

SOLOMON WANK

MAX HUSSAREK: NATIONALITÄTEN UND NATIONALITÄTEN-POLITIK IN ÖSTERREICH IM SOMMER DES JAHRES 1918. By *Helmut Rumpler*. [Studien zur Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie, Number 4.] (Graz-Köln: Verlag Hermann Böhlau Nachf. 1965. Pp. 118. DM 19.80.)

BARON Maximilian Johann Hussarek-Heinlein, the penultimate Prime Minister of the Austrian Empire, occupied that unenviable office for only three months of 1918. He came from an obscure family that was devoutly loyal to the House of Habsburg and the Roman Catholic Church, his father having been ennobled as a reward for military service. The son, Max, earned a doctorate in law at the University of Vienna and taught briefly in secondary schools; he then entered the Ministry of Education, gradually advancing up the bureaucratic ladder until in 1911 he became Minister of Education, a post he filled for six years. He acquired a realistic appreciation of the nationality antagonisms and tangles of the realm and built up a reputation for adeptness at conciliation. More the scholar and man of letters than the public leader, Hussarek undertook the premiership only out of a keen sense of duty to crown and country. Competent though he had proved himself as an administrator, he was scarcely prepared for the disillusioning, traumatic experience that overwhelmed him. The biographical sketch of Hussarek, hitherto somewhat neglected by historians, would be hard to surpass for conciseness and lucidity.

Yet the heart of the monograph is the resourceful efforts put forth to discover a *modus vivendi* that would retain in the Danubian monarchy Galicia, Bohemia, and the districts inhabited by southern Slavs. Enough collateral information is presented to render the policies and maneuvers of Hussarek intelligible. A chapter on Galicia, tidily organized and commendably detailed, shows exceptional mastery of perhaps the most complex of all the domestic dilemmas of the Empire. While several superior investigations of the Poles in the war era have already been made, Dr. Rumpler excels in defining the attitudes and the tensions within the diverse Polish political groupings. That estimate applies with equal validity to the expositions on the Czechs, their Sudeten German neighbors, and the divergent elements in the southern Slav family. Directly after the capitulation of Bulgaria on September 26, 1918, Hussarek recognized the utter futility of further negotiations.

The author has not flinched from the grittier tasks of scholarship, and he bases his judgments upon a full range of materials, many of them not previously studied. An unusually complete index is another bench mark of the work. One of a group of able young historians at the University of Vienna, Rumpler has

achieved a polished performance that is likely to remain the standard reference until the matters he considers are scrutinized in longer context and wider perspective.

University of Rochester

ARTHUR J. MAY

KARL RENNER UND SEINE ZEIT: VERSUCH EINER BIOGRAPHIE.

By *Jacques Hannak*. (Vienna: Europa Verlag. 1965. Pp. 718. Sch. 320.)

DIE NATION: MYTHOS UND WIRKLICHKEIT. By *Karl Renner*. Edited by *Jacques Hannak*. With a foreword by *Bruno Pittermann*. [Geist und Gesellschaft: Texte zum Studien der sozialen Entwicklung.] (Vienna: Europa Verlag. 1964. Pp. 144. Sch. 62.)

THESE two volumes, the first written and the second edited by the editor of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* between 1946 and 1961, make an important contribution to the literature dealing with one of Austria's foremost Socialist theoreticians and the most instrumental personage in the founding of both the First and Second Austrian Republics.

The manuscript for the second of these volumes was discovered only after the death of Renner's wife in 1963. Although it was actually composed in 1936-1937, it was so lucidly written and well argued that it is timely and important reading for present-day students of nationalism and internationalism.

In his *Karl Renner und seine Zeit*, Hannak presents a vivid account of Renner's life and personality and thoughtful evaluations of his ideas and the role he played in the Socialist party. His descriptions of the conflicts within the Social Democratic party and analyses of the fundamental cleavages between the Left and Right Wings of that party are the best I have seen. In part he accomplishes this through frequent and often lengthy quotations from the writings of various Socialist speakers and authors, especially Renner himself. The author's frequent use of quotes, however, at times seems to throw the book out of balance and to place the main focus on ideas rather than on events and actions.

In many respects the volume deals much more with Renner's "times" than with Renner himself. For instance, when the author writes about the causes of World War I and the First Austrian Republic, the reader almost loses sight of the main subject of the book: Renner. Large parts of the section dealing with the period between 1920 and 1938 are mainly devoted to presenting the author's own views on political developments during the era.

Hannak is naturally sympathetic to Renner—a man for whom I also have high regard. Throughout the volume he defends the wisdom and validity of Renner's moderate views as opposed to those of Otto Bauer and other Left-wing Socialists. Hannak is caustic in his criticisms of many of the shortcomings of the Christian Socials and savage in his attacks on Ignaz Seipel. In his eyes Seipel was directly or indirectly responsible for every step taken along the road that led to the destruction of Austrian democracy.

I do not wish to say that the volume does not make a contribution to the ever-increasing literature on Austria since 1918. It makes an important one. The book should not, however, be read as an impartial history of the country during the past seventy-five years; it should be read for the valuable insights it gives into

the development of the Social Democratic party and the Austrian Socialist way of thinking during these years.

Rice University

R. JOHN RATH

AUSTRIA BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, 1945-1955. By *William B. Bader*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 250. \$7.50.)

THIS is a study of the impact of the East-West conflict over Austria under four-power Allied occupation from the end of World War II to the conclusion of the Austrian State Treaty in 1955.

Bader carefully reviews the East-West struggle for the control of Austria, on both the domestic (Austrian) and international levels. Using mostly published sources but also one important unpublished source—the John Foster Dulles Papers at Princeton—he succeeds in illuminating the subject. Although somewhat hampered by his official position as an American Foreign Service officer who formerly taught at Princeton, and use of the indirect language of diplomats, he tells the story objectively. The popular American view that American diplomacy, because it is always virtuous, is at a disadvantage in a duel with Soviet diplomacy, which is always wicked and clever, gets little support in this book. Nor will it give much of a lift to Austrian *amour-propre*. Bader shows that Soviet diplomacy in Austria was sometimes astoundingly inept, and he does not conceal the fact that the virtues of American diplomacy were sometimes doubtful. He corrects, for instance, the officially fostered American view that Soviet intransigence alone prolonged the Allied occupation of Austria for ten years, and that the conclusion of the Austrian State Treaty was a triumph of American patience and negotiating skill. Although he pays homage to the remarkable Austrian national solidarity in the face of the occupants ("four elephants in a rowboat," in the words of Karl Renner), he does not quite share their belief that their cleverness finally recovered national independence. "The independence of Austria is no monument to the virtues of marathon bargaining, Western negotiating finesse, or Soviet cleverness, but is an example of how divergent East-West objectives can sometimes evolve to a point, where, for a brief moment, both parties are best served by 'half a loaf.'"

This is altogether a commendable book.

Florida State University

VICTOR S. MAMATEY

ÉCONOMISTES GENEVOIS DU XIX^e SIÈCLE: NECKER—BELLOT—SISMONDI—CHERBULIEZ—PELLEGRINO ROSSI. By *William E. Rappard*. Preface by *Giovanni Busino*. [Travaux de droit, d'économie, de sociologie et de sciences politiques, Number 43.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1966. Pp. xx, 582.)

THIS collection of scholarly articles and other short pieces, together with one longer monograph by the late Professor Rappard, makes available to a wider public several of his most valuable studies of Genevan intellectual life, mainly during the Restoration. In keeping with Rappard's lifelong interests in economic history and economic thought, the emphasis is on men who concerned them-

selves with the wealth of nations. Some are well known, while others have remained obscure, but deserve to be better known. This is notably true of Antoine-Elisée Cherbuliez, to whom the longest study is devoted. In this monograph and in the article entitled "La Conversion de Sismondi," the non-Swiss reader and the student of European thought will find the principal interest of the collection. Much of the remainder has to do with local politics, diplomacy, and constitutional development; it is largely for the specialist. Everything in the collection, however, testifies to the erudition, the literary art, and the profoundly liberal and humane outlook of a great historian.

In his article devoted to the problem of Sismondi's conversion from *laissez faire* to interventionism Rappard was able to show that the change probably occurred in 1818 or 1819 and that it reflected, among other things, Sismondi's revulsion against competitive industrialism in England. In the study "Antoine-Elisée Cherbuliez et la propriété privée (1797-1869)" Rappard dealt with the career of a talented writer and theorist who has been unjustly neglected. Cherbuliez was strongly influenced first by Bentham and his Swiss disciple-translator, Étienne Dumont, and then by Fourier. Partly because of his radical economic views and partly because he felt underpaid and undervalued as a university professor, Cherbuliez experienced a deepening sense of alienation from contemporary political liberalism. Though his increasingly violent attacks on the democratic cause from 1841 to the end of his life were partly related to his personal circumstances, it is interesting that he was an early representative of the point of view that in a society characterized by extreme inequalities in wealth and opportunity, political democracy would almost inevitably be corrupted into oligarchy or Caesarism. Forced by the triumphant democrats to resign his professorship and take refuge in France, Cherbuliez was confirmed in his low estimate of at least the short-run possibilities of mass politics by the events of 1848. Not only a sensitive and searching examination of the intellectual development of a fascinating man, Rappard's study also illuminates the cultural milieu; it should be useful to anyone concerned with liberalism, utilitarianism, democracy, and socialism from 1815 to 1848 and beyond.

Northern Illinois University

RALPH H. BOWEN

RIFLESSI POLITICI DEL GIANSENISMO ITALIANO. By Carmelo Caristia. ([Naples:] Morano Editore. 1965. Pp. 334. L. 3,300.)

THIS book consists of four essays published from 1957 to 1962: the first in *Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze, Lettere e Arti* of Palermo; the others in *Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze* of Turin. Unity of thought is present, however, since the essays were originally written to appear eventually as parts of a book.

Dr. Caristia examines and stresses the characteristics of Italian Jansenism in the principal areas of the peninsula during the second half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. In Lombardy and particularly at Pavia University, under the leadership of Pietro Tamburini, Jansenism developed and maintained the absolutist doctrine concerning state-Church relations, according to which kings are the exterior bishops of the Church, with the inherent right to call councils, proclaim dogmatic doctrines, condemn heretics, and so

forth, while the Church has the duty and obligation to pray and to moan on the miseries of man. Such a doctrine did not prevent the doctors of Pavia from adhering to the new and opposite doctrine of the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century.

In Tuscany, under the leadership of Bishop Scipione de' Ricci, Jansenism became dynamic and tried to reform the Church in accordance with the Jansenist doctrines and the political program of the Habsburg princes. But in face of the French Revolution, Tuscan Jansenism split into democratic and conservative groups, while in Liguria, particularly in Genoa, Jansenism became democratic under the leadership of Eustachio Degola and with the support of a few bishops. The characteristics of Jansenism in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies were political rather than religious. In fact, the sharp conflict between Church and state in its attempt to reform the old system of mutual relations took advantage of the Jansenist controversy.

This study contains complete bibliographical information. In his interpretation of Italian Jansenism Caristia cleverly used published and unpublished sources and had the last word on the political influence of Jansenism in Italy between the eighteenth and nineteenth century. For this reason his study is an important contribution. An index of names, however, would have been desirable.

St. John Fisher College

EGIDIO PAPA

LA FORMAZIONE DIPLOMATICA DI LEONE XII. By *Raffaele Colapietra*.

[Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica. Series 2, Memorie. Volume XXIII.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1966. Pp. 231.)

THE reign of Leo XII was not one of the glories of the papacy, and Annibale della Genga's diplomatic career is best remembered for his clash with Consalvi during negotiations at Paris in 1818—a clash of drastic consequence for the careers of both men. This book, primarily concerned with Della Genga's diplomatic activity in Germany, 1794–1808 (he was nuncio to Cologne during much of this period), is then, almost by definition, a minor work. A study of Della Genga's diplomatic reports, this account preserves the gaps found in those records; as either diplomatic history or biography it is incomplete. At many points the author directly challenges interpretations that have become general, most notably in stressing the similarity of views of Consalvi and Della Genga; yet every scholar has encountered books that did this much and still left him regretful of the time it took to read them.

Professor Colapietra's is essentially an extended gloss on a body of documents previously unstudied, but to read it is like taking an excellent seminar. The professor touches on a wide range of important subjects—the Church in Germany, international diplomacy, Catholic reaction to the French Revolution, the personalities and concerns of the great figures of the Church—but the occasion's real worth lies in the power of the professor's understanding. Colapietra makes of Della Genga's sometimes dyspeptic and often despondent correspondence an opportunity to comment on the Arcadian atmosphere of eighteenth-century Rome, the gallantries of papal diplomats still rooted in an elegant age, their difficulty in understanding the French Revolution or even seeing it as a whole. He contrasts

the policies of those who thought in terms of the diplomacy of cabinets and wanted to draw closer to the traditional Catholic powers with the policy of those like Della Genga, whose spiritual rigidity made him more concerned for reform of the Church itself. He underscores Della Genga's low opinion of the German clergy, his ability to see possible benefits for the Church even in the secularization of its German lands, his increased awareness after 1798 that war had become ideological. All this leads to what Colapietra himself calls his central point: narrow piety and political reaction were not necessarily associated; even the conservatism of the *Curia* had come to contain a modern romanticism and a willingness to learn something from its enemies. The rigid Della Genga could advocate a broad expediency in matters political.

There was in Della Genga, who was afraid of Protestantism and most books, who hated Napoleon and resented his own penury, at least a hint of grandeur after all, but one's sense of that is as much Colapietra's achievement as the future pope's.

University of Michigan

RAYMOND GREW

CARTEGGI DI VITTORIO IMBRIANI. VOCI DI ESULI POLITICI MERIDIONALI: LETTERE E DOCUMENTI DAL 1849 AL 1861 CON APPENDICI VARIE. Edited by *Nunzio Coppola*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica. Series 2, Fonti. Volume LIII.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1965. Pp. 526. L. 5,000.)

IMBRO I. TKALAC E L'ITALIA. By *Angelo Tamborra*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica. Series 2, Memorie. Volume XXIV.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1966. Pp. 357.)

THROUGHOUT the nineteenth century, revolution and conspiracy became a way of life for countless men. Following the lodestar of an ideal, they endured exile and privations. To this group belonged the Imbrianis and Tkalac whose writings are included in the admirable collection of sources being published by the *Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano*.

The Imbriani volume is the third devoted to this family in the series. Together with the Poerios, the Imbrianis formed a "dynasty" of political expatriates. For three generations these two Neapolitan families, united in 1840 by marriage, participated in the struggles for liberty and later unity. Vittorio, son of Paolo Emilio Imbriani and Carlotta Poerio and nephew of Carlo and Alessandro Poerio, left Naples as a child to accompany his father into exile after the Revolution of 1848 failed. While the previous two volumes—*Vittorio Imbriani intimo* and *Gli hegeliani di Napoli*—did reproduce his writings, this one includes for the most part personal letters among the Imbrianis and Poerios. Absorbing and touching for the intimate anguish they reveal, often irritating because of the occasional pettiness and petulance displayed, especially by the Imbrianis who were not blessed with a gentle disposition, they provide fascinating reading. In an earlier introduction to Vittorio Imbriani's *Sette milioni rubati* (1938) Coppola, who has spent many years tracing the family's papers, relates how they survived destruction almost by chance. In the appendix to the present volume he reports that there are enough manuscripts left for two additional volumes.

After 1848 many political refugees found asylum in Piedmont, and Imbro Tkalac, a Croatian, was one of them. Exiled in 1861 for seditious journalistic activity against the Austrian government, he reached Turin in 1863 and remained in Italy for the rest of his life. After 1872 he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where his knowledge of Austrian and Southeastern European problems made him a valuable aid. During these years he continued writing under a pseudonym in Italian and foreign journals. The articles and letters in this volume come from many sources and archives throughout Europe. Less personal than the Imbriani-Poerio correspondence, they deal with political events of the times. The book is full of unexpected treasures, such as eighty-four letters on Vatican I to Foreign Minister Viconti-Venosta. Sent as an unofficial observer, Tkalac reported regularly from January 20 to July 21, 1871, through the council's most tempestuous days. On intimate terms with his fellow countrymen, Bishop Strossmayer, one of the leaders of the anti-infallibilist faction, Tkalac sent informed, if somewhat one-sided reports, to Florence.

These two books show clearly the political and cultural links between Italy and the rest of Europe during the nineteenth century, in the years when the intelligentsia rallied to the cause of liberalism and nationalism.

Simmons College

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

LE ISTITUZIONI DEL NUOVO STATO NELLE DIMENSIONI MONDIALI. By *Alberto Caracciolo*. Preface by *Alberto M. Ghisalberti*. [L'organizzazione dello Stato: Collana di studi e testi nel centenario dell'Unità, Number 10.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1966. Pp. 220. L. 2,000.)

ALBERTO Caracciolo's study seeks to be both a summation of the preceding nine volumes in the collection of reappraisals and documents, which dealt with the structuring of the Italian unitary state, and a projection of findings toward novel directions of historical inquiry. In this concluding volume Caracciolo suggests that the contributors to the series, himself included, had been too cautious in their approach to their respective problems, too restrictive in their conceptual frameworks, too parochial in the span of their historical vision. He thus advocates an attempt to revisit the work of the *Risorgimento*, particularly in its state-making aspects, from the viewpoint of the larger contexts of European and world history.

The epoch in which united Italy appeared upon the scene, Caracciolo believes, corresponded to that which saw the ascendancy and soon the triumph of a Europocentric hegemony over the rest of the globe. By 1870 Italy had succeeded in realizing some of the most indispensable requirements for admission into the relatively small circle of advanced European states. Italy seemed to be fully associated on the basis of political equality with the liberal world of the nineteenth century. The parliamentary and "tendentiously democratic" structure of the Italian state tended to guarantee both the juridical right and the political claim to sovereignty and freedom of action within the European "concert of powers." And yet, Caracciolo points out, a strange twist of historical fate—easily recognizable as a shorthand reference to the combination of forces that had conspired to retard Italian national unity—caused Italy to achieve the political configuration of the Western "models" at the very moment when those "models" were

undergoing such metamorphoses in their social and economic foundations and, much more momentarily, in the dynamics of their world influence as to turn their Italian emulator into a sort of historic anachronism. Neither the rich legacy of Italian culture nor the ideological inspiration and the ethical values that had come to be almost universally associated with the ideal motivations of the *Risorgimento*, neither the continuing use of the Italian language in the Mediterranean Basin nor the influence of Italian legal thought in Central and South America could balance the waste of material and moral resources implicit in the emerging "Question of the South" and the drain of human energies constituted by the growing dimensions of Italian emigration. Even as it grew, Italy lost ground to the more fortunate, at least the more powerful, Western nations. If, on the other hand, as Caracciolo briefly muses, a glance is cast upon the contemporary Slavic world and, later, upon the colonial area of emerging nations, Italy itself begins to appear as a sort of practical model. He does not, however, pursue this point. In a work whose bibliographical apparatus constitutes one of its undeniable assets, Caracciolo makes no mention of and draws no profit from an important study that would have aided him immensely on this score: Maurice F. Neufeld's *Italy: School for Awakening Countries* (1961).

In Caracciolo's own work it is at times difficult to separate the original from the commonplace, the suggestive from the uninspiring, the new from the *déjà vu*. Reviewing the organization of the Italian unitary state in the perspective of world history seems plausible enough and, within certain limitations, proposes a fruitful line of inquiry already well tested in other areas and for other countries. Such a line might further help to loosen the historiographical dilemmas in which traditional approaches, including the Marxist, have tended to envelop modern Italian history. Methodologically, it might even extend the scope and direction of applicability of Federico Chabod's masterly teachings. But the proper pursuit of such a line would also require the treatment of other themes, greater subtleties, and stricter attention to substantive and technical questions than Caracciolo has had either the space or the inclination to adopt in his experimental essay. Theoretically commendable as Caracciolo's desire may be "to open a window upon vaster horizons" of post-*Risorgimento* history, his mobile or imprecise points of historical reference would surely tend to render those horizons neither clearer nor more accessible to constructive historiographical innovations.

University of Rochester

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

MUSSOLINI IL RIVOLUZIONARIO, 1883-1920. By *Renzo De Felice*. Preface by *Delio Cantimori*. [Biblioteca di Cultura Storica.] (Turin: Giulio Einaudi Editore. 1965. Pp. xxx, 773. L. 5,000.)

CLOWN, *petit-bourgeois*, opportunist, power-corrupted demagogue, subtle innovator, and reactionary in disguise—these are some of the leitmotifs around which Mussolini's adventurous life has been reconstructed. Professor De Felice has studiously avoided all single-minded characterizations. His Mussolini on the rise appears against the background of Italian politics in which, as the author emphasizes, he moved with the dexterity of a born virtuoso. The emerging figure will surprise many readers.

Since 1938, when Gaudens Megaro published his pioneering study, *Mussolini*

in the Making, no major effort had been made to focus upon Mussolini's formative years. De Felice unearths a wealth of new factual material through which he takes a fresh look at his subject. The scholarly foundation of this work is most impressive. A vast documentation is drawn from the *Archivio Centrale di Stato* in Rome, from private collections, and from obscure but important publications.

In this first of four projected volumes that will eventually span the dictator's entire life, the author examines the "revolutionary" phase of Mussolini's political metamorphosis. Until 1920 Mussolini acted as a shrewd, perceptive, and basically sincere Left-wing revolutionary. His real commitment to a revolutionary solution, however, predisposed him to embrace a variety of slogans that he felt could serve the revolutionary cause but that were incompatible with any particular ideological orthodoxy. When viewed from this angle, Mussolini's political gyrations appear more as tactical decisions in fundamental harmony with his over-all revolutionary strategy than as expressions of either genuine commitment or of political opportunism. His pragmatism even led him to accept, finally, the support of conservative groups.

In line with this, the author does not hesitate to label the ideologically oriented socialists as politically inept. Valid as this judgment may be, one must also keep in mind that Mussolini's political "realism" involved his movement in serious compromises that would make enactment of a significant program of social reforms impossible later. A more apt title for this book might have been "Mussolini the Rebel." The author will no doubt come to grips with this problem more firmly later on. At this point, he deserves to be congratulated for having raised the debate on Mussolini to a mature historical level.

Ohio State University

ROLAND SARTI

GUGLIELMO FERRERO: HISTOIRE ET POLITIQUE AU XX^e SIÈCLE.

By L. Salvatorelli et al. [Études et documents publiés par l'Institut d'Histoire de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Genève, Number 2.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1966. Pp. 198.)

GUGLIELMO Ferrero, a great political philosopher rather than a professional historian, occupied the chair of modern history at the University of Geneva during the last twelve years of his life. All kinds of complications preceded his appointment. This eloquent spokesman for Italian liberalism arrived in Geneva as a political exile. There were, moreover, some questions about his competence as a professional historian. All this paled before Ferrero's brilliant performance as a lecturer. His courses were extremely popular; his relationship with his colleagues, excellent; his life on the Swiss island in the middle of totalitarian Europe, fructiferous and serene. He died suddenly in August 1942. Nearly twenty-five years after his death the university thought it fit to publish a commemorative volume about his work, composed by former colleagues and associates, including his son-in-law. They range from many kinds of essays to an instructive bibliography. It is a valuable volume, giving us not only much information about Ferrero's life but also about some of the polemics of Italian intellectual life in the early part of this century. Piero Treves' article ("Ferrero dans son temps et le

notre") is the most interesting article dealing with the latter; Stelling-Michaud's account of the circumstances of Ferrero's appointment to the Geneva chair is the most interesting article dealing with the former topic.

Ferrero was a typical case of the man who is no prophet in his own country. His first principal work on the Roman Empire was assailed by most of his Italian colleagues; he was regarded with something like disdain not only by Fascist intellectuals such as Gentile but also by Croce who seemed to detect in Ferrero some of the charlatanism then associated with his father-in-law Lombroso. Even today students of Italian intellectual history do not quite know what to do with him. What is incontestable is that, after his sad personal privations under Fascism, this Italian liberal turned to a conservative direction. His most eloquent writings of the 1930's and his often brilliant lectures in Geneva dealt with the principle of legitimacy. His rehabilitation of Talleyrand and of the Congress of Vienna stood midway between Duff Cooper's admirable biography of the former and Harold Nicolson's postwar portrait of the latter. Even more acute were Ferrero's insights into the motive factors and the consequences of the period 1917-1919. He was neither a research historian nor a philosopher of history; he professed, instead, a kind of historical philosophy of politics on an occasionally very high level.

Chestnut Hill College

JOHN LUKACS

DAL 25 LUGLIO ALL'8 SETTEMBRE (NUOVE RIVELAZIONI SUGLI ARMISTIZI FRA L'ITALIA E LE NAZIONI UNITE). By *Mario Toscano*. [Quaderni di storia.] (Florence: Felice Le Monnier. 1966. Pp. vi, 232. L. 1,600.)

In four carefully written chapters, Professor Toscano has made a fascinating and valuable contribution to our understanding of the present state of historical knowledge regarding the confused diplomacy that surrounded the bumbling efforts of Italy to negotiate with the Allies an exit from the war in 1943.

Based primarily on the recently published *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1943*, Volume II (*AHR*, LXX [Jan. 1965], 490), the first two essays in Toscano's book respectively set forth shrewd analyses of the negotiations that led to the signing of the "short" armistice at Cassibile, Sicily, on September 2, 1943, and to the subsequent signing of the "long" armistice at Malta on September 29. The latter event opened the way for Italy to play a difficult role as "co-belligerent" of the Allies for the rest of the war.

The author's final essay, "The American Military Archives and the Italian Armistices of 1943," is a penetrating review of the major points of interest in the excellent volume, *Sicily and the Surrender of Italy* (*AHR*, LXXII [Oct. 1966], 336), by Albert N. Garland and Howard McGaw Smyth, assisted by Martin Blumenson.

Between these perceptive essays is another, based primarily on Italian sources, that discusses the little-known peace feelers made by numerous Italians after the autumn of 1942 but prior to the overthrow of Mussolini on July 25, 1943, to negotiate with the Allies a means of getting Italy out of the war short of unconditional surrender. He notes that Geneva and Lisbon were the principal

locales for these feelers. In every case the Italians sought to approach the British rather than the Americans—a strategic blunder, in his opinion. The only encouragement ever to come from the British side was a statement by Sir Samuel Hoare. After the Casablanca Conference in January 1943 the Anglo-Americans never budged from their “unconditional surrender” formula, and they rejected every approach made on behalf of the Fascist government with the exception of a bid made by the Duke of Aosta. Mussolini was never involved in the feelers put out during these months. Allied failure to respond induced the King to carry out the *coup d'état* of July 25 without coordination with the Allies.

There are still gaps in our knowledge of this period, Toscano points out. Much of the British documentation is still classified, for example, though some of it has been summarized in Sir Ernest Llewellyn Woodward's *British Foreign Policy in the Second World War* (1962) and elsewhere. On the Italian side there are still sources that have not yet become available, the most notable being the long manuscript that Victor Emmanuel III prepared in 1944, setting forth his version of the events.

Space limitations make it impossible here to do justice to the many important points and interpretations contained in Toscano's book. Though the author asserts that his aim was merely to make available to the Italian public recent revelations, he goes much farther and does not hesitate to offer value judgments, most of them cogent. Thus he sharply criticizes many of his countrymen for their lack of realism in dealing with the Allies after July 25, 1943, and for delays in completing the armistice. He is also critical of some British leaders. On the other hand, he admires the generous way in which General Eisenhower tried to handle the problem of the armistice and Italian cobelligerency.

Toscano's book will be necessary reading for all who wish to probe further into the problem of Italy's overthrow of Fascism and change of sides in 1943.

Vanderbilt University

CHARLES F. DELZELL

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF POSTWAR ITALY. By *Norman Kogan*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966. Pp. viii, 252. \$6.00.)

A UNIFIED Italy has found the path of parliamentary democracy a tortuous road; its traditions did not provide the deep roots needed for the flourishing of such an institution. War put too great a strain upon its resources, both economic and political, and it surrendered to Fascism as an answer. That solution also failed, and, when war came again, that system too collapsed in ignominy. The question at that point was: what form would reconstruction take? The economy was a shambles, but politics had been partly simplified with the emergence of authentic mass parties, the Communists and the Christian Democrats in particular. Examination of postwar Italy's two problems—how to rebuild and under what dispensation—constitutes the substance of this book, which may be described as a progress report.

Economically, the result has been unexpected; not only has the damage been repaired, but Italy would seem to be launched at last on the path of modern development. American assistance, its own efforts, and membership in the Common Market have succeeded in opening its windows to the winds of change.

The task is far from complete, and Italy still remains relatively weak and poor. There is much unevenness among various economic sectors, but the emphasis is on the extent of the break with the past. This is the Italian "miracle."

Interaction between economic, political, and social conditions adds complexity to the tale. Ingrained traditions persist. As Kogan very rightly puts it, "Even in normal times, . . . the governments of Italy have lacked the support and consensus of the people"; the "reconciliation of the popular masses with the state" remains the most fundamental task of Italian politics. Nevertheless, a trend may be perceived. The Communist bid for power was disposed of quite early, but an absolute Demo-Christian majority was also a passing phenomenon. Hence, after the election of 1953, a long period, still not clearly concluded, of confused fumbblings, the record of which is often intricate and tedious, ensued. Yet, under the warmth of economic improvement, not to mention the difficulties that have beset the Communist world, the chief weapon of the Marxist armory, the class struggle, has been considerably blunted. By the time Communism has become "respectable" and integrated into the normal play of party politics and the experiment of the "opening to the left" has been essayed, it appears possible that Italy has truly embarked upon the democratic path. This is the unfinished story, of which Kogan gives a useful and generally balanced account.

Barnard College

RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRÉ

A SHORT HISTORY OF YUGOSLAVIA: FROM EARLY TIMES TO 1966.

By H. C. Darby *et al.* Edited by Stephen Clissold. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 279. \$5.95.)

THIS revision and continuation of the historical sections of the restricted three-volume handbook on Yugoslavia published by the Naval Intelligence Division of the British Admiralty during the Second World War should be useful to general readers and students and may have value for specialists. The introduction, an essay in interpretation, is especially rewarding.

H. C. Darby, the major contributor, wrote the chapters on historical origins and on pre-1918 Slovenia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, and Macedonia, chief components of the Yugoslav state created at the close of the First World War. The remaining two-fifths of the book includes a chapter by Darby and R. W. Seton-Watson on the formation of Yugoslavia, a chapter by Seton-Watson and R. G. D. Laffan on interwar Yugoslavia, one by Stephen Clissold on occupation and resistance, and a final chapter by Phyllis Auty on postwar and socialist Yugoslavia.

The region-by-region approach results in good encyclopedic articles on each region, but fails to produce a fully satisfying history of the Yugoslav peoples. This is all the more regrettable as many of the regions have experienced a similar political, social, and economic evolution. Even the important differences between the individual regions could have been brought more sharply into focus by means of the comparative method.

Useful political summaries and generally good maps characterize the book. Its most serious deficiency appears to be in the area of economic history. The eighteenth century is thus described as a time of commercial decay in Dalmatia

and Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and of a deterioration in the condition of the Serbian peasantry. In Dubrovnik, however, the period after 1740 was actually a time of commercial revival, and in Serbia it was an era of a growing pig trade, rapid expansion of arable land, and population increase as a result of immigration. To view the late 1920's as a period of agricultural prosperity is also questionable.

All in all, however, this is a valuable handbook.

Rutgers University

TRAIAN STOIANOVICH

DOCUMENTA ROMANIAE HISTORICA [Documents on Rumanian History]. Series B, ȚARA ROMÂNEASCĂ [Rumania]. Volume I (1247-1500). Prepared by P. P. Panaitescu and Damaschin Mioc. Volume XXI (1626-1627). Prepared by Damaschin Mioc. [Academia Republicii Socialiste România, Secția de Științe Istorice.] (Bucharest: the Academia. 1966; 1965. Pp. lxiv, 635; xli, 594. Lei 31; Lei 28.)

DOCUMENTE PRIVIND RELAȚIILE AGRARE ÎN VEACUL AL XVIII-LEA [Documents concerning Agrarian Relationships in the 18th Century]. Volume II, MOLDOVA [Moldavia]. Edited by Vasile Mihordea et al. [Academia Republicii Socialiste România, Institutul de Istorie "N. Iorga," București, și Institutul de Istorie și Arheologie, Iași.] ([Bucharest:] the Academia. 1966. Pp. 793. Lei 41.)

THE appearance in 1956 of the initial volumes of the elaborate collection *Documente Privind Istoria României* [Documents on the History of Rumania] marked the beginning of serious efforts by Rumanian historians to provide researchers with carefully annotated versions of the principal documents related to the medieval history of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania. The appearance in 1965 of the initial volumes of a new, revised edition of that collection under the title *Documenta Romaniae Historica* reflects changes in the nature of both scholarly and political activities in contemporary Rumania.

Publication of a new version of the original collection is designed to reinforce the validity of contemporary theories related to historical continuity from the thirteenth century to the present, to prove "scientifically" that the present regime is in effect the fulfiller of the historic desiderata of the Rumanian people: the liquidator of the remnants of the oppressive "landlord-bourgeois" rule of the past. The revised edition, unlike the original, will be subdivided into political and economic sections, the latter devoted primarily to the all-important socioeconomic relations between landlords and peasants. All documents are published either in modern Rumanian or contain a Rumanian version of the original Slavonic, Greek, or Latin texts for the express purpose of making the documentary evidence available to the population at large.

Politically motivated as the publication of the *Documenta Romaniae Historica* may be, the revision and completion of the *Documente Privind Istoria României* are impeccably performed by a "collective" of distinguished historians. The annotations are free of political allusions, the translations are of the highest caliber, and the selection of the documents themselves reflects erudition and sophistication. The student of Rumanian and East European history must be grateful to the Rumanian Academy for undertaking the monumental task of publishing the

principal documents of the history of Rumania under the direction of mature scholars.

University of Colorado

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALAȚI

INSCRIPTIILE MEDIEVALE ALE ROMÂNIEI. ORAȘUL BUCUREȘTI
[The Medieval Inscriptions of Rumania. The City of Bucharest]. Volume I,
1395-1800. Edited by *Alexandru Elian et al.* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei
Republicii Socialiste România. 1965. Pp. 934. Lei 62.)

CRONICA GHICULEȘTILOR: ISTORIA MOLDOVEI ÎNTRE ANII 1695
ȘI 1754 [The Chronicle of the Ghica Family: The History of Moldavia be-
tween 1695 and 1754]. Edited by *Nestor Camariano* and *Ariadna Camariano-
Cioran.* [Croniclele medievale ale României, Number 5.] (Bucharest: Editura
Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1965. Pp. lv, 808. Lei 38.)

WITH the first of these two works the Rumanian Academy has inaugurated the publication of a new corpus of medieval inscriptions for the whole of Rumania. The present volume, under the general editorship of Professor Alexandru Elian, contains 1,253 inscriptions from the city of Bucharest, most of which are in Rumanian with a few in Greek, Hebrew, Slavonic, Latin, Armenian, and Turkish. They are grouped alphabetically according to their origin or present location: churches, by far the most numerous with 504 entries; cemeteries; private collections; single crosses; and museums. Under the heading "Miscellaneous" are grouped inscriptions from various objects that are no longer extant and that were published in other works. Preceding each inscription is a careful description giving the date, the material upon which it is written, its size and location, and the kind of letters used. The text itself is given in the original language and alphabet and, with the exception of Greek and Slavonic, is followed by a Rumanian transliteration into Latin letters and a Rumanian translation. Each text is accompanied by an exhaustive bibliography.

Elian has written an excellent short introduction that traces the history of medieval epigraphy in Rumania from the seventeenth century to the beginning of the twentieth and describes the importance of the present collection. The editors have included numerous illustrations in the text and have appended a copious general bibliography of the principal works of Rumanian medieval epigraphy and an index of names, places, and objects. This collection offers a wealth of information concerning persons and places not available in other sources. It is also a valuable aid in the study of Rumanian art objects and architectural monuments and the artists and patrons responsible for them.

The chronicle of the Ghica family is one of the most important sources for the history of the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia in the first half of the eighteenth century. Its editors have prefaced the text with an informative discussion of its importance and reliability as a historical source, the relationship between it and other contemporary Rumanian chronicles, and the ideas and prejudices of its author. As far as events before 1730 are concerned, the chronicle is primarily a compilation of excerpts drawn from other chronicles, notably those of Nicolae Costin and Axinte Uricarul. The most valuable part of the chronicle is that covering the period 1730-1754, for which the author put

aside other narratives in favor of his own firsthand sources and observations.

Although the identity of the author is unknown, he was undoubtedly an intimate of the Ghica family, which supplied both Rumanian principalities with numerous rulers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He was thus able to participate personally in many of the most important events of the period and had easy access to state papers. His chronicle is clearly an official one, written at the behest of the princes of the Ghica family, and the author spares himself no effort to praise their wisdom and beneficence. For this reason his work must be used with caution and in conjunction with other sources. Although concerned primarily with Moldavia and Wallachia, he refers frequently to events in the Ottoman Empire and to its relations with Russia, Austria, and Poland. Much of this information is new.

The editors have carefully edited the original Greek text and have provided a faithful Rumanian translation facing each page. They have appended a glossary of archaic and foreign terms and an extensive index.

Rice University

KEITH HITCHINS

POWIAT W WIELKOPOLSCE XIV-XVI WIEKU: Z ZAGADNIEŃ ZARZĄDU TERYTORIALNEGO I PODZIAŁÓW POLSKI PÓŹNOSREDNIOWIECZNEJ [The District in Greater Poland from the 14th to the 16th Century: Problems of Local Administration and Divisions of Late Medieval Poland]. By *Antoni Gąsiorowski*. [Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, Wydział Historii i Nauk Społecznych, Prace Komisji Historycznej, Volume XXI, Part 2.] (Poznań: Praca Wydana z Zasiłku Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1965. Pp. 115. Zł. 28.)

MIEDZY POLSKĄ A BRANDENBURGIĄ: SPRAWA LENNA ŁĘBORSKO-BYTOWSKIEGO W DRUGIEJ POŁOWIE XVII W. [Between Poland and Brandenburg: The Case of the Łębork-Bytów Fief in the Second Half of the 17th Century]. By *Anna Kamińska-Linderska*. [Polska Akademia Nauk, Oddział w Krakowie, Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, Number 15.] (Cracow: the Akademia. 1966. Pp. 184. Zł. 30.)

THESE two dissertations are based upon extensive research in a rich, partly unpublished source material and give evidence that Polish historiography continues to be seriously interested in local problems of regionalism. But they study different periods, and while the first one deals exclusively with internal, constitutional questions, the second one, devoted to a controversial border region, is also an important contribution to diplomatic history.

Dr. Gąsiorowski uses Greater Poland, that is, the palatinates of Poznań and Kalisz, as an example of how such provinces were subdivided in the fourteenth century into districts that fully developed in the Jagellonian period. He rightly points out that there was no connection between the earlier division of the palatinates into "castellanates," with the old castles as centers, and the final one into districts whose centers were the towns where the local courts had been established. He is less convincing when he concludes that the whole structure was to serve mainly the conveniences of the nobles and that there was hardly any governmental administration on that lowest level of territorial divisions. A

comparative study of the various regions of the commonwealth would be needed in that matter. The three maps are very helpful.

Dr. Kamińska-Linderska makes a substantial addition to the earlier (1954) study of W. Kostuś on Polish control over Łębork and Bytów, two districts of eastern Pomerania (later West Prussia), which after the recovery of the whole province from the Teutonic Knights were given as a Polish fief to the dukes of western Pomerania. When that Slavic dynasty died out in 1637, the small but important area returned to Poland, enlarging its access to the Baltic, but only for twenty years. When in 1657 the Great Elector ceased to be a vassal of Poland as duke in Prussia, he received Łębork and Bytów but again only as a fief. The controversies about the interpretation of that arrangement, which Kostuś treated only in a brief concluding chapter, now appear in their full significance. They were indeed part of the deep antagonism between Brandenburg and Poland, whose situation was already so difficult that even a king such as John Sobieski, though much concerned with the whole Baltic question, could not reassert the Polish rights to the two districts. To the great disappointment of the local nobility and that of neighboring (still Polish) West Prussia, the area under dispute was eventually incorporated with the Hohenzollern kingdom proclaimed in 1701. The book has a brief summary in Russian and a detailed one in German, but no map.

White Plains, New York

O. HALECKI

NOUVELLES ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES: PUBLIÉES À L'OCCASION DU
XII^e CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES SCIENCES HISTORIQUES
PAR LA COMMISSION NATIONALE DES HISTORIENS HONGROIS.

In two volumes. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1965. Pp. 666; 629.)

HUNGARIAN historians have adopted the pleasant custom of publishing a sample of their best recent work in connection with each International Congress of Historians. This collection is their tribute to the meeting at Vienna and covers their work in the period 1959-1963. More than forty articles crowd two hefty volumes, and, for those whose courage may fail them along the way, there is the final consolation of the extremely valuable annotated bibliography of Hungary's historical output. This time the editors wisely refrained from providing us with a long official guide to these historiographical monuments, but this step in the right direction is counterbalanced by their puzzling omission of résumés of the articles in a second language. Do they seriously believe that there are a sufficient number of scholars fluent enough in German, French, Russian, English, and Spanish, in that order, to start at the beginning and read through to the end without requiring some linguistic relief? The articles are almost exclusively devoted to Hungarian history; they range from brief interpretive essays on key problems to small monographs. Several points of interest emerge: the rise of the estates, the character of Habsburg absolutism, the development of capitalism, and working-class political movements.

These historians show a will to work in fields that have not previously received much attention; they are also refreshingly free of a pronounced and limiting national bias. But there are moments when the assumptions on which

their "progressive historical sciences" rest become too insistent and too irritating, and the product of bourgeois historiography is reduced to counting references (happily few) to the works of the Marxist fathers. But this is surely not the mood in which to approach a collection that is so irenic in spirit; these scholars, for all their devotion to their point of view, are anxious to present their findings in such a way as to elicit discussion rather than to prevent it. Clearly an invitation has been extended to join them in studying the peculiar character of feudalism in Eastern Europe, the ambiguous face of absolutism in the Habsburg monarchy, and the degree to which Hungary follows the Eastern European "pattern." If this sample is at all representative of the recent work of Hungarian historians (and there is good reason to believe that it is), there can be little doubt that they remain, in the new dispensation as in the old, amazingly productive, deeply immersed in their difficult sources, highly sensitive to contemporary political concerns, and characteristically blessed with the *élan*, the vigor, and the zest of the Magyars.

University of California, Berkeley

WILLIAM B. SLOTTMAN

A FIATAL KOSSUTH [The Young Kossuth]. By *István Barta*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1966. Pp. 283. Ft. 40.)

Louis Kossuth, the law student, literary translator, amateur historian (he tried to write a universal history), county official, "cholera commissioner," and parliamentary journalist, is the subject of this definitive study of twenty years (1816-1836) in the life of Hungary's most prestigious statesman. The author, who is one of the editors of Kossuth's recently published complete works, carefully separates facts from heroic saga and analyzes a number of previously unknown documents, some of which he uncovered himself. The approach is of course Marxist, which turns Kossuth not into a maker of history but into an agent of history—the foremost spokesman of Hungary's nascent capitalism. A characteristic product of the Hungarian lower nobility, in its penniless and landless variety, Kossuth first developed opinions common to the enlightened sector of his class: constitutional monarchism, nationalism, anticlericalism, cautious agnosticism, and flirtation with the ideas of France's moderate revolutionaries.

Later, when the post-Napoleonic decline of Hungarian foreign trade, the crisis of manorial agriculture, and the threat of peasant rebellions made the complete overhaul of the Hungarian economy imperative, Kossuth developed liberal bourgeois views. Humiliated and ostracized by the *bene possessionati* political bosses in his county and ruined by the financial requirements of his life as a civil servant, he fled from his native Zemplén County to Pressburg, then capital of Hungary, to act as a delegate for absentee magnates and to launch his "News from the Diet," an undertaking that brought him both fame and official persecution. As a spokesman of the radical wing of Hungary's rising Third Estate (composed mainly of nobles), Kossuth demanded genuine autonomy for Hungary, an end to feudalism, and the elevation of the entire population into the noble nation or *natio*. Despite his radicalism, Kossuth was a reformer whom Hungary's reactionary rulers turned into a revolutionary. Understandably, the nationality problem, or rather the parallel bourgeois aspirations of the

Slovak, Rumanian, or Croat leaders, did not occupy Kossuth at all; nor did they command the attention of the author. How could Kossuth foresee that, when equality before the law would be established and subjects would become citizens, Hungary's national minorities would refuse to submit to their Magyar liberators?

Columbia University

ISTVAN DEAK

Η ΔΙΟΙΚΗΤΙΚΗ ΟΡΓΑΝΩΣΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΝ ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΝ 1821-1827: ΣΥΜΒΟΛΗ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΕΩΣ [The Administrative Organization during the Greek War of Independence, 1821-1827: Contribution to the History of Greek Administration]. By *George D. Dimacopoulos*. (Athens: [the Author.] 1966. Pp. xxix, 285.)

THE Greek War of Independence has been, as indeed it should have been, a primary subject for Greek historians, and the number of publications, including important monographs as well as source material, increases as we approach the sesquicentennial of that great event. George D. Dimacopoulos chose as the subject of his doctoral dissertation the government of Greece during the Greek Revolution before the coming of Count John Capodistrias, who was elected President in April 1827 and assumed his duties the following year. Prior to the Capodistrias regime, Greek governmental institutions went through a period of transition from the vestiges of Ottoman rule to independent statehood, which was characterized by administrative decentralization and constitutional procedures reflecting political idealism rather than a realistic appraisal of Greek society. The confusion that ensued had an adverse effect upon the progress of the Revolution.

The author devotes ample space to the origins and growth of Greek governmental institutions and practices, but he does not elaborate on the problems that arose in the various stages of the struggle. The chapters of his book deal with the sources; the Ottoman system in Greece; the first attempts toward setting up a Greek administration at Kalamata and at Patras in the spring of 1821; the regional administrations in the spring and summer, and in the closing months of the same year; the first provisional government emanating from the Constitution of Epidaurus (1822); the survival of regional administrations in that and the following years; the second period of provisional government after the National Convention at Astros (1823); the third period of provisional government (1824); and the period of the Administrative Committee from the time of the fall of Mesolonghi (April 1826) to the convocation of the National Assembly at Troezen (April 1827).

Three appendixes contain the names of the officers of the various administrative bodies during the period surveyed, the headquarters of the Greek government with their dates, and a list of the major legislative acts from 1822 to the beginning of 1826. The volume closes with a detailed index of persons and places and two folding maps, made in 1829 and in 1826, respectively. The bibliography appears at the beginning of the volume.

Much more than an ordinary doctoral dissertation, this book meets a longfelt need for a comprehensive study of Greek governmental machinery during the

longest and the most crucial period of the War of Independence. Based directly upon the sources, many of which have never been published, and presenting all the available material in a systematic way, it is a major contribution to the study of the Greek Revolution. More particularly, in the field of government, this book is the most complete and the best survey that has yet appeared.

University of Texas

GEORGE G. ARNAKIS

THE GREEK CIVIL WAR, 1944-1949. By *Edgar O'Ballance*. With a foreword by *C. M. Woodhouse*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1966. Pp. 237. \$7.50.)

EDGAR O'Ballance, a major in the British Army, who has written, among other works, *The Red Army* and *The Red Army of China*, has succeeded in giving a brief but lucid account of the Greek Civil War, 1944-1949. Beginning with a rather superficial examination of recent Greek history and stressing the traditions of civil and military resistance to foreign domination, O'Ballance traces the Greek Communist party's efforts to seize control of the state by following the "accepted Communist pattern of insurrection," a pattern enunciated and successfully employed by Mao Tse-tung's forces. The Red Army of China, using guerrilla tactics, triumphed over a conventional army, whereas the exact opposite took place in Greece. While the world looked anxiously toward the struggle on the Chinese mainland, very little attention was given to the smaller conflict in Greece, a study of which reveals significant weaknesses in Communist insurgent warfare.

As a military historian O'Ballance has presented a lively narrative of the activities of the Communist National Liberation Front and Army (EAM/ELAS). His analysis supports the contention shared by many that timely British intervention in the rising of December 1944 and massive American military aid in 1947-1949 contributed to the Communist defeat. The final destruction of EAM/ELAS, however, was the result of several factors: the Greek Army's policy of removing sections of the population from areas easily accessible to the insurgents, thus depriving the latter of assistance; the Greek Communist decision to support Moscow in the Yugoslav-Russian rift; and the subsequent closing of the Yugoslav frontier to Greek guerrillas. Perhaps the greatest single factor in the Communist collapse was the premature decision of Nikos Zakhariadis, the secretary-general of the Greek Communist party and commander of the army, to change from mobile guerrilla tactics to conventional warfare, thus upsetting the brilliant insurgent operations of his predecessor General Markos Vaphiadis. As a consequence, Greek Communist forces were overwhelmed by the numerically superior and better equipped Greek National Army.

The book has some limitations: it lacks footnotes, and there are notable lapses regarding Greek sources in the bibliography. The nature of the work scarcely enabled the author to touch upon the social, political, and economic elements of the Civil War. Yet O'Ballance's treatment is fair minded and informative and makes much clearer the character and maneuverings of EAM/ELAS.

Ohio University

WILLIAM P. KALDIS

THE ICON AND THE AXE: AN INTERPRETIVE HISTORY OF RUSSIAN CULTURE. By *James H. Billington*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1966. Pp. xviii, 786, xxxiii. \$15.00.)

IN this large and handsome volume, Mr. Billington attempts the first comprehensive synthesis of Russian culture since that of Paul Miliukov. His chronological scope is broader than Miliukov's, since it includes the whole modern period and even deals with the mid-1960's. His conception of culture, on the other hand, is narrower. Billington either ignores or minimizes the environment within which culture takes shape, such as economic conditions, social groups, and institutions of all kinds. He treats culture as a self-contained phenomenon, and cultural history as a process of transmitting ideas, styles, and, above all, symbols. In the preface he indicates his main aim: "to locate and trace symbols that have played a unique role for the Russian imagination." His general approach resembles that fashionable in contemporary literary criticism. Its concern is not so much with the object itself as the observer's reaction to it. The book is, consequently, highly impressionistic and personal. Interpretations other than those with which the author is in sympathy are not generally discussed; nor is any effort made to establish a balance between the inherent merit of a given phenomenon and the amount of space devoted to it.

According to Billington, three forces determined Russian cultural development: nature, Eastern Christianity, and Westernization. Although he discusses all three, he stresses Christianity. To this subject he devotes the longest, and, for the Western reader, most original parts of the book. He is especially concerned with the Great Schism, which he regards as an event of equal importance to the Revolution of 1917. He obviously rejects, though he does not discuss, Belinsky's and Herzen's view that Russians are the least religious nation in the world.

The impressionistic quality of the book is much in evidence in the distribution of the material and in the frequent use of symbols as means for characterizing whole epochs and movements. The Norman theory is dismissed in a footnote as "much-labored," and the question of Viking influence on the formation of Kievan Russian culture is thus by-passed. Mongol conquest and rule of Russia—an event that some historians consider critical for the country's whole subsequent cultural development—receives a page and a half, capped with a quotation from Oswald Spengler. Pushkin is given less space than a canvas by Ivanov.

The master symbol of the book, the icon and the ax, is said to derive from the practice of peasants in northern Russia to hang both these objects on the walls of their huts. This practice is unfamiliar to me and to every other Russian specialist I have questioned. Other symbols are more recognizable, but in actual usage they seem to serve the author more as rhetorical devices than as aids to understanding.

Despite its impressionistic quality, the book is equipped with a large scholarly apparatus that reveals a wide range of reading; the accuracy with which the reading has been done, however, leaves much to be desired. Mistranslations, misrenderings, and plain factual mistakes are so numerous as to cast doubts on the soundness of the work as a whole.

A reading of one short chapter (v-1) provides at least five instances

revealing serious unreliability in citing or summarizing sources. For example, Billington, to illustrate a new concern with social questions in the 1840's, quotes a Serbian who purportedly told a Russian visitor of the need to create "a new type of human society in which men can live simply and communicate with one another spontaneously 'without any politics.'" In fact, however, the Serbian in question was complaining about the Russian consul in Constantinople whose diplomatic activities interfered with direct Russo-Serbian contacts. "We Serbians are in such a relationship to Russia," he said, "that we should deal with each other in a straightforward manner, without any politics." Nothing was said of a "new type of human society," as Billington, by taking the Serbian's words out of context, makes it appear.

A verification of other quotations and references in the same chapter reveals many similar faulty renderings. A quotation from Belinsky is wrenched out of context, an alleged statement by Petrashevsky is misrepresented, while translations from Viazemskii and Nechaev are so garbled as to be made meaningless. In this chapter, references Number 8, 15, 30, 35, and 39 are in varying degrees incomplete or incorrect as well.

The book also has a disconcerting number of errors on some fundamental facts of Russian history. The author credits Catherine II with the emancipation of gentry from compulsory state service, a measure actually accomplished by Peter III. He misdates the foundation of the Constitutional-Democratic party (1905, not 1903), and the proclamation of the Vyborg Manifesto (1906, not 1907). On at least two occasions he refers to an "October Constitution" of 1905, apparently confusing the October Manifesto of that year with the constitution issued the following year. The confusion is compounded by his alluding to a consultative national duma, "supposedly granted by that "October Constitution."

In a field like Russian history in which the paramount need is for professionalism, such carelessness is lamentable.

Harvard University

RICHARD PIPES

ISTORIIA DIPLOMATII [History of Diplomacy]. Edited by *A. A. Gromyko et al.* Volume III, DIPLOMATIIA NA PERVOM ETAPE OBSHCHEGO KRIZISA KAPITALISTICHESKOI SISTEMY [Diplomacy in the First Stage of the General Crisis of the Capitalist System]. By *S. Iu. Vygodskii et al.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury. 1965. Pp. 831.)

For some twenty years the standard Soviet interpretation of diplomatic history was V. P. Potemkin's three-volume *Istoriia Diplomatii* (1941-45). Published against a background of Stalinist terror and wartime nationalism, the work was more or less what was expected: exceptionally chauvinistic and ethnocentric, particularly for the period between the First and Second World Wars, but still important as the official Soviet view. Then in 1959, perhaps in recognition of these shortcomings, a new edition was launched, substantially revising the Potemkin work. The first two volumes of the new edition, covering diplomatic history from ancient Egypt to 1914, were obvious improvements on the Potemkin volumes, reducing the element of national bias, expanding the scope of coverage, and reflecting the serious scholarship of several Soviet historians, most notably V. M. Khvostov.

Against this background, the third volume of the new edition is a disappointment. The year 1917 is still the sound barrier for most Soviet historians, and this volume does not breach it. The book has few surprises and many expected conclusions: the Soviet Union was always motivated by altruism, peace, or, at the very least, "the interests of all of the Soviet peoples"; "bourgeois diplomacy" was always shortsighted—and it often was—sinister, and malevolent. The authors take a perverse delight in scoring a point against the West and then backing it with a Western source or commentary.

Documentation is at best adequate and almost entirely based on published materials available in any major library. Presumably the archives of the Soviet Foreign Office were available to the dozen authors of this work; if so, it is not easily apparent to the reader. The bibliography has been omitted for "lack of space" and is promised for a later volume, as was also done with the second volume.

The uninitiated reader, relying solely on this volume, would never know that Soviet foreign policy was at all affected by one Joseph Stalin; that such "disgraced" party leaders as Zinoviev, Radek, or Bukharin were ever involved in the formation of foreign policy; or, for that matter, that Stalin or any of the others had ever existed. All he would know would be that, in these years, "the Soviet Union was the only power carrying on a peace-loving policy."

Duke University

WARREN LERNER

KHRUSHCHEV: A CAREER. By *Edward Crankshaw*. (New York: Viking Press. 1966. Pp. 311. \$7.50.)

NIKITA Khrushchev was of peasant background, had only two or three years in his village school at Kalinovka, worked in the mines, joined the Bolshevik party in 1918, became a district party secretary at Yuzovka in 1925, followed his mentor Kaganovich to Moscow in 1929, became party boss of the capital in 1934, returned to the Ukraine as Stalin's viceroy from 1938 (becoming a member of the Politburo in 1939), retreated with the army and returned with it to continue in Kiev until 1949 with a break of a few months in 1947, and then in Moscow rose to power, using his base in the central party organization and his specialty on agriculture to advance himself, becoming first secretary of the party shortly after Stalin died in 1953. We know little more than that about his first fifty-nine years, though many stories circulate about him. Lazar Pistrak, in his 1961 biography, *The Grand Tactician*, forgets the stories and sticks to painstaking exegesis of the documentary material available. Although Crankshaw acknowledges his debt to Pistrak, in this volume he does nearly the reverse, citing few documents and many stories.

Khrushchev's tenure as chief of the party is taken up on page 192. Up to that point the author filibusters by telling us what "Dr. Zhivago" was doing when Nikita was young, and what was happening in Smolensk (which we know) when Khrushchev was ruling the Ukraine (where we do not know what was happening). In this part there is little about the man, though there are some fine pages, especially those depicting the USSR at war as Crankshaw saw it. In the remaining pages of text the author is at his best, carrying the journalistic Kremlinologist's sensitivity to what must be going on behind the scenes into the

period after 1956, when, as Crankshaw rightly insists, Kremlinology is no longer enough, and speculation on the facts of Moscow-Peking relations is needed to understand the course of Soviet policy and changes in Soviet leadership. Some of this section is founded on fact; much of it is plausible; not much of it goes beyond the status of reasonable supposition by one of the best old Russia hands.

There are a few factual slips (Bandera was not killed fighting as a partisan, but was assassinated years later; the "Karachi" [Karachai] are not Kalmucks); and numerous annoying misspellings, not only in Russian transliteration. These will not seriously misinform the general reader, and he can weigh for himself the author's assessment of Khrushchev as "a visionary imprisoned by his past." Crankshaw understands the attitudes of the Soviet people, the mechanics of infighting within the party leadership, and the marks history has laid on both people and leaders—these are no mean merits in a popular work on the USSR. The scholar, for the pre-1961 period, will still need Pistrak; for the period after 1961 he must await a book yet to be written. There are twenty-six excellent photographs.

University of Washington

DONALD W. TREADGOLD

Near East

SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL DATA ON POPULATION (1570-1881). By *Theodore Papadopoulos*. [Cyprus Research Centre, Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus, Number 1.] (Nicosia: [the Centre.] 1965. Pp. xi, 248.)

THE above title is exact, though I see no reason to separate social data from history, nor, in reality, does the author. He has assembled much interesting material bearing on two facets of Cyprus' population in the period of Ottoman rule: the total figures and the ratio of Muslims to Greek Orthodox.

The heart of the work is Part II—principally a set of tables derived from three manuscript registers discovered in the archiepiscopal diocesan archives of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus. Two, of 1820 (probably) and 1825, list individuals who were subject to the Ottoman capitation tax (*jizye*) imposed on non-Muslim males. Papadopoulos omits the individual names, but tabulates total tax liables by village and parish, cumulated by district (*kaza*). He includes also figures later added in the registers of deletions from the tax rolls with reasons therefor: death, transfer out, entrance into monastic orders, "deserters" (not explained, but often a high figure), apostates to Islam. From another register, which apparently records obligatory sales of grain by villagers to two central depots, he extracts lists of amounts by village for the year 1832; these figures have added interest since the clerk noted separately grain brought by Christians and Muslims, and identified Greek, Turkish, and mixed villages. Papadopoulos adds also an alphabetical list of all villages, parishes, monasteries, and so forth that appear in the records he has edited. This is the raw material for social and economic history, sometimes also for political history, and one can only wish for more such evidence.

Part I, prefaced by a theoretical introduction and by a chapter on the decline of population between 1570 and 1600, is largely an annotated résumé of forty-one accounts—mostly by travelers and consuls but including reports of three censuses

—that touch on population totals or its sectarian mix from the end of Venetian to the start of British rule. Here Greek leanings occasionally appear. An interesting section on Ottoman policies of religious assimilation betrays some misunderstanding of total Islamic and Ottoman practice.

The study, though disjointed, is scholarly and valuable. It includes an index and three photographs of typical register pages. One hopes that it can be supplemented by further data from local archives and from the Ottoman records in Istanbul.

George Washington University

RODERIC H. DAVISON

THE EARLY CORRESPONDENCE OF RICHARD WOOD, 1831-1841.

Edited for the Royal Historical Society by *A. B. Cunningham*. [Camden Fourth Series, Volume III.] (London: the Society. 1966. Pp. v, 281.)

THIS book contains 218 letters and reports, 168 of which are between Richard Wood and Lord Ponsonby, British ambassador to Turkey. About two-thirds of the letters cover the Syrian revolt and its aftermath, 1840-1841. Document 105 is apparently misdated. The correspondence reveals British policy at the local level, primarily in Constantinople and Syria, under Ponsonby to counter the moves of Russia, France, and Mohammed Ali of Egypt to gain ascendancy at the Porte. Ponsonby worked through his dragoman, Richard Wood, who served as information agent, adviser, and liaison with both the Turkish government and Syrian leaders. As the man on the spot he rendered significant service in the British and Turkish Middle East actions in the period 1836-1841.

The *Correspondence* further shows that British policy was enlightened, humane, and in the best interest of both Turkey and Britain. Ponsonby endeavored to improve the image of the Sultan before his subordinate rulers and to give him the courage and strength to maintain order in his realm and to stand up to Russia and France. Through Wood the Kurdish rebel, Rawanduz Bey, was brought into line and the allegiances of rulers in the Tigris-Euphrates region renewed. Information supplied by Wood on Syria enabled Ponsonby to present the young Sultan as liberator of his oppressed subjects in Syria and Jerusalem, and after the expulsion of the forces of Mohammed Ali in 1841, Wood, as agent for Turkey, imposed provisional reforms in the liberated areas. Wood also supplied the proposed permanent reforms approved by the allied powers, and the failure of Palmerston to support Ponsonby permitted the Turks to discard much of the permanent reform.

The introduction connects the local scene of the letters to high-level international politics. The editor has corrected unsound views in the letters and has noted errors in historical writings on the period that are exposed by the letters. For the specialist the edited text, the glossary, and the index are adequate; for the nonspecialist they fall short.

University of Illinois

EDGAR L. ERICKSON

ENGLAND ZWISCHEN RUSSLAND UND DEUTSCHLAND: DER PERSISCHE GOLF IN DER BRITISCHEN VORKRIEGSPOLITIK, 1899-1907, DARGESTELLT NACH ENGLISCHEM ARCHIVMATERIAL. By *Jens B. Plass*. [Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Auswärtige Politik, Number 3.] (Hamburg: [the Institut.] 1966. Pp. viii, 507. DM 24.80.)

THE title of this monograph by a student of both Egmont Zechlin and Fritz Fischer accurately describes its contents. Essentially, it is the story of how the Germans took the place of the Russians as Britain's major opponents in the Middle East, or, more accurately, how their inept behavior convinced the British that they had done so.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century the chief threats to Britain's position in the Persian Gulf came from the Russians and the French. British imperialists headed by George N. Curzon, who became Viceroy of India in January 1899, had little patience with their government's restraint in countering Franco-Russian activity and did their best to circumvent Whitehall by concluding treaties with local rulers and by persuading British public opinion to support a tough Middle Eastern policy. Difficulties in China and South Africa convinced Lord Lansdowne, Foreign Secretary since October 1900, of the need to reduce tensions with the other Great Powers and the desirability of withdrawing from untenable or unprofitable positions overseas, including British footholds in the Persian Gulf. This policy provoked a bitter conflict with the imperialists that lasted until Curzon's resignation in August 1905 and the formation of a Liberal government in December of that year.

Sir Edward Grey, Lansdowne's successor, also wanted to withdraw from commitments in the Persian Gulf, but he was confronted almost immediately with the problem of German penetration in that area and a revival of the activity of the Middle Eastern lobby. British statesmen came to believe that "masterminds" in Berlin were conducting a highly organized campaign that would have to be opposed if Britain were to salvage anything of its power and influence east of Suez. Before 1914 the British had come to realize that the German menace was not so great as they had feared, and the major differences between the two powers were settled by treaty; meanwhile, the German push into the Middle East had contributed significantly to the development of anti-German feeling in Britain.

Dr. Plass's study adds a wealth of detail to this well-known story, most of it from British sources. Especially interesting is his description of how agents on the spot conducted policies independent of and contrary to those of their governments. For regional specialists his book will be of considerable value, but for all students of diplomatic history it contributes important information about the complicated problems of the Persian Gulf and how these affected British policy.

Michigan State University

NORMAN RICH

THE SYRIAN SOCIAL NATIONALIST PARTY: AN IDEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS. By *Labib Zuwiyya Yamaḳ*. [Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, Number 14.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1966. Pp. vi, 177. \$3.50.)

ANTUN Sa'adih, founder of the Syrian Social Nationalist party, which agitated Syria and Lebanon in the 1940's and 1950's, was surely one of the most unusual figures in twentieth-century Arab nationalism, for he set forth objectives and a program completely at variance with the psychology, beliefs, and desires of the very people whom he wished to lead. Sa'adih's doctrines were explicitly anti-Islamic, if not antireligious, anti-Arab, and antidemocratic—in an area with a predominantly Muslim population strongly in favor of Arab unity and traditionally inclined to individual freedom! It is easy to see why the totalitarian Syrian Social Nationalist party, despite powerful internal organization and militancy, would fail. It is not so easy to understand why Sa'adih and those who joined the party thought they could succeed in achieving their goal of a greater Syria (with its geographical borders ranging from Cyprus in the west to Iran in the east and from the Taurus Mountains in the north to the Suez Canal in the south) against the numerous entrenched economic, political, and religious interests in the area and the certain hostility of the masses. Although Yamaḳ tells us little about Sa'adih's thinking on the subject or on the sources of his ideas, he amply clarifies the ideas themselves in three searching chapters. These chapters are preceded by a lucid account of the historical, social, and religious background against which Sa'adih operated and an outline of the party's growth from its establishment in 1932 to its decline and possible disintegration in 1964.

The monograph, well written, based largely on primary sources, and objective, will be of interest to students of Arab history in particular and of modern nationalism in general.

Middle East Institute

SIDNEY GLAZER

Africa

TÖLEDÖTH HAY-YEHÜDİM BE-AFRIKAH HAŞ-ŞEFÖNITH [A History of the Jews of North Africa from Antiquity to Our Times]. By *Ḥayyim Ze'eb Hirschberg*. In two volumes. (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute. 1965. Pp. xxxii, 397; 443.)

THE waves of immigration that had already brought to Israel, in earlier decades, unknown Oriental Jewish groups from Kurdistan, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, India, Yemen, and North Africa have given a new impetus to a thorough scholarly investigation. In Israel and abroad scholars have recently turned their attention to these various Jewish groups and made valuable contributions to their history, language, and literature.

In the forefront of these pioneers of Oriental Jewish scholarship stands H. Z. Hirschberg, who brings to his task all the necessary scholarly equipment: a knowledge of all the manifold and multilingual sources and a direct acquaint-

ance with the scene of events through repeated visits to the area. Realizing that the history of the Jews of the Maghrib has thus far remained an unexplored field of Jewish historical research he has undertaken in this work to show the continuous association of the Maghrib with Jewish history by tracing it from the earliest Phoenician-Punic times (third century B.C.) through the Roman period and Arab domination until political independence was attained by these countries.

This is indeed the first well-documented attempt to unfold the history of the Jewish communities in the lands of North Africa, and, in dealing with the social, economic, cultural, and literary aspects of this association, Hirschberg offers a comprehensive survey that encompasses the Jewish settlements in Morocco, Tunis, Algiers, Tripoli, and their respective contacts with Palestine and other centers of the Jewish Diaspora, in Egypt, Babylonia, and Europe.

Vivid presentation, lively style, and clear organization of the material, accompanied by a great number of maps, sketches, photographs, ample footnotes at the end of each volume, and, above all, by a bibliography comprising about thirty pages, make his work a first-rate scholarly contribution of inestimable value.

It is hoped that so important a work will soon be translated into either French or English and will inspire other scholars to continue the path Hirschberg has so ably blazed.

University of California, Berkeley

WALTER J. FISCHER

THE PRINCIPLES OF NATIVE ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA: SELECTED DOCUMENTS, 1900-1947. Edited and introduced by *A. H. M. Kirk-Greene*. Foreword by *Margery Perham*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 248. \$5.60.)

NIGERIA AND GHANA. By *John E. Flint*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1966. Pp. viii, 176. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

MR. Kirk-Greene, a former district officer in northern Nigeria, has been, since Nigeria's independence, a teacher of history and Hausa both in the United States and Nigeria. He has selected ten documents from within the forty years of British colonial rule, which are basic to an understanding of the policy of indirect rule first established and exercised in northern Nigeria and subsequently extended elsewhere. There can be little doubt that this type of material provides better grounds for the reinterpretation of history than more voluminous secondary sources. It was, however, typical of British officialdom (Lugard was among the exceptions) to avoid issuing neat codes or guidelines for the use of junior officials. The editor had to search hard to provide copy for these well-chosen documents, many of which are virtually unavailable, even in London. The documents are reproduced with almost no editorial changes. An excellent prefatory bibliographical essay places the authors and the documents into perspective and permits the student to continue his studies by following the leads provided by 139 footnotes.

Mr. Flint, also author of *Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria*, would no doubt have preferred to write a history of Nigeria, rather than one for both Nigeria and Ghana. This volume is not a comparative study of the two countries, but rather a history of both their separate and common political developments.

This political picture is presented within an extensive historical survey that goes back to prehistoric times, but focuses on the impact of outside forces from across the Sahara and from the coast. This volume is a useful text for college students—a well-written synthesis that goes far toward presenting the history of Africa from an African point of view. The introductory chapter concludes with the events of early 1966. This attempt to bring the reader up to date had to omit, ironically, the Ghanaian *coup* and Nigerian counter-*coup*. It would have been desirable to include a greater amount of geographical and anthropological information, even at the expense of some of the details about early empires, in order to give the readers an understanding of village and everyday life, and not merely of the public activities of their rulers. This book gets away from exclusive colonial history and becomes a political history of the two countries. The list of suggested readings is well chosen, but scanty.

Northwestern University

HANS E. PANOFSKY

NIGERIA: THE TRIBES, THE NATION, OR THE RACE—THE POLITICS OF INDEPENDENCE. By *Frederick A. O. Schwarz, Jr.* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1965. Pp. xiii, 316. \$10.00.)

A PREFACE TO MODERN NIGERIA: THE "SIERRA LEONIANS" IN YORUBA, 1830-1890. By *Jean Herskovits Kopytoff.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1965. Pp. x, 402. \$8.95.)

EVENTS in Nigeria over the past year make Mr. Schwarz's analysis of the Nigerian constitutional and political system of crucial importance for any understanding of the breakup of the Nigerian Federation. In the course of his work the author traces the background of the central factors that were the operative forces behind the crisis that led to the fall of the civilian government and the untimely death of some of the major political figures of the country.

Nigeria's political base was essentially tribal in nature. In part, the growth of regionally centered political parties can be attributed to the administrative divisions of the colonial regime. The major tribal groups, however, also demanded regional autonomy before independence for the protection of their own cultural and religious interests. Superficially, tribalism appears to be a major cause of Nigeria's political instability on the national level. Tribalism is the latent manifestation of a much deeper crisis of modernization. Through tribal affiliation economic interest groups express the competitive struggle for the fruits of industrialization and their expectations of a better life from economic development. As Schwarz correctly emphasizes, the involvement of the mass in political activity made independence possible, but at the same time it brought to the fore tribal affiliations as a means of gaining political power.

Discussion of the constitutional structure of federal Nigeria is particularly illuminating in light of the search for a new formula for the division of power being carried on by the present military leaders. Schwarz points out that the balance of power achieved under the former constitution depended on regionalism and ethnic opposition, although it gave the federal government openings for an increase in central power as economic progress was achieved. This constitution

failed, though it was probably the best that could have been devised in the light of the requirements for the sharing of powers. There seemed to be little left but to resort to a loose confederation with virtually no important powers at the center. However regrettable such a structure might be from the viewpoint of Nigerian national development, perhaps a new beginning on this foundation may ultimately lead to a much more solid structure of centralized power if the regional groupings recognize that a greater degree of central power is necessary if advancement is to be achieved.

Dr. Jean Kopytoff's study deals with an exceptionally interesting facet of nineteenth-century Nigerian history: the role of the Sierra Leonians and the "Brazilians" who returned to the land of their forefathers as freed slaves. The Saro and Amaro, as the two groups were called, played a vital part in the politics of British expansion into the hinterland of Nigeria from Lagos. Because of their education and greater exposure to European ways, they became the middlemen between the British administration and the traditional authorities of Egbaland. As Yorubas they were able to represent the interests of the interior communities, particularly Abeokuta, in Lagos. In a real sense, too, their background created for them the same dilemma faced by the modernizing forces in contemporary Nigeria.

As converts to Christianity, the Saro were suspected because of their close connection to the missionary movement and aroused the distrust of the African community with which they were seeking to reassimilate. Some forsook the benefits of their education and became full members of an African community; others adopted the European way of life and in so doing became the spokesmen by the end of the century for the first nationalist reactions in Nigeria. When the administration and the church both denied them further advancement toward self-government, they became embittered and proud African nationalists, seeking a return to traditional culture and government through the organization of the Egba United Board of Management.

Kopytoff's work adds substantially to our knowledge of this formative period in Nigerian history; both her scholarship and skill in presentation are admirable.

Columbia University

L. GRAY COWAN

BRAZZA EXPLORATEUR: L'OGOOUE, 1875-1879. By *Henri Brunschwig*, with the collaboration of *Jean Glénisson et al.* [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Afrique équatoriale française, Second Series, Number 1.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1966. Pp. 215. 36 fr.)

UNDER the editorship of Henri Brunschwig the faculty of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne* are undertaking the publication of the most important archival documents on Brazza and the founding of the French Congo. This first volume deals with the young Italian-born aristocrat's explorations in the Ogooué and Congo River Basins from 1875 to 1878. The complete text of the recently discovered report that Brazza made to the Naval Ministry in August 1879, after his return to Paris, forms more than half of the book. The remarkable precision of his geographical observations, together with the vivid descriptions of the diffi-

culties he surmounted in completing his assignment, merits its full reproduction. Also included is Brazza's correspondence with officials of the Naval Ministry and of the Gabon administration. The explanatory footnotes to the text, which contain extensive bibliographies, are extremely helpful; the notes composed by André Raponda-Walker and Roger Sillans, both experts with long experience in French Equatorial Africa, are excellent.

Less satisfactory is Brunschwig's detailed yet impressionistic nine-page introduction. In stating that "when Brazza regained Bordeaux on January 5, 1879, people realized that he had effectively found a pathway for penetrating toward central Africa," he misleads the reader as to the significance of Brazza's first expedition. In exploring the Ogooué from Lambaréné to its sources, and then crossing overland to the Alima tributary of the Congo, Brazza learned that the Ogooué River was enclosed in a secondary basin of the Atlantic watershed and did not lead to the heart of Africa. An odd error is the title "Brazza Explorer, 1874-1882," for an introduction that covers only the period 1874-1879. The book has a good index and a foldout map with which one can, despite some difficulties, trace Brazza's itinerary. On the whole, the volume is a useful tool for the student of equatorial African history.

Marquette University

DAVID E. GARDINIER

TRADE AND CONFLICT IN ANGOLA: THE MBUNDU AND THEIR
NEIGHBOURS UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE PORTUGUESE
1483-1790. By *David Birmingham*. [Oxford Studies in African Affairs.] (New
York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 178. \$5.60.)

THE subtitle might well have been given the prior position rather than being subordinated to a title that specified Angola. Perhaps the author and his publishers were afraid that many potential buyers and librarians would not know who, what, or where the Mbunda were and are.

Regardless of the book's title, the author is to be congratulated for selecting an African state as the focus on his work. This could well be taken as a model for other studies in African history. Other approaches have their value, but this one needs to be more cultivated than it has been. The established practice of writing a history of an existing African country from precolonial times to the present may seem to fit the needs of African schools, but often violates reality as it was perceived by Africans in the earlier period by imposing on the whole work the geographical definition of relevancy of the later period; this often results in some important things being excluded and some minor things being high-lighted.

Actually *Mbundu and Their Neighbours* accounts for more than the present country of Angola. The scope of this work is in several respects comparable to Vansina's *Kingdoms of the Savanna* (1966). While at first glance Vansina seems to survey a larger number of African states, all of those which are extensively discussed are "neighbors of the Mbudu" so it is more a difference of emphasis than of geographical scope. In time span Birmingham is more restricted, stopping at 1790, while Vansina comes up to 1900. Both have utilized the same extensive published sources, but whereas Vansina's forte has been collecting some previously unrecorded traditions in the field, Birmingham has gone through the

materials in the archives in Portugal and Angola. The two books are best considered together.

In addition to the cited work of C. R. Boxer on Brazil and Angola, Honório Rodrigues' *Brazil and Africa* (1965), which makes use of Brazilian archives not consulted by the author, could also be advantageously juxtaposed to this book for the viewpoint differs from Boxer's, but the latter's latest book, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800* (1965), while it gives little space to Angola, supplies background to the Dutch intervention.

With this book the author achieves the stature of a historian of the first rank in his chosen field.

Boston University

DANIEL F. McCALL

PORTUGAL AND AFRICA, 1815-1910: A STUDY IN UNECONOMIC IMPERIALISM. By R. J. Hammond. [Food Research Institute, Stanford University. Studies in Tropical Development.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 384. \$8.50.)

PROFESSOR Hammond, best-known for an interest in economic history, now has undertaken to discuss social and diplomatic affairs in a book distinguished by elegance of style, clarity of organization, and worldliness of viewpoint. His wit and urbanity are evident throughout, his footnotes occasionally are delightful, and the result is perhaps the best thing yet done on the subject. In his preface Hammond indicates that he is indebted to James Duffy, who first traversed much of this ground, yet he does not seek to moralize in Duffy's fashion. This seems proper, but he is unsuccessful. No one can mistake Hammond's distaste for the diplomacy conducted by Palmerston and Salisbury. It would be unfair, however, to describe him as still another British apologist for Portuguese history, for he explains British arrogance and Portuguese pomposity in equally severe phrases. It appears singularly just for a British scholar to take up this matter since, as Hammond shows, Britain has had so much to do with the continued Portuguese presence in Africa. This fact explains why the greatest part of his documentation is from British sources and especially the Foreign Office Confidential Prints. Portuguese archives being what they are, and the "New State" being what it is, this no doubt is necessary, though it gives the book a slightly old-fashioned air, for no account is taken of African responses to the events he describes. On the other hand, there is no reason to castigate Hammond for failing to do what he never intended. Still, it would have added a dimension to this important work.

Hammond argues that Portugal is in Africa today because of events late in the last century, when for the first time that small state colonized regions it had claimed for hundreds of years, but for lack of resources had not developed. His most interesting passages concern Antonio Ennes, royal commissioner dispatched to Mozambique by a Portuguese government enraged and apprehensive about the final intentions of Rhodes and the British Foreign Office. From his analysis it seems clear that measures undertaken in this period, the last of monarchical pretension, rather than any mythical activities of Da Gama and De Albuquerque, have provided President Salazar with the basis for an unfashionably durable empire in the present century. The most appropriate ending for this review is supplied in the author's conclusion. Speaking of the great historian-critic of

Portugal overseas, Oliveira Martins, whose gloomiest forecasts of deserved collapse failed to come true, Hammond writes: "Like many another reformer, he underrated both the resilience of human societies in face of misgovernment and the ability of governments to survive their own mistakes: odd errors for a historian of Portugal to fall into."

Michigan State University

J. R. HOOKER

SOUTH AFRICA: A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY. By *Alex Hepple*. [Praeger Library of African Affairs.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1966. Pp. x, 282. \$7.50.)

To have an author on South Africa maintain that its basic problems are economic, not racial, is refreshing. That the two are often part of the same coin does not detract from the value of Mr. Hepple's view, which he long publicized as a Labor party M.P. in the South African Parliament and as editor of *Forward*, formerly an important source of information on labor relations in Africa's only industrialized country.

Despite his distinctive experience and point of view, however, Hepple's story and the way he tells it do not differ substantially from other historical accounts. Brief encyclopedia-type sections on people and the economy are followed by short chapters enumerating the events that span the period from discovery and exploration to the establishment of modern South Africa's characteristic features and institutions. The largely descriptive section on government that follows includes chapters on the position of the Africans, Coloreds, and Asians that bring out the ever-increasing restrictions on even the limited political opportunities these groups have once possessed.

The most distinctive part of the book is the last section on labor. Here again there is more description than analysis and evaluation, but the desired theme of the book emerges with considerable force. Decisive for South African political life was the decision of white labor in the early twenties to fight for its own rights, not those of labor as a whole, which was predominantly nonwhite. Hardly less influential was the success of militant Afrikanerdom in winning the support of white labor which has been increasingly drawn from the Afrikaans-speaking group. Thus race, color, and economic privilege combine to support laws that prevent the African proletariat and emerging bourgeoisie from gaining the political and economic standing they would receive in an open society.

Northwestern University

GWENDOLEN M. CARTER

Asia and the East

THE McMAHON LINE: A STUDY IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA, CHINA AND TIBET, 1904 TO 1914. Volume I, MORLEY, MINTO AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN TIBET; Volume II, HARDINGE, McMAHON AND THE SIMLA CONFERENCE. By *Alastair Lamb*. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 267, xx; vii, 271-656, xx. \$17.50 the set.)

THESE almost seven hundred pages trace in great, and indeed excessive, detail the

course of Imperial Britain's Tibetan policy from the aftermath of the Young-husband expedition in 1904 to the Tibetan acceptance of the McMahon Line as a frontier with India in March 1914.

Lamb, now a recognized authority on the diplomatic history of Central Asia, makes clear the general outlines and determining factors in what might otherwise be a confusing chronicle. The Lhasa convention, imposed on Tibet by Colonel Younghusband in September 1904, provided the means whereby Tibet could become a British protectorate. The Liberal government, which assumed office in England in December 1905, less anti-Russian and less expansionist than its Conservative predecessor, imposed a more conciliatory Tibetan policy on the government of India. The Anglo-Russian convention of August 1907, entered into by the home government on grounds of "general" (that is, anti-German) policy, made it all the more desirable not to offend the Russians. In consequence the Chumbi Valley, occupied by the British ostensibly to secure Tibetan payment "for the expense incurred in the despatch of armed troops to Lhasa," was evacuated in 1908.

The exigencies of this same undeclared alliance inhibited the government of India, much to its disgust, both in the period of a "Chinese Forward Policy" in Tibet in the wake of Russian Far Eastern defeat—an advance that reached its culmination in the Assam Himalayan crisis of 1910-1912—and in the subsequent weakening of Chinese power over its borderlands as an immediate result of the Chinese Revolution of 1911-1912. The government of India nonetheless succeeded in taking advantage of this internal upheaval to impose its own understanding of Indian-Chinese-Tibetan relations in the Simla convention (immediately repudiated by the Chinese government), "initialled" in April 1914, and to gain acceptance of a frontier line involving the cession of Tibetan territory. "There can be little doubt . . . that by acquiring Tawang [monastery] the Indian Government had acted in total disregard of the 1907 Anglo-Russian Convention. It is unlikely that Grey and Crewe quite understood what was happening in this part of the Assam Himalayas. . . . No minutes of Anglo-Tibetan discussion over the McMahon Line in the first three months of 1914 are, it seems, preserved in the archives of the India Office and the Foreign Office; and there are grounds for supposing that such minutes were never, in fact, sent to London."

Lamb's account is primarily based on these two archives, supplemented by a number of private papers. There are a number of acute observations of men and events, as well as some revealing quotations. The work is certainly a pioneer effort in largely unexplored territory. On the whole, however, the reader will find this long journey rather unexciting. There are a substantial bibliography, numerous documentary and other appendixes, and twenty-two maps.

New York University

PAUL GUINN

THE FUNCTION OF "CHINA" IN MARX, LENIN, AND MAO. By Donald M. Lowe. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 200. \$5.00.)

As the title implies, this book undertakes to analyze the evolution of the views concerning China held by Marx and his heirs. It is clear that the author has con-

ducted thorough, scholarly research into the materials pertaining to Marxist thought in Western Europe, Russia, and China. The results of the research are well written and succinctly expressed.

The approach used in this book is somewhat novel. Naturally, the author has had a certain amount of trouble in delimiting his approach to these particular segments of Marxist thought. It was doubtless difficult to decide which aspects of the subject should be thoroughly explored and how they should be related to one another. Each of the three men cited in the title is carefully related to the situation, primarily the ideological ferment, in his particular time and place. It proved much more complex here, however, to relate the three men to each other. After all, the three individuals and their situations were very different, yet they subscribe to the same articles of faith.

The author has amply developed the first two portions of the subject implied by his title. "China" in Marx was bound to be a limited topic, not hard to circumscribe, and surely circumscribed here. "China" in Lenin involves more substantial material, but before this subject is even reached the writer has paused to explore the thoughts on China, or on Asia, entertained by many other Russians, both Marxists and non-Marxists. Accordingly, we find that out of two hundred pages in this volume, only fifty-seven could be given to the section on Mao and his "China."

In this approach there seems to be a built-in problem: is it really "China" in Marx, Lenin, and Mao, or are we actually exploring here "socialist thought in Western Europe, Russia, and China, with emphasis on relations among nations and on how to apply socialism in one's own country"?

The section on Mao suffers, probably through no fault of the author, from the quality of Mao's statements, often notably turgid and clumsy. Occasionally, one even asks himself whether the translator did Mao some disservice. Did Mao really use the word "objective" to mean the opposing side in his struggles and use "subjective" to mean his own side? Note is taken of this strange phrasing in the text, but it is still a bit uncertain whether the problem arose from Mao's awkward choice of words or from the translator's choice.

In most matters of mechanics and of style the book is well done. The approach here is refreshing and thought provoking, making for a worth-while book.

Colorado College

FRANK H. TUCKER

THE TAIPIING REBELLION: HISTORY AND DOCUMENTS. In three volumes. Volume I, HISTORY. By *Franz Michael*. In collaboration with *Chung-li Chang*. [University of Washington Publications on Asia. Sponsored by the Far Eastern and Russian Institute.] (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 244. \$7.50.)

THE Taiping rebellion (1850-1864) was as great a social upheaval as any in world history. Yet until now there has been no effort at a documented, systematic, and comprehensive assessment in any language other than Chinese. Invasion, war, civil war, and the war of ideas have slowed the development of modern Chinese historical scholarship. Although the outsider can and must learn much from Chinese historians, as Michael acknowledges in his preface, he cannot lean on their work to the same degree historians in other fields use existing monographs

when they write general histories. This volume, which represents ten years' work by the staff of the Modern Chinese History Project at the University of Washington, is a landmark. The lucid chapter on the setting of the rebellion makes the book comprehensible to historians who know little about China, but are interested in the comparative study of revolution.

The account of the origin and spread of the revolution is clear and well written, but there will be considerable controversy over Michael's assessment of the characters of the two chief leaders, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan and Yang Hsiu-ch'ing. They are the reverse of those of the leading Chinese historian of the Taiping movement, Jen Yu-wen. Part III, on the establishment of the Taiping capital at Nanking, will probably be of greatest interest to most readers. The account of the actual administration of the revolutionary government often lacks vital detail, but, to the best of my knowledge, this information simply does not exist.

Some scholars believe that the Taiping decision to settle in Nanking was a major cause of the eventual failure of the movement. They argue that if the Taiping armies had maintained their momentum, they could have swept north to Peking and established a new dynasty in control of all China. Michael disagrees: if the Taipings could not govern part of China effectively from Nanking, how could they have controlled the whole empire from Peking? He suggests that if the Taipings had made the effort, they would have collapsed sooner. In such circumstances, a new dynasty might have been founded, more linked to Chinese tradition than the iconoclastic Taipings and better able to deal with China's mounting internal and international problems than the declining Manchus. Michael's first proposition seems to me sound; the second, as he remarks, is speculative.

Michael explains the failure of the rebellion partially by the skill of the imperial political and military counterattack, which he summarizes concisely. He attributes the increasingly hostile attitude of the Western Powers to the Taipings not only to the 1860 settlement between China and the West but to an increasing conviction that the Taiping regime could never restore peace and stability to China.

The author considers the rebellion as the beginning of modern Chinese history because it ended, for all practical purposes, the two-thousand-year-old imperial order. He attaches little importance to later periods of revival and states that no T'ung-chih restoration occurred. Other historians consider these periods of revival important and argue that the existence of the imperial order, however weakened, remained pivotal to the Chinese polity until the Manchu abdication of 1912.

In spite of the controversies and lore that have developed, Michael finds no direct forward connection from the Taiping to later Chinese political movements. He sees the rebellion rather as an isolated episode, the study of which should long since have modified widely held views of Chinese society. The revolutionary potential was there, but the Taipings failed to cultivate a peasant following.

This book is of major importance, and it will probably open a debate on many issues that go beyond the Taiping movement itself. It would be useless at this point to list a number of errors of detail. A pioneer work of this type cannot be free of error; nor can the major issues posed be fully discussed until the supporting documentation is published.

PARTY POLITICS IN REPUBLICAN CHINA: THE KUOMINTANG, 1912-1924. By *George T. Yu*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 203. \$6.00.)

THIS book should never have been published; it has merit and interest, but it neither accomplishes what the author set out to do nor provides what the reader deserves to know. Professor George T. Yu has obviously made a careful study of the Chinese documents, some of them hard to find and rarely used, on this period of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's political career. Here and there he produces interesting and significant facts that add to the understanding of the development of the series of Chinese political parties that culminated in the Kuomintang. He has also cited and occasionally made use of a respectable number of Western secondary works dealing with China's party politics of the republican period. His failure, then, lies in not bringing his considerable resources and acumen to bear on the development of Sun's political thinking or on the evolution of Chinese political bodies from secret societies, through naïve revolutionary cabals, impractical student fraternities, and personality cults, to the concept of a mass-based, ideologically activated, totalitarian party. The story is inherent in the materials available to Yu through his enviable access to party files, personal papers of participants, and interviews with surviving political leaders, but this story does not come out in his book.

One or two examples of themes that could have been developed may serve to illustrate the point. Yu's material makes clear that many more of the elements ultimately incorporated in the ideology of *San Min Chu I* were expounded by Sun before 1924 than has usually been assumed. It is clear, nevertheless, as Yu says, that a drastic ideological and organizational change took place in 1924. What factors, both substantial and subtle, brought about this change? How much is attributable to Sun and how much to Communist influence exerted by Mikhail Borodin?

One of the most interesting contributions in the latter part of the book is the clear delineation of the three contacts Sun made with the Comintern prior to the well-known Sun-Joffe agreement and pronouncement of 1923. These are informative, and, if developed and explained, could illuminate this turning point in Kuomintang history. Other ideas deserve critical analysis and comment. The influence of Borodin on Sun and the whole matter of their relationship are barely explored; they deserve attention that only Chinese scholars, with a combination of traditional and modern techniques of analysis and interpretation, can be expected to give.

Yu has opened up a promising area of political analysis and party organization, which it is hoped he will later develop as it deserves. If he does not accept this challenge, others, possibly less qualified, undoubtedly will.

University of Colorado

EARL SWISHER

AMERICAN MISSIONARIES IN CHINA: PAPERS FROM HARVARD SEMINARS. Edited and with an introduction by *Kwang-Ching Liu*. [Harvard East Asian Monographs, Number 21.] (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1966. Pp. 310. \$4.00.)

THESE seminar papers, originally published in the East Asian Research Center's

Papers on China series, deal with the American Protestant missionary involvement in modern China. The papers explore three broad themes: the missionary's contribution in the fields of education, medicine, and famine relief; his efforts to adjust to emergent Chinese nationalism; and his reactions to the problems of rural China in the 1920's and 1930's.

The gem of the collection is Fox Butterfield's study of the shift in missionary attitudes toward the Chinese Communists between 1936 and 1939, as missionaries in the rural north found themselves increasingly allied with the Communists in a common struggle against rural poverty and Japanese aggression. Other contributions that have weathered the passage of time well are Peter Duus's account of the career and approach of W. A. P. Martin and Irwin T. Hyatt's analysis of the late nineteenth-century trend toward professionalization in certain branches of missionary work.

As a subject for historical inquiry, the American missionary movement in China can be approached from many different avenues. The papers in this volume are all concerned with the actions and attitudes of Americans in China, their responses to the Chinese scene, their efforts to do things to and for the Chinese people. Little use is made of Chinese sources; five of the seven papers make extensive use of American missionary archives. The result is a valuable contribution to the history of Christian missions. But the contribution to American history or modern Chinese history is only peripheral. On the American side: Why, from an early date, did China loom so large in the American imagination? What part did the missionaries play in shaping American opinion on China or US-China policy? On the Asian side: What was the actual influence of the missionary movement on modern Chinese history? How do we account for the contrasting responses to Protestant Christianity in modern China, Meiji Japan, and Japanese-occupied Korea? And what insights into the modern histories of the three countries are offered by these different responses? It is to be hoped that future scholars, in addition to pursuing the approach pioneered in the present book, will give greater attention than they have so far to such questions.

Wellesley College

PAUL A. COHEN

STUDENT NATIONALISM IN CHINA, 1927-1937. By *John Israel*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. 1966. Pp. ix, 253. \$7.50.)

JOHN Israel's study is welcome. Using extensive Chinese sources, he provides information about a period in recent Chinese history that has received little scholarly attention. His work contributes to an understanding of the increasing alienation between students and the Kuomintang and the growing attraction of the Chinese Communist party for nationalistic youth.

Between 1927 and 1937, says Israel, the quality of Kuomintang-student relations changed significantly. Youth, who, in 1926-1927, had hailed the party as the instrument of revolutionary nationalism, were disillusioned first over the Kuomintang's failure to foster revolutionary change and then over its failure to defend the Chinese nation in 1931. Students condemned Nanking's foreign policy in 1931, and even the regime itself in 1935-1936, but had to call on the govern-

ment for leadership in resisting Japan. The Kuomintang encouraged and tried to use student nationalism, but, with its policy of compromise, it could not fulfill nationalistic demands. The Communist party, however, presented students with an attractive alternative in 1936: resistance to Japan under a united front. After a spontaneous display of outraged nationalism on December 9, 1935, Left-wing leaders came to dominate student associations by furnishing organizational experience and ideological guidance. It was significant that the movement of December 9 led directly toward a united front policy and a sense of rapport between student activists and the Communists. The Communist party learned the importance of the urban student demonstration as a technique of political pressure and used this technique in its drive for power after 1945.

Good as Israel's book is, it has flaws. There is unnecessary use of pejorative terms, and, furthermore, one gets the impression that the work has been ruthlessly and not always judiciously pruned. At this stage of research on Kuomintang China, considerable factual information seems desirable if a work is to attain maximum usefulness. In 194 pages of text Israel does not always provide such information. Groups and organizations suddenly appear with little identification. There is little room for study of student nationalism except as it found expression in the movements of 1931 and 1935. More information on alternative avenues for nationalistic expression during the interlude of 1932-1935 would have provided a better foundation for the concluding remarks about student-party relations as a conflict of generations.

The book's merits far outweigh its weaknesses, however. It is an important work on Nanking's decade of rule and the origins of Communist power.

Douglass College

JESSIE G. LUTZ

YOSHITSUNE: A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY JAPANESE CHRONICLE.

Translated and with an introduction by *Helen Craig McCullough*. [UNESCO Collection of Representative Works, Japanese Series.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 367. \$6.50.)

Yoshitsune is a self-styled "chronicle" of an anonymous fifteenth-century Japanese author. The work was written three centuries after the death of its hero, Minamoto Yoshitsune, who was already something of a legend in his own time; the imaginary and subjective elements in the work are so large and conspicuous as to preclude it as a chronicle or a history. There is, moreover, an obvious attempt at literary style, though it is not as successful in this regard as the *gun'ki monogatari* (military romances) which were written to be sung or chanted. There is also an unevenness of emphasis, the author preferring to dwell on the more dramatic and emotional episodes in his hero's life.

This is not to say, however, that the present work, consisting of a complete English translation, a lengthy introduction, and a three-part appendix, has no value to the Japanologist or the historian. Its value, if indirect, lies in the lessons the work provides for the professional historian. To begin with it shows how subjective so-called historical writing can be, and how impossible a task it is for the historian, in dealing with heroes and, for that matter, villains, to separate fact from fancy. It also adopts the character and mood of the age in which it was

written. Fifteenth-century Japan was a decadent age, and the work reflects the nostalgia of fifteenth-century Japan for the political order and the sense of morality of twelfth-century Japan, which Yoshitsune had helped to establish. Needless to say, the work leaves no doubt that hero worship and sympathy for the underdog are universal human traits.

The appendix, which includes annotations of persons and places mentioned in the text, is a most useful reference to the student of Japanese medieval history and literature.

University of Hawaii

MINORU SHINODA

MODERN JAPANESE LEADERSHIP: TRANSITION AND CHANGE.

Edited by *Bernard S. Silberman* and *H. D. Harootunian*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1966. Pp. 433. \$7.50.)

THIS solid volume consists of revised versions of papers presented at a conference on "nineteenth-century Japanese elites." Each of the essays is a meaty study in itself, and, for a miscellany of this sort, they hold together remarkably well, helped by an excellent framework provided by the two editors in an introduction and conclusion. Some of the contributions focus quite clearly on the main theme of the book: the great change in direction and leadership in Japan centering around the Restoration of 1868. Others seem more peripheral to it, but are still valuable in themselves.

Harootunian's very interesting essay on "Social Values and Leadership in Late Tokugawa Thought" shows how the traditional ethic already embraced the concept that the Confucian ideal of "benevolent government" was to be implemented through rule by "men of merit," whose talents in turn were a reflection of their "practical learning" regarding actual, current problems. Ardath W. Burks's account of the activities and thought of Ikeda Chōhatsu (1837-1879), a Bakufu official, Eugene Soviak's essay on Baba Tatsui (1850-1888), a leader in liberal thought, and Irwin Scheiner's study of Christian samurai leaders, all illustrate how such attitudes led men to focus their attention on various aspects of "practical learning" derived from the West. James A. Crowley's study of the "Formation of the Meiji Military Establishment," while concerned more with organization and concepts than leaders, does show how military leadership became thoroughly "professional."

Two key essays in the volume are Sidney DeVere Brown's analysis of sixteen of the twenty-eight top bureaucrats in the important Home Ministry between 1873 and 1878 and Silberman's statistical study of 253 of the top ranking civil servants of the period 1868-1873 and their subsequent domination of the higher posts in government (126 out of 152) between 1875 and 1900. Brown's study brings out the presence of an innovator group, working primarily in economic development, and a traditionalist group, concentrating on internal security. Silberman's essay shows the growing predominance of men of lower samurai origin and of those identified with nontraditional educational backgrounds and nontraditional types of political activity. Joyce Lebra's statistical study of the early Kaishintō leadership shows, by contrast, a rising percentage of leaders of commoner background, but the same domination by men with nontraditional educations.

Some of the essays have little bearing on the change in national leadership in the nineteenth century. They are, nonetheless, interesting. Harumi Befu's study of the role of the village headman in Tokugawa society and John B. Cornell's description of the changing nature of outcaste leadership bear on minor aspects of the leadership problem. Marlene Mayo has contributed a detailed discussion of the background of the Iwakura Mission. Alfred B. Clubok has made a statistical study of the differences in recent years between members of the conservative and Socialist parties in three "counties" in Okayama prefecture. The volume thus is a pudding full of fine plums of specific research, served with a piquant sauce of theories concerning the nineteenth-century change in Japanese leadership.

Harvard University

EDWIN O. REISCHAUER

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN PREWAR JAPAN. By George Oakley Totten III. [Studies on Japan's Social Democratic Parties, Volume I.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 455. \$12.50.)

THREE charts in the first appendix of Professor George Totten's definitive study graphically illustrate the major problem faced by the author. In chronological lists they attempt to show leaders, cliques, and factions of social democratic parties between 1922 and 1940. They also represent "the usual leftist feature of factionalism" which "overlays the already divisive tendencies in Japanese society to make the Japanese movement unique in its degree of factional strife."

From the maze of factions Totten attempts to sort out and define social democracy in the prewar Japanese context. The author succeeds, perhaps as a Japanese scholar would: he traces with almost agonizing detail the twistings and turnings of the movement. To accomplish this formidable task in four hundred pages he must assume some familiarity with the history of modern Japan on the part of his readers. Thus, the book is mainly for specialists. It handles social democracy as significant in and of itself, not simply as important for understanding the main opposition in Japanese politics today. The author has complete control of original Japanese sources, and he has enriched his documentary research with numerous personal interviews. His study stands alongside and supplements major contributions by Nobutaka Ike (*The Beginnings of Political Democracy in Japan* [1950]); Robert Scalapino (*Democracy and the Party Movement in Prewar Japan* [1953]); Scalapino and Junnosuke Masumi (*Parties and Politics in Contemporary Japan* [1962]).

Basic problems are posed by the author in Part I. He amply documents that the early, hostile environment, as well as the socialist movement itself, led to one marked characteristic: a tendency "toward radical theorizing rather than practical activity." Part II is a distinctive contribution that sifts from factional cohesiveness leadership criteria of recruitment, age, education, and other background factors. Part III delves into what social democrats thought the functions of "proletarian" but non-Communist parties were to be. Part IV systematically traces electoral support of socialists among organized labor, tenant farmers, women, and minority groups. This section is liberally illustrated with graphs and tables.

For the nonspecialist the author hopes to pinpoint "behavioral characteristics

important for the comparative study of politics" and at the same time to illuminate "the process of modernization in Japan." Only indirectly in the body of the text and in a brief concluding chapter, however, does he draw comparisons with similar movements in other countries and identify variations peculiarly Japanese.

This study is only one product of "Studies on Japan's Social Democratic Parties," in which Totten, Allan B. Cole, and Cecil H. Uyehara collaborated. Their research has already produced articles, annotated bibliographies, and monographs. The second volume in the series entitled *Socialist Parties in Postwar Japan* and coauthored by the three has just been published.

Rutgers University

ARDATH W. BURKS

DIE POLITISCHE WILLENSBILDUNG IN INDIEN, 1900-1960. By *Dietmar Rothermund*. [Schriftenreihe des Südasiens-Instituts der Universität Heidelberg, Number 1.] (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. 1965. Pp. xv, 262, 14. DM 34.)

THIS is an important book. Indeed, in its broad coverage, its exploitation of a wide range of resources, and its reinterpretation of the political history of twentieth-century India, it may be unique. We have here a rich and suggestive description of what Professor Rothermund aptly calls the development of a political society in India. In effect, he asks, what are the processes by which Indian society has been politicized? The author's perspectives in answering this question are frankly those of the historian as social scientist, and the result is a very happy one. Using concepts of Weber and Parsons to provide a general framework, Rothermund gives individuals, groups, parties, and associations an identity and meaning in the political processes of India that they have not often had in a major work. This is done in the context of nationalist and constitutional politics, or, put another way, in the interaction between agitation and official reform. The regional, or provincial, dimension of political life is heavily intruded as a critical aspect of the national political scene. Finally, in one of the most valuable contributions of this book, the author demonstrates the direct and persistent relationship between political forms and policies before and after independence.

The first of three major sections in the book, "Regions and Generations," lays out the nineteenth-century background. The central argument here is that India has many and diverse regions, inhabited by multiple articulate minorities or elites who have reacted variously and at different times to Western policies and values as they were sporadically introduced by the British. It is this time-space distinction and the complex variations it implies in the Indian and British situations and their interrelation that has heretofore not been fully explored or understood. Rothermund initiates such understanding by bringing the problem sharply into focus.

The heart of the book is found in the second section, "Agitation and Constitution"; it is here that the author excels. The role of Sir H. H. Risley, Home Secretary to the Government of India, as architect of the conservative reforms of 1909 is elaborated on the basis of new research in the official documents. Rothermund concludes that the polarization of Indian politics between moderates and extremists accordingly came to an end to the advantage of the rulers. He then

moves deftly through wartime developments, the Congress-League agreement, the dyarchy scheme, its rejection by the Congress, and the emergence of Gandhi as leader of the agitational phase of Indian national politics. Unlike many accounts of this period we get here a rather more balanced view of Gandhi's strengths and weaknesses and the government's skills in the early phase of noncooperation. Some regional elites viewed noncooperation with considerable skepticism; they were not inclined to boycott those very institutions which served as their local political base. Ultimately they did, and though Gandhi's initial success was not great, his influence on the political life of the nation was profound; new regions, new leaders, new funds, new attitudes, and a new style were brought into the movement.

These features and others marked the developments of the 1920's and 1930's. That student associations and also peasant associations played a political role in the 1930's and early 1940's at least as important as the trade-union movements is neglected by the passing treatment given these groups in this section. In the latter half of the book, however, the author's most significant point, relevant from 1935 to the present, is the problem raised by the relationship between the Congress as an agitational organization on the one hand and as a parliamentary government on the other. This ambiguity caused difficulty in the 1930's at the time of the Congress ministries, and it exists now; the solution both times has been similar—through the centralized influences of the party, and now also the government in a federal system. The strength of this device in resolving pressures and crises has persisted; whether it will continue to do so is uncertain. We can only await the working out of new constitutional and political relationships between central and state interests in the vastly changed circumstances induced by the elections of 1967.

The twelve-page bibliography and the elaborate footnotes in this volume provide a useful guide to the literature and sources of the period and indicate the tremendous command of the material that Rothermund brings to his work. The unique access that modern historians have to political personalities in India makes oral evidence a more legitimate source than the author seems to allow. I would like to have seen some of the major political figures interviewed by Rothermund cited in footnotes. The fourteen-page English trailer is useful though necessarily limited in value. It cannot and does not convey the rich detail nor the significant analysis that makes this book an outstanding contribution to Indian literature.

University of Virginia

WALTER HAUSER

THE MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL FREEDOM IN INDIA. Edited by S. N. Mukherjee. [St Antony's Papers, Number 18. South Asian Affairs, Number 2.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. 114. \$4.00.)

IN his stimulating introduction to this collection of six short papers S. N. Mukherjee complains of the persistent tendency of British historians to attribute every creative development in modern India to British initiative, and he identifies C. H. Philips of the London School of Oriental and African Studies as present guardian of this tradition. "The Indians . . . have a very small role in the Indian history of Professor Philips and his colleagues," observes Mukherjee. Few outside SOAS would quibble with his criticism or with his plea to his fellow historians for less simplistic explanations of social and political change in modern India, but

it is unfortunate that the papers that he edits, with one exception, show little awareness of the need for a new approach.

Four of the authors—D. Argov, Dennis Dalton, S. Gopal, and Dietmar Rothermund—trudge purposefully along the old beaten track with essays on Moderates and Extremists, Vivekananda and Aurobindo, Lord Curzon and Jawaharlal Nehru, providing useful reading for undergraduates and an occasional fresh idea for the research historian. Zafar Imam, in what is unfortunately the longest contribution to the volume, tackles the interesting question of "The Effects of the Russian Revolution on India, 1917-1920," and produces the only bad paper in the collection. His work is full of undocumented and insupportable assertions and reveals a disturbing unfamiliarity with the published works on the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms.

The remaining paper in the volume far surpasses the others. "Nationalist Interpretations of *Arthaśāstra* in Indian Historical Writing" by Johannes H. Voigt is a highly original contribution to the neglected field of Indian historiography, and it arouses anticipation for the completion of the larger work on nationalist historical writing in western India on which Voigt is currently engaged. The paper also underlines the truth of the historical adage that, if you want new answers to old problems, you must ask new questions.

University of Michigan

J. H. BROOMFIELD

THE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF INDIA. By *W. H. Morris-Jones*. [Politics.] (London: Hutchinson University Library; New York: Hillary House. 1964. Pp. 236. \$3.00.)

IN writing this book the author intends to provide the student of politics an introductory guide to the "most important of the 'new states.'" He has, in fact, gone much further. Influenced not only by what he views as intrinsically significant and in need of exposition, but also by his deep and wide-ranging interests, Professor Morris-Jones has produced one of the most important general studies of the political life of India to come out since independence. This is a remarkably thorough treatment of the Indian political scene, a tribute to the author's profound understanding of Indian society and politics, to the incisive analytical skills he brings to his material, and to the precise and fluent style in which he writes. While essentially a series of interpretive essays, this volume is, nevertheless, rich in detail, presenting a fresh and suggestive examination of Indian political phenomena in an equally suggestive historical and social context. The historical and social perspective is elaborated in the first three chapters comprising slightly more than half the text. Here we get an overview of the political, administrative, and social legacies with which Indians approached 1947, the problems and promises they encountered on that date, and the social milieu in which political processes develop in India. In an especially instructive third chapter the author deals with events and issues since 1947, which, until 1952, he views as a period of construction, when institutions were being worked out and formed and stability was being established. After 1952 we find an era of operation, action, readjustment, and achievement. Chapters iv-vi cover governance, political forces, and the ordering framework in the more recent period, but always in the context of development

and change; none of the material presented here is static description. The concluding chapter is a brief but perceptive comment on tendencies and ideas in Indian politics.

Many points and arguments are made here, and any of them would characterize equally well the approach and style of this book. The phrase "reconciliation and mutual adjustment," early used to describe the manner in which the Congress party hammered out acceptable policy positions from the conflicting views of its diverse membership before independence, recurs in the relationships and mutual influences among the modern, traditional, and saintly political "languages," or "idioms," the author describes. Throughout the book the author conveys a convincing sense of realism about India and Indian politics. The administrative machinery of government, party politics, and the parliamentary constitutional system have a viable existence. The political system has a definable shape, and it works. In 1964 there was cause for optimism, and this book reflects it; in 1967 the system is subject to new and significant pressures. Morris-Jones has provided the basic means to an understanding of the Indian political system, both in its development and in the present context of growth and change.

University of Virginia

WALTER HAUSER

SOUTH ASIAN POLITICS AND RELIGION. Edited by *Donald Eugene Smith*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 563. \$15.00.)

CONTAINED here is the work of twenty-two contributors, fifteen of whom participated in a seminar on "politics and religion in South Asia," at Colombo, Ceylon. The preface states that they "represent at least six disciplines: political science, history, anthropology, sociology, comparative law and comparative religion." The last field is without over-all representation, however. Of the twenty-four papers, eighteen are by scholars in political science and law, one by an anthropologist, one by a sociologist, two by historians, two by directors of Islamic research institutes. This is not to suggest a lack, but to point out the nature and emphasis of the book. Such a study could hardly have been made a few years ago. It is indicative of much field work and of the increasing dimensions of the discipline that a group of political scientists could produce significant research in an area so complex and so subject to misinterpretation.

Half of the articles concern India, the remainder Pakistan and Ceylon. On the whole, the quality of the discussion is excellent. If criticism were to be made, it would refer to a form of ideological ethnocentrism apparent in some of the contributions—a tendency to take for granted the values of a nineteenth- and twentieth-century Judaeo-Christian ethos in considering the problems of Asian cultures. How, for instance, can one speak of the success or failure of a social effort that was never made because it was contrary to ethnic values and therefore deliberately avoided? The point may seem merely semantic, but danger lies in any assumption that other societies must or should attempt to achieve goals based on values we ourselves accept. This tendency is certainly understandable and, from a certain point of view, entirely defensible, but it may create problems in the study of other religious systems. It does not seriously mar the present work because religion, as such, is not, for the most part, the object of study but rather those

contemporary religious customs, concepts, and issues that have become involved in party and communal politics in the new nation-states of South Asia. In probing these relationships, Professor Smith and his colleagues have produced a reference work of careful scholarship and lasting value.

Prescott College

D. MACKENZIE BROWN

BURMA—FROM KINGDOM TO REPUBLIC: A HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL ANALYSIS. By *Frank N. Trager*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1966. Pp. xiii, 455. \$10.00.)

THIS book's principal contributions to Burma's history relate to the period since 1951, following the insurrection crisis. Professor Trager here speaks with authority and perception born of firsthand knowledge and personal involvement. Portions of five chapters have appeared in his previous publications. Especially penetrating are his detailed appraisals of Burma's external relations and his critical evaluation of America's policies relating to aid and to the KMT refugee problem. He points out that Washington failed to consider Burma's political sensitivities and the limited capacities of its people for disciplined economic response. The author also speaks incisively regarding Nu's deficiencies as political leader and administrator and on General Ne Win's role. Less convincing is his labored attempt to put as good a face as possible on Burma's abortive *Pyidawtha* (welfare state) program. He poses, but fails to answer, the question of whether socialism can really be reconciled with traditional Buddhist values. In the end the author appears to be torn between his own strident anti-Communist convictions and his understanding of Burma's quite sensible preference for neutrality and conciliation with China.

The very factor of personal involvement, which lends validity to the latter two-thirds of the book, operates to disqualify earlier portions as objective history. The plethora of footnote documentation, amounting to a quarter or more of the total wordage, does not authenticate scholarly detachment. Trager is generally Burmophile. His contention, for example, that Burma was a nationally unified state down to the loss of Arakan and Tenasserim in 1826 takes no account of the frequently detached status of these same coastal areas. The Mon, Shan, Karen, and Kachin minorities were traditionally anti-Burman. The author sharply challenges Hall's judgment that seventeenth-century Burma was not interested in international contacts or trade, while virtually conceding later the essential correctness of Hall's opinion. The second Symes mission of 1802, which was designed to forestall any use of Burma's ports by hostile French forces, is distorted into a spying expedition designed to facilitate the aggressive designs of India's Governor-General Wellesley. Outright Anglophobia emerges when Trager discounts expressions of British concern in Rangoon over the gruesome execution of some four-score royal kinsmen on the occasion of King Thibaw's accession in 1878 by characterizing the action as "a not unusual dynastic practice, well known in England from the days of the War of the Roses." In connection with his short (2½ pages) summary of developments from 1885 to 1920, he cites some 270 pages of my *History of Modern Burma* as a supporting reference for the exaggerated assertion that "for sixty-two years . . . Burmese patriots and nationalists never

ceased waging an anti-British, anticolonial struggle." The account wrongly attributes Dr. Ba Maw's elevation as Premier in 1937 to widespread support for his ill-defined Sinyetha program. The book exaggerates the political importance of the Thakins in the prewar setting, especially their tentative endeavors to enlist worker-peasant support and their alleged enlistment of pongyi backing. It was the war experience that gave the Thakins their political opportunity by discrediting their political rivals, including the pongyis. Trager's justifiable criticism of Washington's deference to postwar European concerns in denying support for freedom struggles in Indochina and Indonesia has little or no relevance to the situation in Burma. The motivations of the PVO and Karen rebels of 1948-1949 are not adequately explained; U Hla Bu, the Burman principal of Judson College, is wrongly described as a Karen.

As a series of essays on the problems of independent Burma, the book has real value, but it is not an objective history of Burma's transition from kingdom to republic.

Ohio University

JOHN F. CADY

A CONCISE HISTORY OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. By *Nicholas Tarling*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1966. Pp. xvi, 334. \$7.50.)

As the printed output on Southeast Asia proliferates enormously, the number of writers attempting the formidable but indispensable task of synthesis also increases. Professor Tarling has added a compact and comprehensive volume, written in clear, understandable language, to the English-language literature on the area.

Each of the three major sections into which his work is divided is prefaced by an excellent summary and analysis of the events subsequently described. The inclusion of brief accounts of New Guinea and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands expands the conventional geographical limits of Southeast Asia. The greater part of the book is devoted to the period of Western imperialism, which is taken up country by country. This is preceded by an over-all description of the precolonial era and is followed by a short résumé of post-World War II events. In the diversity of Southeast Asia the author finds a unity not easily apparent to me, and he seems to overemphasize Britain's role during the 1760-1942 era. This orientation is natural in view of Tarling's nationality and his special interest in Malaya.

It is the presentation of Southeast Asia by an Australian for the peoples of "Down Under" that is this book's most original contribution. Tarling seems pessimistic regarding his compatriots' ability to help seriously in solving Southeast Asia's complex socioeconomic problems. But he has succeeded admirably in aiding them to understand better what has long been to them the "unknown north," with which they have become almost inadvertently involved only since World War II.

University of California, Berkeley

VIRGINIA THOMPSON

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRITISH MALAYA, 1896-1909. By *Chai Hon-Chan*. [Oxford in Asia.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 364. Cloth \$7.35, paper \$4.90.)

AN introduction on the development of British control from 1874 to 1896 in the four states of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang is followed by a detailed study of the twelve years from their federation in 1896 to 1909. The author traces the political and administrative developments that transformed a nominal federation into an amalgamation with the Resident General as its uncrowned king and the four Sultans with their Residents as the forgotten men of the benevolent despotism. This was unavoidable in a country half the size of Florida that had almost identical problems and four separate governments with divergent policies, but there was also another reason that might well have been developed. Chinese immigration and British capital transformed Malaya from a replica of twelfth-century France into a part of the modern world and created problems that required handling by a twentieth-century bureaucracy. The sultans were incapable of coping with them, for they were survivals of the pre-British era when intrigue, war, and a discreet support of piracy comprised most affairs of state. The political account is followed by separate chapters on immigration and labor, Malay and plantation agriculture, railways, the medical and health services, education, and the author's judgment on the merits and defects of British rule. In contrast with American policy in the Philippines, the guiding principle was that a healthy body and a full stomach were more important than a full head and that, since the revenue was insufficient to pay for everything, the Cinderella of the social services must be education. Particularly good descriptions are given of the conditions of recruitment and labor of Chinese immigrants, and of the development of medical research and the health services. It was interesting to learn that Malaya, like other parts of the British Empire, had its medical reactionaries who held that a doctor's duty was to cure the sick and not waste his time playing games with microscopes and germs.

This is a valuable and well-documented account of a formative decade in Malaya's history.

Wolfville, Nova Scotia

LENNOX A. MILLS

SOVIET STRATEGIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: AN EXPLORATION OF EASTERN POLICY UNDER LENIN AND STALIN. By *Charles B. McLane*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 563. \$12.50.)

THIS volume, in six inordinately long chapters, purports to investigate the nature of Moscow's policies in the East and whether these policies suggest a pattern of Soviet behavior. Each chapter is divided into three sections: a survey of Soviet policy in the period discussed, an account of indigenous Communist movements, and the author's own analysis.

The first part is a commendable and painstaking, but only partially successful, effort to reconstruct Soviet policies from Comintern and Soviet sources. The author underscores the fact that these policies cannot be easily ascertained in the

absence of hard evidence and perforce defines them as "what Moscow approves or refrains from disapproving." This definition is at best questionable, for approval is not synonymous with policy, and to refrain from disapproving may simply denote disinterest or ignorance.

Apparently with this limitation in mind, the author proceeds to describe in detail the Communist movements in each area of Southeast Asia, using chiefly a limited number of secondary works, augmented only sporadically by the author's own interviews. Though more fully documented than the works of Brimmell and Kennedy, these sections of the book add little that is significant. It is apparent that after 1928 Communist activities in Southeast Asia were often free from Comintern control if not actually opposed to Comintern wishes as attested by the fact that local operations often preceded sometimes unfavorable Soviet commentaries. To construe these indigenous Communist activities as Soviet policies may not be entirely justifiable.

The author fails, furthermore, to clarify the relationship between the indigenous and metropolitan parties except to say casually that "with respect to colonial policy, authority was normally delegated to . . . the metropolitan parties" and, on other occasions, to express doubt that permanent ties existed between the two.

The author's own analysis of the nuances of Soviet policy at the end of each chapter is penetrating, though his attempt to correlate Soviet pronouncements and local operations, on which the validity of his approach seems to depend, is not altogether cogent.

No definitive book can yet be written on Soviet policies in Southeast Asia, and the author correctly calls his "an exploration." Despite the shortcomings mentioned above, McLane's approach is imaginative, and his exhaustive survey of Soviet sources in periods when the Comintern operations were suspended deserves much credit. Perhaps this alone makes the book a valuable addition to the slowly growing literature on Communism in Southeast Asia.

Temple University

S. M. CHIU

THOMAS PEEL OF SWAN RIVER. By *Alexandra Hasluck*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 273. \$7.80.)

ALTHOUGH Western Australia is a prospering community, its settlement was slow and difficult. The first serious colonization, at Swan River, was planned by ill-informed gentlemen-speculators who hoped to establish manorial estates and were inadequately supplied with labor and capital. This book is an overly sympathetic study of Thomas Peel, Esq., one of the principal leaders of the settlement, and a cousin of the great Sir Robert Peel. It is, despite the author's protests, the story of a failure.

The focus is detailed and as narrow as a diary. The larger forces that affected Western Australia receive little attention. There is no discussion, for example, of the crucial decision to become a convict colony in 1849 when the continent as a whole was turning against the penal system.

Peel undertook to establish a colony without fully understanding the commitments of Colonial Office officials. The original syndicate associated with him withdrew from the venture. Peel carried on, arriving in 1829 unprepared for the

realities of primitive life. The aboriginals were dangerous, and the lack of roads and of human contact was depressing. The inability of Peel's silent partner, Solomon Levey, a former convict from New South Wales, to deliver vitally needed supplies was damaging. Peel's few hundred colonists left him, and, with a few faithfuls, he established himself at Mandurah, which he operated on a shoestring. On good terms with the early governors, he became a justice of the peace and a member of the legislative council. Much of his grant eventually returned to the colonial government in payment of debts.

What sort of man was Peel? A poor leader, imperious and short-fused, a duelist, and, like many of his family, he was a solitary by choice. His bad fortune was spectacular, a deadly succession of misunderstandings, belated sailings, shipwrecks, difficult partners, clouded land titles, litigious and mutinous employees, and unsympathetic officials. Peel was no empire builder. The author's attempt to compare him favorably with Edward Gibbon Wakefield is unfortunate, as is her systematic denunciation of Wakefield as a "pestiferous fanatic."

Peel was hampered throughout his life by the interaction of perennial inexperience and persistent ambitions. He died in the colony a broken-down gentleman with a reputation that the author regards as unjust. Unfortunately, there is not yet evidence for historians to change this opinion.

Colgate University

CHARLES S. BLACKTON

Americas

SPAIN IN AMERICA. By *Charles Gibson*. [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1966. Pp. xiv, 239. \$6.95.)

WITH an all-embracing grasp of his subject, and in command of an enviably easy narrative style, Gibson offers us the most satisfactory short work in the English language on Spain's America to the end of the colonial period. Though his topics are perforce the banal ones—the European background, the conquest, the *encomienda*, the Church, the state, economic and social development in the colony, the relations of the Spaniards and Indians, and the "Imperial Readjustments" of the eighteenth century (to which he adds a study of the Spanish borderlands usually neglected in a work of this kind)—his treatment of these subjects is anything but banal.

The writing of colonial Latin American history has been beset, and still is, with the problem of presenting the many controversial subjects without display of bias. Gibson largely avoids this fault. He does not struggle to tell us that Spain and Portugal were well prepared for overseas exploration and administration; he demonstrates the fact without involving himself in argument. His account of the conquest is not full of blood and gore, wicked Spaniards and saintly Indians; it confines itself to telling us about the wars against the Indians and of the civil war among the Spaniards. The discussion of the *encomienda* by which the Spaniards legally controlled the Indian's labor and of the relations of the Spaniards and Indians comes as near as can be expected to a reasonable view of this most touchy of all topics, with an exception to be noted later.

The treatment of the Church discusses its place without belaboring its wickedness as seen by a Protestant or beatifying it as done by some pious Catholics. Gibson's Spanish Empire is entirely consonant with its time in history, as are the attacks on that Empire by England, France, and Holland.

A reviewer is entitled to at least one caveat about even the best of books. Gibson accepts the statistics that place the population of central Mexico at some 25,000,000 in 1519 with a disastrous descent to "slightly over one million in 1605." Depopulation, he says, was equally drastic in other parts of Spanish America. He will soon have a chance to examine the latest study by Angel Rosenblat presented in the thirty-seventh International Congress of Americanists in Argentina. This does for all the high population figures what the Spaniards are supposed to have done to the Indians—wipes them out. When we get back to a sensible two to three million for Aztec Mexico we shall have a better perspective on Spanish colonialism.

City University of New York

BAILEY W. DIFFIE

THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM. By *Gordon Connell-Smith*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xix, 376. \$8.75.)

BEGINNING with the foundation of the inter-American system in the "Western Hemisphere idea," this book reviews the development of the system from the early nineteenth century to 1965. The ninth and last chapter sums up its "achievements and prospects" as, respectively, very limited and unpromising.

This is the first substantial study of the inter-American system to come from a country outside that system since the publication of John P. Humphrey's "Canadian view" in 1942, though several from inside it have appeared in recent years. The British author of the present work differentiates it from its predecessors by pointing out its much heavier "stress upon the political and economic environment (both hemispheric and world)" than upon "juridical and structural problems." In addition, as he later notes, his book is "in a very real sense a study of United States foreign policy."

Connell-Smith has thus done in one book what a recent predecessor, J. Lloyd Meacham, did in two: one on the inter-American system and the other on United States relations with Latin America. Both men write with authority, but in a very different spirit—Mecham, generally favorable or at least sympathetic; Connell-Smith, usually critical when not captious. Although the resulting clash of opinion and findings may puzzle and distress beginners, it will delight hardened old hands.

Both the virtues and the defects of the book are well illustrated by the ten-page postscript on the first three months (April-July) of the Dominican crisis of 1965. In some respects it justifies the author's claim that the episode "underlines" and "confirms" important points made in preceding pages; among these are his judicious findings on the inherent weaknesses of the inter-American system and the persistent use of it by the United States for unilateral purposes often at variance with Latin American policies and values. On the other hand, the postscript likewise illustrates both his insufficient knowledge of Latin

America, including the often crucial role of its armed forces, which he vastly oversimplifies, and also his steady bias against the United States. One would never learn from this book why Latin Americans have endured the Pan-American embrace so long, or why today their major efforts, even in their own integration movement, are aimed not at disrupting the inter-American system, but at strengthening it—in their own way, of course. Such flaws are all the more regrettable since the book takes a fresh approach, is based on a careful combing of printed sources and extensive, though incomplete, use of previous studies, and consequently should be consulted by all future students of the American regional system and regionalism in general.

Austin, Texas

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

APPROACHES TO LIBRARY HISTORY: PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND LIBRARY HISTORY SEMINAR, FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY SCHOOL, TALLAHASSEE, MARCH 4, 5, AND 6, 1965. Edited by *John David Marshall*. (Tallahassee, Fla.: Journal of Library History. 1966. Pp. 183. \$7.00.)

BOOKS IN AMERICA'S PAST: ESSAYS HONORING RUDOLPH H. GJELSNES. Edited by *David Kaser*. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia. 1966. Pp. x, 279. \$8.75.)

FOR HISTORY'S SAKE: THE PRESERVATION AND PUBLICATION OF NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY, 1663-1903. By *H. G. Jones*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 319. \$7.50.)

WITH varying success these three works explore neglected areas basic to the activities of the historical profession: the creation, preservation, and utilization of documentary materials and the development of institutions responsible for their administration. "Library history," concludes one of the contributors to *Approaches to Library History*, "has been for the most part forgotten by historians of American thought and culture, and librarians have in general failed to fill in the void left by the followers of Clio." This volume contributes little to filling the void; indeed, few of the collected papers bear any direct relationship to the volume's title. Included are studies of the cause of Napoleon's death and of early pictorial journalism as represented by *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, with comments or slides that are referred to, but not reproduced; the papers on library history and the history of particular libraries are little more than outlines representing a minimum of research in original materials; and the volume lacks an index. Worthy of note, however, are an essay and bibliography on printed materials for a study of federal government libraries. Library history is "wide open; it is in every way a legitimate field for scholarly research and writing," but we are told that "barely a handful of really competent, enterprising souls are yet working in the field." The volume, however, provides little evidence of even this minimal activity.

The editor of *Books in America's Past* has been somewhat more successful in devising a unifying theme for the thirteen essays that comprise this volume if one regards the history of printing and of newspapers and periodicals as an integral

part of the world of books. Most of the essays represent original research, they are thoroughly documented, and the volume is adequately indexed. Of particular merit are Robert D. Harlan's "David Hall's Bookshop and Its British Sources of Supply," the editor's essay on "Bernard Dornin, America's First Catholic Bookseller," and Leroy Hewlett's "James Rivington, Tory Printer." Significant contributions to library history, which meet the criteria established by *Approaches to Library History*, include Roscoe Rouse's "The Library of Nineteenth-Century College Societies," Richard L. Darling's "Children's Books Following the Civil War," Russell E. Bidlack's "Early Handling of Books at the University of Michigan," and Donald W. Kummel's "The Library World of *Norton's Literary Gazette*." It is encouraging to find librarians engaging in scholarly research, and to be reminded that not all librarians are being trained only as managers of information that should be subjected to engineering processes.

H. G. Jones's *For History's Sake* is a pioneer study in the field of American archives administration. Based on extensive and thorough research, it documents the creation, preservation, destruction, use, and publication of the public records of North Carolina from 1663 to 1903. Full attention is given to the laws governing the records and to factors influencing records making, preservation, and utilization, including frequent movement of the records "due to changing the seat of government or because of threats brought on by war, the conditions of buildings housing the records and the calamities that befell them, the care or neglect with which custodians tended the records," and the efforts of individuals to provide greater security for them. Part Two of the study is devoted to the early historians who, by making extensive research use of archives, stimulated interest in them as sources of history and to the compilers and editors of the published colonial and state records of North Carolina. The final part traces the creation and activities of historical societies that culminated in the establishment of a state archival-historical agency, the predecessor of the present North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, in 1903. The study is well written, and its selected bibliography and index are fully adequate. It may serve as a model for similar studies of the public documentary heritage in other states.

National Archives

FRANK B. EVANS

THIS ALMOST CHOSEN PEOPLE: ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN IDEAS. By *Russel B. Nye*. ([East Lansing:] Michigan State University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 374. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Russel B. Nye has written a book for the general reader of American history, not for the professional, which is not to say the professional should not read it. Believing, as he writes in his prefatory note to the reader, that "ideas provide necessary forces in the making of civilizations and express that complex of motives within which a people live, think, and move," Nye aims "to search out and describe some of [the] ideas which have informed the American style." The ideas he settled on, the treatment of each of which provides a chapter, are seven: progress, nationalism, free enterprise, the sense of mission, individualism, nature, and equality. A common procedure governs the disposition of each. He begins with some definition, then rehearses by apt quotation shifts in emphasis

through time, and concludes with some comment on the status of the concept today. Each idea receives the same amount of space, approximately fifty pages, and a brief bibliography of major primary and secondary works cited in the essay is provided at the end of each chapter.

This is a modest and ambitious book. The ambition is already named: the table of contents. To treat any one of Nye's seven concepts in a fifty-page essay is a formidable assignment. The modesty is in the title, which Nye takes from Lincoln: "I shall be most happy indeed if I shall be an humble instrument in the hands of the Almighty, and of this, his almost chosen people." The "Almighty" is a bit out of fashion today in intellectual circles, so one presumes that Nye means to serve the people. His book, as well as Lincoln's adverb, recommends to them some small degree of humility by reminding them of the complexity of their ideological heritage. Here Nye succeeds. His publisher has already drawn the attention of some of the people to *This Almost Chosen People* by rather coy upside-down advertisements in *The New York Review of Books*. What is one to say of it to readers of the *American Historical Review*?

Two things: it is hard to believe that any general historian of the history of the United States, let alone a specialist in American intellectual history, will find much new here; it is still harder to believe that any American historian will not welcome the work of a professional who has chosen to turn to a greater audience and to remind those Americans who read of the history of the ideals that define their common life.

Amherst College

JOHN WILLIAM WARD

AS A CITY UPON A HILL: THE TOWN IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By Page Smith. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1966. Pp. xi, 332, xviii. \$6.95.)

PROFESSOR Smith bases his book on the "self-evident" proposition that, except for the family and the church, the basic form of social organization experienced by the vast majority of Americans up to the early decades of the twentieth century was the small town. Feeling that the historical study of this agency is in its infancy, and perhaps even that his book brings it to birth, he tries to develop a language and a series of concepts so that the role of the town in American history can be more fruitfully investigated and discussed. He gives virtually no attention to southern towns because of certain features unique to them and a shortage of secondary materials suitable to his purpose. He slights far western towns because so many were ephemeral in nature. For the rest of the United States he centers attention on "colonized" and "cumulative" towns, picturing the latter as "inchoate communities" incapable of exerting the tremendous influence of colonized towns, which were imbued with the covenant principle of early New England days.

Smith's writing is audacious and graceful, his concepts take into account the contributions of various social sciences and of literature, and his generalizations are both numerous and striking. Although many of his generalizations will appeal to readers, far too often their argumentative sweep weakens the likelihood of their being taken seriously. The term "town" is never clearly defined numerically, and one gets the vague impression that population centers of 25,000 and above might easily qualify under that heading. If most Americans lived in towns

to the end of the nineteenth century, the US census reports certainly missed the point. Since Smith grants that towns in the geographical regions included in his study suffered a fearful mortality rate, one wonders why he eliminated far western towns on grounds of being ephemeral. Seemingly, the westward movement should be viewed in terms of victory by colonized towns over foresters and those who gathered in cumulative settlements rather than as a movement of farmers state by state, with virtually all of them being either professional or amateur land speculators. No thought seems to have been given to the possibility of rural communities centering around churches and schools, and with a culture somewhat in conflict with that of both towns and cities. Perhaps use of small-town newspapers and unpublished manuscripts would have facilitated construction of a more balanced interpretation.

University of Missouri

LEWIS ATHERTON

UNITED STATES DOCUMENTS IN THE PROPAGANDA FIDE ARCHIVES: A CALENDAR. First Series, Volume I. By *Finbar Kenneally*, O. F. M. (Washington, D. C.: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1966. Pp. xvi, 359. \$20.00.)

IN his introduction to this first of many volumes of a calendar of documents related to America to be found in the archives of the *Congregatio de propaganda fide* in Rome, edited by Father Finbar Kenneally, Father Antonine Tibesar sketches briefly the origins of the *Congregatio*. Originally a committee on missions, the *Congregatio*, founded in 1622, began to receive letters about English North America before Catholic missions there were important. As the number of Catholics increased in the English New World, the *Congregatio* became more interested, and the letters, especially from missionary bishops, between the missions and the *Congregatio* increased.

Tibesar explains the various kinds of documents that are to be found in the *Propaganda* archives and that will be listed in the calendar. The importance of any letter in the series is quite accidental. Most of these documents that have hitherto been available to writers on the history of Roman Catholicism in the United States are the "Congressi," or letters handled by the Prefect of the *Congregatio* and the Secretary, and this first volume of the calendar lists the "Congressi" documents up to 1844. Later series will include documents referred to the General Congregations of Propaganda, those referred to a Particular Congregation of Propaganda, and the answers to these letters.

The early items of the calendar are of importance chiefly as indicating the lack of information in Rome about Catholics in North America. The number of documents sent to *Propaganda* usually indicates the seriousness of the problem referred to the *Congregatio*. Thus, the schisms of Philadelphia produced a heavy correspondence.

Students of American Catholic history are greatly indebted to the Academy of American Franciscan History for undertaking this huge task of listing the vast resources of the *Propaganda* archives. By using this calendar, the student can now obtain easily on microfilm from Rome a copy of the documents described.

University of Notre Dame

THOMAS T. McAVOY, C.S.C.

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY FRONTIER: THE AGE OF FRENCH EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT. By *John Anthony Caruso*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1966. Pp. x, 423. \$8.50.)

THIS is the fourth in a quartet of volumes in the "American Frontier Series." Preceding this work have been the volumes devoted to the Appalachian, the Great Lakes, and the southern frontiers. Surely the idea is a good one. I only wish that performance matched the concept. Unfortunately, that is not the case. The work is marred by poor judgment in the choice of sources and by innumerable factual errors.

It is obvious from the earliest chapters, which deal with geography and Indians, that the author is merely rehashing a few often outdated and frequently antiquarian books and articles. When he reaches the French explorers of the great valley, he casts aside all historical judgment and is as likely to accept the ravings of a prideful local antiquarian as the meticulous accuracy of an impartial scholar. He also appears to be unaware of the controversies raging about the figures of many of the early French explorers, and he does not even mention some of the prominent explorers and builders of the later French frontier. And he completely omits the role played by the king, court, Church, and society of France in sending out explorers to North America, favoring some of them over others, concocting rules and regulations for them, and supporting or hindering their efforts.

He also seems unaware of some of the definitive works that should be the foundation stone for his historical edifice. He discusses the Fox wars with no reference to Louise P. Kellogg's *French Regime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*. Though he lists E. E. Rich's definitive history of the Hudson's Bay Company based on the great mass of archives of that ancient corporation, I find no evidence that he preferred that work for Radisson's explorations and services to the company over the antiquarian efforts of A. T. Adams, Warren Upham, and Hjalmar R. Holand.

As for minor errors, like Henry "Hopkins" Sibley and his Sibley tent, there are too many to list here. In general, I should expect just such an amateurish account of the Mississippi Valley frontier as this book from a "B"-grade Junior writing a term paper in a class on the American frontier in a small college with limited library facilities.

St. Paul, Minnesota

GRACE LEE NUTE

THREE FLAGS AT THE STRAITS: THE FORTS OF MACKINAC. By *Walter Havighurst*. [The American Forts Series.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1966. Pp. xvii, 219. \$6.95.)

PLANNED by the late Stewart H. Holbrook, "The American Forts Series" appears to have been designed to give the layman a readable, accurate, one-volume history of each of the major strongholds that occupied strategic points on our frontiers. Oscar Lewis' *Sutter's Fort*, published earlier in the series, is full of interest for the reader. The narrative is lively, and it is based on the most important sources and secondary materials. The present volume generally follows such a pattern.

The author has covered a number of midwestern themes in his previous volumes of fiction and history and is qualified to undertake a history of the rise and fall of Mackinac missions and forts. His book carries the story of events at the straits from the seventeenth century to modern times during successive decades of French, British, and American occupation. Close examination of chapters on the French period reveals the shadow of Francis Parkman's great history looming in the background, as, for example, in Havighurst's narration of Pontiac's Conspiracy. In later chapters there are generous quotations from the writings of such varied individuals as Robert Rogers, Jonathan Carver, and Henry Schoolcraft, whose careers touched the complex history of the straits. Schoolcraft, Indian agent at Sault Sainte Marie in the 1830's, loved the wild beauty of the area and was fascinated by his native wards. In 1845 the youthful Parkman marked the rotted stumps of Mackinac Island's old palisade. Today on Mackinac Island buildings of the fort are part of a historical museum portraying the romantic story of the past.

Here, then, is an interesting, skillfully written book for the general reader. The bibliography covers the high lights of literature on the subject.

University of California, Santa Barbara

WILBUR R. JACOBS

HISTOIRE DE LA LOUISIANE FRANÇAISE. Volume III, L'ÉPOQUE DE JOHN LAW (1717-1720). By *Marcel Giraud*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1966. Pp. 420. 30 fr.)

Economic historians will admire M. Giraud's superbly documented study of the Company of the West—Company of the Indies after May 1719. What surprises author and reader is the meagerness of the capitalization of this company that planned to develop vast Louisiana. England and Spain warily observed the re-establishment of French royal credit and colonial vigor. In France and in its Mississippi colony these were years of hope. A decade later Bienville looked back on this period as the time "when they [first] thought seriously about settling Louisiana." In spite of subsequent failure and the bitterness of his enemies, the struggling John Law emerges as a serious planner rather than as the ludicrous gambler of popular histories.

In Part II the author has tapped hitherto untouched sources of information on the development and peopling of Louisiana. Giraud meticulously researched notarial records for the contracts of land-grant companies, individual entrepreneurs, indentured workers, and others. Archives of port cities shed light on the Germans and Swiss recruited on Law's initiative. Carefully examined prison records support the author's narrative of the short-lived system of deportation. The result is an unrivaled, precise study of the colonizing of Louisiana. Part III tells of the local Louisiana scene: its political structure and personalities, its religious life, and its penetration into the interior of the continent. While the first two parts win the attention of professional historians, the third part will perhaps attract the most readers on this side of the Atlantic.

Giraud's American readers have come to recognize his distinctive, disciplined style: he imposes on himself an austere method of patient mastery of all extant sources; he digests the vast material, limits direct quotations, citing only rarely

some brief, striking phrase, and gives the reader a multiplicity of archival references to justify every paragraph.

No one has ever before studied French colonization in the Mississippi Valley with the capability and care of Giraud. (On Volumes I and II, see *AHR*, LXIV [Oct. 1958], 188.) His series has thus far covered one-third of the French era in Louisiana; we await subsequent volumes with interest.

Loyola University, New Orleans

CHARLES EDWARDS O'NEILL

REVOLUTIONARY DOCTOR: BENJAMIN RUSH, 1746-1813. By *Carl Binger*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1966. Pp. 326. \$7.95.)

THE author's qualification for writing this narrative is that he, like Rush, is an eminent physician and psychiatrist. But, as it turns out, this book is a commentary, or rather a series of commentaries, by a modern American physician on the life of an early American physician, with all the merits and demerits that one might expect.

Dr. Binger's purpose seems to be that of telling the story of Rush's life and leaving the interpreting to us, yet he constantly implies and asserts that Rush's life must be interpreted as the result of Rush's early loss of his father, his excessive attachment to his mother, and his lifelong search for a substitute father. This is plausible enough, and Binger's psychiatric knowledge and authority are, indeed, certain. But this assertion, like so many others in this loosely organized and impressionistic book, needs a different kind of authority—the authority that comes only with deep study of the sources.

The author, in a disarming manner, writes with all the freshness of personal discovery, but he does less than justice to previous work on Rush. Nathan Goodman's biography is cited a few times, but not for its basic and lasting contributions to scholarship on Rush. And more grievous, in a book that deals with Rush's philosophy of the mind, is the failure even to mention the name of David Hartley (1705-1757), whose great philosophic influence was freely acknowledged by Rush; or to use in any way the important discussions of Rush's ideas by Professors I. Woodbridge Riley, Herbert Schneider, and Joseph Blau. To his credit, Binger uses Rush's published works, letters, and autobiography and avails himself of some unpublished material. But aside from one or two casual analyses of Rush's famous "dreams," which the author seems to take quite seriously as dreams of wish fulfillment, there is no penetrating inquiry.

The author has not really tried to understand Rush in his own terms, but has instead forced his terms, the terms of modern medicine, upon Rush. "In an historical survey," writes Binger, "the errors of a great man do not count. What counts are his moral ideal and the push he gives to man's fate." But this is the point. For the historian, and especially for the biographer, the errors of a great man do count, at least enough to warrant the fullest kind of exposition.

State University College, New Paltz, New York

DONALD J. D'ELIA

EXECUTIVE JOURNALS OF THE COUNCIL OF COLONIAL VIRGINIA.

Volume VI (JUNE 20, 1754–MAY 3, 1775). *Benjamin J. Hillman*, Editor.
(Richmond: Virginia State Library. 1966. Pp. xii, 768. \$7.50.)

PUBLICATION of this volume brings this significant set of records to the end of the colonial period and completes the reproduction of the extant records of the *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* from 1680 to 1775. Along with Henning's *Statutes*, they constitute the most valuable series spanning Virginia's colonial era because of the extent of the material that is available on the discussions and decisions of the council in its executive role. The records of this volume, however, are not complete, for full journals have not been located for the following periods: May 7, 1754, to June 10, 1756; September 15, 1763, to September 8, 1767; and beyond June 17, 1774. Because of this lacuna, publication of this volume was delayed for several years. Its original copy was near completion through the efforts of Wilmer L. Hall before his retirement in 1956, but additional checks, extensive searches, and final editing have been completed by Benjamin J. Hillman.

A variety of topics came before the council in its executive function. Frontier problems played a major role in its deliberations, including Indian affairs and particularly the negotiations and conflicts with the Cherokees. Land grants and westward expansion were also frequently on the agenda and involved, for example, the special land provisions promised George Washington and his soldiers during the French and Indian War. Reaction to British imperial policy was critical on the eve of the Revolution, but because of the missing journals there is less information on this topic than one would expect. Other issues before the council were such questions as the status of slaves, disciplinary action for an immoral clergyman, the loyalty of French immigrants, and intercolonial conflict and cooperation. The volume concludes with an index and 125 pages of proclamations, miscellaneous papers, and minutes that were rough notes from which the formal journals were written.

The Virginia State Library is to be commended for proceeding with the publication of these valuable records even though there are still gaps in the journals. It is hoped that the missing records will be located and made available in the future.

University of Kansas

W. STITT ROBINSON

THE PAPERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Volume IX, JANUARY 1, 1760, THROUGH DECEMBER 31, 1761. Edited by *Leonard W. Labaree et al.*
(New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. xxvi, 429. \$10.00.)

IN this volume of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* the many-sidedness of the man continues to manifest itself in the wide variety of his correspondence. The effective end of his long mission came, after the failure of his direct negotiations with the proprietors, in the Board of Trade's report of June 24, 1760, on nineteen Pennsylvania laws submitted to it for approval or disapproval, and in the final order in council of the Privy Council, of September 2, 1760, which allowed thirteen of the original nineteen laws to stand as approved. This may be called something of a victory for Franklin.

The greatest significance of this order in council lies, however, in the rebuke administered to the proprietors by the Privy Council for their failure to maintain the royal prerogative in the province in the face of the rising power and arrogance of the Assembly. For this rebuke illuminates at once not only the dilemma presented by the rise of the Assembly and its conflict with the proprietors, but, also, the anomalous relationship between the crown and the proprietors in which, in the division of power between them, the power of the crown appears to have been steadily encroaching upon that of the proprietors.

Probably the most important document in the volume is Franklin's famous pamphlet *The Interest of Great Britain Considered, with Regard to the Colonies, and the Acquisition of Canada and Guadalupe*. . . , first published in 1760. Franklin here revealed his stature as a mature statesman of the Empire. Basically a mercantilist, since he based his argument for the retention of Canada upon the potential growth of the North American colonies as a market for British products, Franklin also revealed himself to be a fervent British nationalist and imperialist. He demolished the idea that the Seven Years' War was being fought for the colonies. The conquest of Canada, he said, "will be a conquest for the whole [Empire] and all our people will . . . find the advantage of it." The war was no more a war for the colonies only than it was a war for the weavers of Yorkshire or the button makers of Birmingham. "I hope it will appear before I end these sheets, that if ever there was a *national war*, this is truly such a one: a war in which the interest of the *whole* nation is directly and fundamentally concerned." At the same time, his was an American commentary upon the Empire's international relations, probably the most powerful American voice, although by no means the first or the only one, of an increasingly articulate body of American opinion relative to international affairs.

The Privy Council's order in council of September 2, 1760, was, in effect, the last important event in Franklin's mission, yet he stayed in England over a year longer doing business for the Assembly, particularly that of investing, for the Assembly, Pennsylvania's share of the money paid the colonies by the crown to help defray their expenses in the war. In his letter of December 10, 1761, to David Hall, Franklin spoke of planning to return to Philadelphia early in the next summer (1762).

As usual in these volumes, the scholarly apparatus, such as footnotes and introductions to the documents, is superb. The study of the authorship of the pamphlet on Canada, for example, and the editors' analytical attribution of nearly all of it to Franklin, is almost a classic as an exercise in historical criticism.

University of Washington

MAX SAVELLE

ADAMS AND JEFFERSON: THE STORY OF A FRIENDSHIP. By *John Murray Allison*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 349. \$4.95.)

THE story of the relationship between Thomas Jefferson and John Adams from their first meeting in the Continental Congress to the extraordinary coincidence of their deaths on July 4, 1826, is retold here in familiar terms. The account focuses on the periods of association of the two men: in Philadelphia in 1775-

1776; in Paris and London in the postwar years when Jefferson was minister to France and Adams was minister to Great Britain; in Washington's administration where the Vice-President and the Secretary of State increasingly parted company; during Adams' own presidency, when Vice-President Jefferson stood as his major political rival; and finally in the renewal of their friendship through correspondence when the two former Presidents were in retirement. In retracing this well-known ground, the author rarely goes beyond the printed sources and never deeply probes the relations between the two men.

Mr. Allison is more concerned with the personal contacts between the two—when their paths crossed or letters were exchanged—than in the public role of either man, and in emphasizing their private lives he gives considerable attention to their families. This tends to produce an unbalanced narrative. Thus, for example, when Jefferson on the eve of his resignation as Secretary of State paid a farewell visit to the Vice-President, the author, suggesting that their conversation must have included talk about their families, brings the reader up to date on the domestic happenings at Monticello and Quincy. At the same time, there is no indication of the scope of the critical problems with which Jefferson had to deal in 1793, his last year as Secretary of State.

In many ways the story recounted here can be told in better perspective in the separate biographies of the two men, for their friendship was hardly central in the lives of either, and there was a long period of political and personal estrangement. To the reader unfamiliar with the story, Allison's account provides a useful narrative, but the specialist will find little reason to consult the volume. Most will find it more rewarding to read the complete exchange of Jefferson and Adams letters recently edited by Lester Cappon.

University of Missouri

NOBLE E. CUNNINGHAM, JR.

SPAIN'S FINAL TRIUMPH OVER GREAT BRITAIN IN THE GULF OF MEXICO: THE BATTLE OF PENSACOLA, MARCH 9 TO MAY 8, 1781. By *N. Orwin Rush*. [Florida State University Studies, Number 48.] (Tallahassee: Florida State University. 1966. Pp. xi, 158. \$7.00.)

SPAIN's role in the American Revolution has received little attention from historians, for Spain was more concerned with recovering lost provinces from the British than with helping England's colonies win their independence. For Spain it was risky to encourage or aid the colonies of another imperial power, for such action might arouse its own colonies, and England might return the favor. The Spaniards, therefore, made their assistance as indirect as possible; no Spanish troops fought alongside the American rebels.

The siege of Pensacola in 1781 was part of Spain's contribution to the American Revolution. Under the able leadership of young Bernardo de Gálvez, Spanish forces recovered the posts in the Mississippi Valley, Mobile, Pensacola, and the Bahamas. These campaigns probably had little direct influence on the outcome of the Anglo-American struggle, but, as Orwin Rush emphasizes, American history would have been quite different if England had retained the Floridas into the nineteenth century.

Because Spain has not been a major power for more than two centuries, we

easily forget that under Charles III (1759-1788) it was among the leading powers of Europe. Gálvez and his well-earned victories over British troops reflect eighteenth-century Spain at high tide. The taking of the forts at Pensacola was as well executed as any campaign of the American Revolution.

The Battle of Pensacola is a careful, scholarly, and successful effort to make this forgotten episode better known and to bring it into proper perspective with regard to the Revolution. It is also a bibliographical study of the ubiquitous Gálvez *Diario* of the Pensacola campaign. Perhaps only Latin Americanists will be disturbed by the absence of accents on all names requiring them except for San Ramón. And the "tonnage" shown for warships should be "number of cannons." Documents include a translation of the *Diario* and General John Campbell's correspondence concerning his defeat. The book is attractively printed, and the reproductions of maps, drawings, and plans give it an added value and interest.

Texas Christian University

DONALD E. WORCESTER

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. THE CRITICAL YEARS: 1785-1794. By Robert A. East. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1962. Pp. 252. \$5.00.)

DOUBTLESS this study of the young manhood of John Quincy Adams was a laudable undertaking. Even after the appearance of the first volume of Samuel Flagg Bemis' magnificent biography (*John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* [1949]) the young Adams remained a remarkably puzzling figure. Bemis paid scant attention to the years before Adams' first diplomatic appointment in 1794. And, as the author of this book points out, the period between Adams' return from Europe at the age of eighteen and his appointment as minister resident at The Hague was a critical one for Adams as it was for the new American nation. One would thus expect to find here important clues to Adams' later political behavior and to the implied connection between his personal struggle for identity and that of the nation itself.

Alas, Robert A. East has construed his commission narrowly. To be sure, he has given us a fuller portrait of the young Adams than has been readily available before. He has revealed the tensions of Adams' days at Harvard, of his period of legal study in Newburyport and early practice in Boston, and of his emergence as a controversial contributor to the American press. But for the most compelling questions raised by Adams' behavior in these years he has provided few satisfactory answers.

The Adams on display here is a fit candidate for psychoanalysis. He is moody and introspective; he alternates between arrogance and despair; he is sickly and subject to apparent psychosomatic illness; and, with his "everlasting penchant for self-criticism," he seeks constantly, but unsuccessfully, to strike a balance between passion and reason, particularly in matters of the heart. The closest East comes to interpreting such behavior is to assert that it was in character for "this young Puritan." That Adams suffered the double burden of being the son of a great father and a great mother, yet gave no real hint of adolescent rebellion, is apparently no cause for analysis. That he became increasingly dyspeptic, and was "publicly mean" to his erstwhile friend, Thomas Jefferson, in the "Publicola"

letters, is cause for regret, perhaps, but not for close evaluation. The important thing is that Adams was developing his talents as a controversialist and was strengthened by the trials of his "critical years."

As to the notion that there was some connection between Adams' personal problems and those of the nation in this period, East quotes Adams' remark that "parties are to the public body, what the passions are to the individual." Certainly, on the evidence presented here, Adams was undergoing trials quite as tumultuous as the party battles of the nation at large. It may even be that both drew strength from the ordeal. But if so, and if these years were decisive for both, how did Adams come to seem an anachronism by the time he reached the presidency in 1825? East seems never to have entertained such a question.

We are left, therefore, with an unsatisfying book. It reminds us, however, that John Quincy Adams, the first prominent example of the second-generation founding father type, is still one of the most fascinating and perplexing figures of American history.

University of California, Los Angeles

KEITH BERWICK

THE ELEVENTH PILLAR: NEW YORK STATE AND THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION. By *Linda Grant De Pauw*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1966. Pp. xvi, 328. \$6.50.)

THIS monograph, winner of the AHA Beveridge Award in 1964, is the most complete and accurate account of New York's long and bitter battle over ratification of the federal Constitution. This contest was the more unusual because the New York Senate was the first official body to urge revising the Articles of Confederation, and the New York delegation at Annapolis pushed through the proposal for the Philadelphia Convention.

Yet when it came to ratifying the new frame of government, the Antifederalists were in the vast majority. Their backers cast more than two-thirds of the ballots and elected more than two-thirds of the delegates to the ratifying convention. The author, however, decries the general lack of voter interest. Although all adult males could vote, fewer than 60 per cent availed themselves of the privilege. Dr. De Pauw attributes this to the absence of organized parties, to the bad weather conditions that made the trip to the polls difficult (though a larger number of rural voters cast ballots than did urban dwellers), and to the apathy that has always characterized American elections.

De Pauw rejects the thesis of other scholars that socioeconomic factors played an important role in this Antifederalist victory. While she admits that most of the wealthy, educated, and those of "Shining Abilities" were Federalists, the very rich and the debtors formed but a small minority of the state population. Therefore both sides relied throughout upon the middle class for support.

The author also shows that the Federalists and Antifederalists wanted to increase the central government's power and felt that the Constitution would do so. The Antifederalists, however, believed that the imperfections they saw in the Constitution—notably the absence of a bill of rights—were sufficiently critical to need amendment before it went into effect. The Federalists wanted ratification

first, with promises of amendment afterward. The narrowness of the differences between the two factions was not realized because, during the debates, each side believed the worst of its opponents and could not accept the fact that the opposition had no evil designs on America's welfare. It was only after nine sister states had put the Constitution into effect that enough moderate Antifederalists shifted their position to effect New York's approval without condition, though only by the closest of margins.

De Pauw has done thorough research and, except for some meandering, presents her material logically and well. The major criticisms are her reliance at times on monographs that she has severely criticized and her tendency to be biased in favor of the Antifederalists.

Syracuse University

O. T. BARCK, JR.

THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH: JEFFERSON'S SON-IN-LAW. By *William H. Gaines, Jr.* [Southern Biography Series.] ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press. 1966. Pp. vii, 203. \$7.50.)

As the dust jacket warns, this work is "a study in failure," and not even dramatic, glorious failure at that. Despite a good mind, an excellent education, inherited wealth, and the advantage of a close personal and political relationship with his father-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph made no mark as a planter, governor, congressman, soldier, author, husband, or father. His only notable achievements were the introduction of contour farming to the Albemarle area and the development of a plow with a movable share to turn each furrow downhill. But these minor accomplishments were not original and proved of little practical value in preventing the bankruptcy of his estates.

From childhood Randolph suffered the insecurity of one expected to do great things, and, subsequently, the shadow of his father-in-law was no help. A quick temper flared at minor slights as his father discovered when he unwisely used the word "compelled" with reference to negotiations over the transfer of land to his newly wedded son. During the heated campaign of 1827 and 1828 Henry Clay was surprised by a challenge over an editorial that he had not read, let alone commissioned. On another occasion, after a clash with the council while he was governor, Randolph rushed through the streets of downtown Richmond "like a mad bull, cursing and denouncing" his political opponents to anyone he met. In later years Randolph was racked by suspicions that he was losing Jefferson's confidence. When he went bankrupt and Jefferson realistically chose Randolph's son to be executor of the Monticello estate, Randolph broke with the family and so oppressed his wife with his obsessions that she left him. After Jefferson's death, penury forced Randolph back to Monticello, but only on condition that he be allowed to live as a hermit in the north pavilion.

Efficiently marshaling evidence from scattered sources, Mr. Gaines tells this forlorn tale simply and sparingly. Occasionally a reader unfamiliar with Virginia politics in the early national period may find some peripheral questions unanswered. So well does the author convey an atmosphere of failure that one is tempted to ask if the subject was worth his talents. The answer is yes, for the work adds another dimension to our understanding of Jefferson. We can imagine the anguish of the great man as over the years his son-in-law did not measure

up to hopes that otherwise might have been focused upon a son of his own. Gaines has made a noteworthy contribution to the body of Jeffersoniana.

College of William and Mary

JOHN E. SELBY

MADISON'S "ADVICE TO MY COUNTRY." By *Adrienne Koch*. [The Whig-Clio Bicentennial Lectures.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xx, 210. \$4.50.)

THIS is a marvelously unabashed discourse in praise of James Madison. Consisting of three lectures delivered at Princeton University on the bicentennial of the Whig-Clio Society, it conveys even in print the characteristic passion and enthusiasm of American public address. Eloquence in this mode is a precarious vehicle for historical discussion. Miss Koch's scholarship, while present in its usual force, is surrounded by an aura of ideality that not even the footnotes (some of them important) can dispel.

The book takes its title from a modest 149-word message written in Madison's eighty-third year. "The advice nearest to my heart and deepest in my convictions," Madison wrote, "is that the Union of the States be cherished and perpetuated." Union is only one, and the last, of Koch's themes. The others are liberty and justice; and the three together, as developed here, offer an attractive sketch of Madison's political philosophy. The author reiterates her well-known views on the influence of the Enlightenment in America. Madison is portrayed as a man of the Enlightenment—a kind of "philosopher king." This is the intent, certainly, but the result is so streaked with pragmatism that one wonders about the validity of the initial conception. With respect to the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, for example, Madison is credited with the theory of federalism embodied in the Constitution. But the Virginia Plan, masterminded by Madison, as Koch says, called for a consolidated national government, and it was only after this proved to be impracticable and unobtainable that Madison developed the ingenious theory of a "compound republic," as set forth in the thirty-ninth *Federalist*, to justify the result. The author tends to assimilate the first theory to the second, and Madison emerges from the battle with his philosophical colors flying.

On the whole, however, the author argues cogently and effectively for her point of view. Anyone seriously interested in Madison will be instructed by this book. Koch's commitment to the fundamental intellectual integrity of the founding fathers is admirable. One might wish, nevertheless, that she would show more tolerance and understanding of other points of view. Her contemptuous dismissal of some of the most stimulating works of historical scholarship in recent years is unfortunate.

University of Virginia

MERRILL D. PETERSON

MEDICAL EDUCATION: THE QUEEN'S-RUTGERS EXPERIENCE, 1792-1830. By *David L. Cowen*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: State University Bicentennial Commission and the Rutgers Medical School. 1966. Pp. vii, 54.)

THIS monograph provides intriguing insight into medical education and medical politics in the early nineteenth century. Medicine in these years was almost exclu-

sively an art, and its foremost practitioners often established themselves by sheer force of personality. The profession was no place for shrinking violets, and Dr. David Cowen's central characters fully illustrate the point. From 1792 to 1830 there were three brief attempts to establish medical schools in connection with Rutgers College. The first two were made by Nicholas Romaine, a fascinating figure by any standards. In 1791 he founded his own medical school and managed to associate it with Queens (Rutgers) College. Shortly thereafter, personal problems forced Romaine to go to Europe, and the school died an abrupt death. In 1811 he established a new medical college and once again successfully applied for a connection with Queens College. The college, however, was in such serious financial difficulties that in 1816 it was forced to suspend operations, abandoning Romaine's medical school.

An equally colorful medical figure, Dr. David Hosack, was responsible for the third effort to provide Rutgers with a medical school. Hosack had become involved in a bitter quarrel with state and county medical societies. After considerable public bickering and political manipulation, he resigned from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1826 and organized a school of his own. This institution, too, managed to associate itself with Rutgers. Opposition from the College of Physicians and Surgeons, which feared competition, and from the state and county medical societies, where some of Hosack's enemies were entrenched, forced Rutgers to disassociate itself from the medical school in 1827 and brought the demise of Hosack's institution three years later.

Cowen has skillfully unraveled the tangled skein of medical politics in New York City and, incidentally, has illuminated the state of medical education and the medical profession in these years. His book is a solid contribution to New York history.

Tulane University

JOHN DUFFY

PRELUDE TO CIVIL WAR: THE NULLIFICATION CONTROVERSY IN SOUTH CAROLINA, 1816-1836. By *William W. Freehling*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1966. Pp. xiii, 395. \$5.95.)

MUCH has been written about the nullification controversy in South Carolina, since the modern phase of this study began with Houston's Harvard study published in 1896. But historical material and insights from the other social sciences have increased to such a degree that this new work is appropriate, exploring as effectively as it does so much new data.

Ante bellum South Carolina was a unique and complex community that has customarily been explained too simply, thus producing a paradox in historiography. The temptation, quite understandably, at the beginning of the century was to adopt an economic interpretation, but this society presents too great a variety of ecological factors to make such simplifications permissible. Then, too, the intricacy of Calhoun's mind, the fascination of the hairsplitting constitutional debates, and the fashions prevailing among the constitutional historians of that earlier day offered another temptation, if not to simplicity, at least to a narrow pattern of analysis.

The truth of the matter is that South Carolina was a self-contained and iso-

lated society, cast in an aristocratic, almost feudal mold, and a member of a federal system associated with a growing number of other states that were following other patterns of development. The ecological variety that shaped its mores included seasonal epidemics that encouraged frequent migration among the leadership from tidewater to the foothills or to the ports. It likewise shaped a population in which Negroes predominated in many areas and induced idleness and debility, fear of slave uprisings, sensitive consciences, and a guilt complex among significant sections of the upper class. Above all, there was a sense of existence not only among hostile fellow Americans but also in a world that generally disapproved of their commitment to human bondage.

Such factors created for South Carolinians a politics all their own, which was likewise paradoxical. Those participating in it were committed to rights and to self-government, and these things were to be maintained by suppressing freedom of action and expression with an ostrichlike refusal to recognize reality. This politics was unique because, unlike most of the other states, South Carolina provided no opportunity for parties or for state-wide campaigns. Voters chose only members of the legislature or Congress in districts, and elections usually amounted to choosing one aristocrat or another in local conference. The rest of the process of self-government was carried on by the legislators and officials whom they chose, and most of the business was done at the state capital during legislative sessions. Thus politics was of the highly personal kind that a few hundred men would formulate in legislative chambers and boardinghouses. These men hammered out a proslavery argument that human bondage was a positive good, which they were determined should not be discussed or questioned in public and should be protected by nullification, secession, and a gag rule. This program was devised at a time characterized elsewhere by Jacksonian Democracy and the rise of the common man. As the state saw itself sinking into a minority position and as Calhoun saw his presidential hopes destroyed, the temptation to theoretical hairsplitting and desperate action became greater and in 1860 bore their bitter fruit.

This study is much more comprehensive and perceptive than those preceding it; it is particularly revealing in its analysis of this complex politics and of Calhoun's torturing dilemma. Freehling has mastered the accumulated mass of data and interpreted it effectively. His understanding of the peculiar political behavior patterns involved makes it possible to approach 1860 with clearer sight. His understanding of the background of 1860 would have perhaps been more intelligible if he had traced the origins of this particularism in the colonial experience. It is to be hoped that he will not stop with 1836 but that he will proceed at least up to the outbreak of the war itself and explore the final course of the impetuous disaster of 1860-1861. This work gives cogency to the contention that much more of the nation's history needs to be analyzed state by state and that interstate generalizations often have decided limitations. It points out that in certain instances the worst enemies of the South can be southern.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

THE RECOLLECTIONS OF PHILANDER PRESCOTT, FRONTIERSMAN OF THE OLD NORTHWEST, 1819-1862. Edited by *Donald Dean Parker*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 272. \$5.95.)

THIS kind of autobiography illuminates a period of history. About 1860 Governor Alexander Ramsey of Minnesota asked Philander Prescott to write his recollections, the result being a 208-page manuscript pertaining to the years 1819-1853. While a part of this work was published in 1894, the entire account is printed here for the first time. It was well that Prescott waited no longer to record his frontier experiences, for the Sioux killed him during the uprising of 1862.

Prescott began with an account of his journey from New York State to the upper Mississippi region; at Detroit he was employed briefly in the store of Louis Devotion, a sutler who soon moved with the troops to Minnesota. One reads of steamboat travel on the Great Lakes and western rivers, of sledging freight on frozen streams, of the fate of French fur traders, of activity at Prairie du Chien and Fort Snelling, of troubled relations between Chippewa and Sioux and between Indian agent and military officer, of Indian treaty making, of the illicit whisky traffic, and of the American Fur Company. Prescott appears in these pages as sutler's clerk, employee on a steamboat freighter operating north and south from St. Louis, lead miner at Galena, fur trader and interpreter in preterritorial Minnesota, and superintendent of farming for the Sioux into which tribe he married. The reader encounters many important historical figures of the early Northwest. The recollections close with a chapter on Sioux lore, marriage customs, dances, games, and medical practices.

The editing deserves commendation. Names, dates, corrections, and omissions have been inserted within brackets to the betterment of the text. Editor's comments appear frequently in footnotes at the bottom of the page, and the sources of such commentary are cited. A supplement from other sources that add to Prescott's recollections is found at the end of all but the final chapter. There are four appendixes dealing with Prescott as superintendent of farming, the chronology of the upper Mississippi region, Prescott's family, and his writings. A bibliography and an index complete the volume.

St. Olaf College

HENRY E. FRITZ

THE LETTERS OF GEORGE CATLIN AND HIS FAMILY: A CHRONICLE OF THE AMERICAN WEST. By *Marjorie Catlin Roehm*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1966. Pp. xxi, 463. \$8.50.)

USING a collection of 174 family letters and various supporting documents, Marjorie Catlin Roehm has prepared a chronicle of Putnam Catlin and a numerous family that included the artist, George Catlin. Roehm has interspersed an editorial narrative of considerable length between the letters and extracts of letters that she reproduces here. In part her commentary provides family background and in part interprets the letters, relating them particularly to George Catlin's life.

Despite the intrinsic interest of other themes in the letters, historians will welcome this book mainly because of the insight it provides into George Catlin's

career. Roehm has printed all his letters in the collection, and there are references to him in the letters or records of other members of the family. The letters and editorial comments together will allow the general reader to follow the artist's career. Here are described the young lawyer and portrait painter; here we learn of his inspiration to prepare a pictorial record of a doomed race; here we follow the development of his gallery of Indian scenes and portraits and see him sail for England in 1839 with eight tons of paintings and Indian artifacts, as well as two grizzly bears. Although Catlin was a social and artistic success in England and on the Continent, misfortune and bad judgment sent him to debtor's prison. Others might have summed accounts and settled for failure, but Catlin went back to the field in South America and along the Pacific Coast of North America, replaced the collection lost to creditors, and returned finally to the United States where he showed his new paintings at the Smithsonian Institution before dying, penniless, in 1872.

This book is a labor of love, and it has its own charm. The history of a generation in a nineteenth-century family, however humble, is a worth-while contribution. We are indebted to Roehm also for many of those hard genealogical facts that set the latitude and longitude of good biography. As editor she took some minor stylistic liberties, but assures us that she omitted letters or parts of letters only if the material lacked interest or was repetitious. Obviously the serious scholar will wish to read the complete archive, now deposited in the Bancroft Library. Occasionally the editor's characterizations seem ungenerous or ingenuous, and at times her comments are saccharine or repetitive. But in sum her book has merit and usefulness.

University of Wisconsin

ALLAN G. BOGUE

SPURS TO GLORY: THE STORY OF THE UNITED STATES CAVALRY.

By *James M. Merrill*. (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company. 1966. Pp. 302. \$6.95.)

THIS is the fifth book that the author has written or edited for the purpose of attracting a wider reading public to the naval and military history of the United States. He describes it as a "popular history," and it has a number of the characteristics usually associated with such books: a lively style of writing with emphasis on dramatic incident and colorful quotation, an almost complete absence of footnotes, and some interesting illustrations. It also contains an extensive bibliography indicating research in primary and secondary sources to a degree unusual for a work of this type.

Units composed of mounted soldiers served the United States in its early wars, but their maintenance was considered a needless expense in time of peace. Thus there was no permanent cavalry organization until 1833 when the threat of Indian troubles in the West led to the establishment of the First Dragoon Regiment. At this point Professor Merrill mounts his horse soldiers and follows them through some eighty-five years of campaigning, beginning with Colonel Henry Dodge's 1834 expedition to impress the Plains Indians and concluding with General John J. Pershing's 1916 effort to chastise Francisco Villa, "the last

time the horse cavalry played a significant role in any American military undertaking."

No effort is made to describe every cavalry operation; rather, the author has selected episodes that illustrate the various types of service mounted troops were asked to perform. Not surprisingly, these include several engagements of the Civil War—Brandy Station, Grierson's raid, Gettysburg, and Cedar Creek—as well as postwar campaigns to pacify the Indians and the Roughriders' charge up San Juan Hill. Interspersed among the battle accounts are brief descriptions of equipment, weapons, tactics, and life at frontier cavalry posts.

As the reader progresses through pursuit and battle, he may well wonder at the absence of maps. Undoubtedly many cavalry actions degenerated into confusion; it is unfortunate that the confusion is extended by the failure to include even one map in an otherwise well-illustrated and informative book.

University of Alabama

ROBERT ERWIN JOHNSON

THE GRAIN TRADE IN THE OLD NORTHWEST. By *John G. Clark*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 324. \$7.50.)

THE grain trade of the United States consisted primarily of trade in wheat and flour, corn, hog products, and whisky. Wheat and flour receive the greatest attention in this volume. Because of its lower value in proportion to its bulk, corn was less often shipped in bulk; it went to market as meat products or as whisky. In Dr. Clark's volume, only this last trade seems relatively neglected. Certainly he has enough complications to deal with: the geography of these crops and of frontier, self-subsistence agriculture; the rise and fall of secondary and primary markets stretching from Europe to the Mississippi; the growth of American cities and their home market influence; changes in transportation and such related matters as insurance, storage facilities, and the institutions for making credit advances to producers, millers, forwarders. All these factors are bound together with great skill and balance.

The treatment is statistical, but tables of figures do not submerge a lucid text, and the statistical extrapolations to fill the gaps and support inferences seem reasonable and justifiable. The documentation is impressive; censuses and other government publications, annual reports of railroads and chambers of commerce, gazetteers, observations of travelers and boosters, newspapers and periodicals. In the end the most fundamental cause for changes in the grain trade seem to lie within the field of transportation. First the lake and the canal "complex" vied with the down-river "complex" of the Ohio and Mississippi. The decline of the down-river trade and of New Orleans came more slowly than historians, who are too impatient, have hitherto allowed. The cluster of railroads about northern markets first secured for them a sort of local hegemony; eventually in the 1850's the extensions of railroads inland from Atlantic ports to connections with these western systems finished the northern triumph. That Chicago glittered in success is not new, but Clark's treatment of Buffalo, Toledo, and Oswego is more of an innovation. Ohio also comes into its own as a grain center.

It is a pleasure to read economic history that does not shout a thesis, stridently innovate a methodology, or resort to jargon, and that corrects previous errors and misconceptions without a parade of the author's superiority. This is not a

sprightly book; for the subject probably none is possible. But it is a useful and persuasive one.

Thetford, Vermont

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

THE DECLINE OF THE CALIFORNIOS: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING CALIFORNIANS, 1846-1890. By *Leonard Pitt*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1966. Pp. x, 324. \$7.95.)

Sociologists, economists, cultural anthropologists, and Carey McWilliams have written extensively of the Spanish-speaking peoples of the Southwest. Historians, however, have been remarkably silent about an ethnic group largely impervious to their categories and methods. Pitt's fine monograph is therefore a novelty, for it is the work of a California historian knowledgeable in his state's history and sufficiently adventurous to enter upon unfamiliar ground.

This book's major claim to originality is in the link that the author establishes between the bleak prospects of today's over two million Spanish-speaking Californians and the misfortunes of the ten thousand nineteenth-century *Californios*. "The modern predicament of the Mexican-American jelled a century ago, from 1849 to 1885, and not after the turn of the century, as some suppose." Although Pitt is dedicated to historical rehabilitation, he makes no claim that in so doing he is exorcising the "schizoid heritage" of a mythical Spanish past, an Anglo-Saxon concoction of the post-*Californio* era, and the seemingly intractable Mexican present. The former persists delightfully if irrelevantly, while the latter casts a long shadow upon the American social imagination.

In California as elsewhere, nineteenth-century extreme individualist Anglo-Saxondom overwhelmed a communally oriented *caballero* culture rendering the *Californios* quixotic, picturesque, and pathetic with a finality that was not to be quite the lot of their more numerous and more isolated fellow ethnics of New Mexico. The dearth of Spanish-language sources and the fecklessness of both public and private careers reflect defeat almost without epitaph, unless this book may be so considered. Indeed, even the lively and fascinating Francisco Ramirez, editor of *El Clamor Público* (1855-59), longest lived of the Los Angeles newspapers, and a superb example of the young *Californio* torn between two sets of loyalties and two value systems, vanished in 1872 without apparent trace. The dearth of records north of Santa Barbara, Pitt notes, forced him to confine his research to southern California, but further documentation, should it become available, would doubtless make for an even more desolate story. So clearly is history dependent upon literacy and upon the printed word that today the limited circulation of the lone Spanish-language Los Angeles newspaper continues to mirror accurately the present and past predicament of a nonachieving minority.

San Francisco State College

MOSES RISCHIN

HISTORY OF NORTH DAKOTA. By *Elwyn B. Robinson*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 599. \$7.95.)

This book has been badly needed; it is the first attempt by a professionally

trained historian to write the history of North Dakota free from the restraints of a commercially sponsored account, and Dr. Robinson is uniquely equipped to tell the story of this state.

His recurrent theme is that of the influence of geography in the state's development. He points to the three distinct geographical areas of North Dakota—the Red River Valley, the "Drift Prairie," and the Missouri Plateau—and relates the problems of human, animal, and vegetable life to the factors of soil, climate, and rainfall. The more abundant rainfall, the richer soil, and the denser population are found in the Red River Valley on the eastern border—the richest wheat-producing area. As one moves west and southwest, the altitude is higher, the soil less productive, and the rainfall scantier. In the far western part of the state wheat growing has been supplemented and, indeed, supplanted by livestock grazing.

The geographical factor was not understood by the pioneers of North Dakota, coming from milder areas of Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin. They were followed by a host of Scandinavian, German, and German-Russian immigrants. Filled with typical frontier optimism, they created civil government, and, in the end, they overorganized the territory and state, giving it a political character suitable to a friendlier clime than that of the austere Plains. This in turn led to high costs in government and contributed to the political discontent that led the North Dakota farmers into the Farmers' Alliance movement of the 1880's, the Populist revolt of the 1890's, and finally into the more radically socialist age of the Nonpartisan League in the twentieth century.

The author emphasizes the colonial status of North Dakota, its dependence upon railroads, banks, and grain buyers and millers located in the Twin Cities of Minnesota. He shows how the railroads controlled local, territorial, and state politics, and how out-of-state speculators milked the country dry until the revolts of the farmers finally broke their hold. He traces the political activities of men like Alexander McKenzie, the spokesman for the Northern Pacific Railroad during the territorial and early statehood period; of Charles Amidon, a reforming, "fighting" judge; and many twentieth-century leaders of the radical revolt such as Arthur C. Townley, William Lemke, William Langer, and Gerald P. Nye. He demonstrates clearly the influence of the political radicalism in two world wars and in the interval between them.

Although at times the author's style seems heavy, the story he tells is an engrossing one, and his contribution is valuable. It helps us to understand the dilemma of the Plains states.

University of Minnesota, Duluth

ARTHUR J. LARSEN

JOHN RANDOLPH CLAY: AMERICA'S FIRST CAREER DIPLOMAT.

By *George Irvin Oeste*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1966. Pp. 602. \$10.00.)

THE full story of a minor diplomatic official brings into focus many facets of American politics and culture that rarely come to light in biographies of acknowledged public leaders. Dr. Oeste's detailed biography introduces us to three aspects of American history often left in obscurity: a view of the United States by one of

its citizens living abroad for thirty years; a view of the United States by people of other lands reported by an American who knows thoroughly the foreign tongue and culture; and, finally, a view of the carelessness and callousness of popular government as experienced by one of the numerous dedicated administrative secretaries who constituted its primary working arm.

Orphaned John Randolph Clay, raised and schooled by John Randolph of Roanoke (no kin), began his diplomatic career as secretary to his benefactor when Randolph became United States minister to Russia in 1830. Clay managed the Russian legation in the interims between ministers and served as secretary for James Buchanan and William Wilkins in Russia, 1833-1837. He set up the first United States legation in Austria, acting as secretary for Minister Henry A. Muhlenberg, and he later became chargé d'affaires. Sent to Peru as chargé by President Polk, he remained there for fifteen years and finally attained the rank of minister. His experiences in these posts illuminate the character of Americans who brought their problems to the embassies and the objectives of American diplomacy from 1830 to 1860.

Self-righteousness characterized the former; the quest for special trade privileges, the latter. But overshadowing all looms the blockheadedness of the State Department which, to cite but one example, would take a man fluent in Russian, French, German, and Italian, who had fifteen years experience in European capitals, and suddenly send him, against his protests, to Peru where he knew neither the people, the politics, nor the language.

The large body of correspondence, official and personal, used by the author gives intimacy and authority to this biography. The analysis of Austrian tobacco diplomacy and Peruvian guano diplomacy will interest primarily the specialist, but the pathetic story of a dedicated public servant trying his best to serve a government that mostly ignored him will interest everyone. The biography reads easily and contains full documentation, a bibliography, and an index.

Pennsylvania State University

PHILIP S. KLEIN

THE LETTERS AND JOURNALS OF JAMES FENIMORE COOPER. Volumes III and IV. Edited by *James Franklin Beard*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 466; viii, 508. \$25.00 the set.)

THESE two newest volumes of Professor Beard's impressive edition of James Fenimore Cooper's letters take us in Volume III from 1833 to 1839, and in Volume IV from 1840 to 1844. The distinguished writer who had lived from 1826 in Bourbon Paris, London, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, and Germany is now back in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and Cooperstown. *Home as Found* (1836) was his novel about his return; his letters were largely on the same subject.

Cooper did not like what he found. The staunch defender of republics to British and European audiences turned into a cantankerous critic of domestic republican abuses. "The era of Andrew Jackson, now in its fifth year, was," as Beard puts it in one of his informed biographical interludes, "emphatically not the era of James Monroe or of John Quincy Adams; and long and privileged

associations in the most cultivated circles of Europe had accustomed Cooper to a degree of personal and intellectual freedom his own countrymen, despite their republican institutions, could hardly conceive." His countrymen knew him, but not as "Brother Jim."

A significant number of the collected letters are public rather than private. Indeed, he called his first book after his return *A Letter to His Countrymen* (1834). It initiated an interminable flow of vitriolic correspondence in the press. Cooper's intellectual self-confidence expressed itself on most of the topics of the day. An important series on Franco-American relations was, for example, written to the friendly editors of the New York *Evening Post*, William Cullen Bryant and William Leggett. "Circumstances," Cooper said, "have put it in my power to have a better knowledge of the sincerity of most of the French ministers (the King included) since the revolution, than probably is possessed by any member of the committee of the Senate. . . . Let us examine the facts." His examination was tireless; it is also tedious. Cooper's conclusions are partisan, but not uninformed. Dorothy Waple's *The Whig Myth of James Fenimore Cooper* is usefully amplified by Beard's identification of additional articles in the "A.B.C." series. Historians of the Whig movement will do well to take Cooper's letters into account. He was a good scrapper.

Reason was usually in Cooper's corner; good humor and tact almost never were. As squire of "Otsego Hall," his re-established family seat, he became embroiled in suits over the use of Three Mile Point by the villagers, the repercussions of which echoed widely. As the author of the noteworthy *History of the Navy of the United States* (1839), into which he poured his scholarship and his love and experience of the navy, he became involved in a historical dispute over the Battle of Lake Erie more violent than the battle itself. His public letters of defense, especially those published in *Brother Jonathan*, have historical interest in their questioning of the limits of journalistic license. Of importance also are his letters, both public and private, about the *Somers* mutiny in 1842. Cooper was eminently sensible about this case of ambiguous justice, famous not only in naval annals but also as a basis for Melville's *Billy Budd*.

Yet in the midst of all these controversies, he produced *The Pathfinder* (1840) and *The Deerslayer* (1841), among his finest re-creations of the myth of America. They, too, were in a sense his response to the accusations leveled at him by his critics, the reassertion of his belief in the essential *mystique* of what has been called the innocence of America and its experience. "I had hoped to be useful to my generation," Cooper wrote. He was, though perhaps through a different medium than his public epistles. But these are worth remembering too.

Yale University

NORMAN HOLMES PEARSON

MARY BAKER EDDY: THE YEARS OF DISCOVERY. By Robert Peel.
(New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1966. Pp. xi, 372. \$7.50.)

ON the centennial of the year that Mary Baker Eddy viewed as the birthday of Christian Science, Robert Peel has produced a fine study of the formative years in the long life of this remarkable woman. Let us dispose of one matter at once: the author is a Christian Scientist who declares that he has been given

"free access to the Archives of the Mother Church" and has written "a completely independent book, shaped only by my sense of scholarly and personal integrity." While one may regret that access to such an important source of American religious history is highly restricted—an exclusiveness by no means peculiar to the Church of Christ, Scientist—there is no doubt that the author's claim to integrity is justified.

Peel's approach has been to write Mrs. Eddy's biography "as though the story had never been told before." Given the unused sources at his disposal and the highly controversial nature of most earlier writing on the history of Christian Science, this was the proper approach. While matters of historical debate are not overlooked, discussion of them is confined largely to the notes and appendixes. Yet this book inevitably invites comparison with Edwin Dakin's critical biography of 1929, which has heretofore been regarded by non-Scientists as the best study. Much of the story recorded by Peel will be familiar to Dakin's readers, but the spirit is utterly different. Although Peel is not altogether uncritical of his subject, he does for the most part accept her claims and assertions and places the most favorable interpretation possible on the more ambiguous aspects of her career. Allowing for this obvious difference in assessment, the great contribution of the current volume lies in Peel's masterful grasp of the cultural and intellectual forces of the era, which he deftly incorporates into his book. To me, Dakin's effort seems a penetrating psychological study that remains highly convincing, but Peel's work gives a new understanding of the unfolding of Mrs. Eddy's thought and character within their cultural matrix.

This intellectual biography analyzes the evolution of Mrs. Eddy's religious insight from the early rejection of her father's Calvinism to the publication of *Science and Health* (1875). It is a compelling story of a deeply religious nature wrestling with the great issues of life and death, not as abstract theological questions, but as they emerged from the agonizing experiences of a soul that had gone down into the depths.

As Peel gives no indication that he plans a sequel, one can only hope that he will pursue this biography to its conclusion. Without consideration of the stormy years during which she created and sustained her church, an adequate evaluation of this unique American woman is impossible.

Fordham University

RAYMOND J. CUNNINGHAM

THE LOWELLS AND THEIR INSTITUTE. By *Edward Weeks*. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1966. Pp. xii, 202. \$5.75.)

For some of us the deviant aspects of the New England mind are the more attractive, especially as found in Emerson or Thoreau. In *The Lowells and Their Institute* we have, as the jacket says, "the story of the New England mind and what the Lowells have done to cultivate it." It is the New England mind dead center that this amiable essay exposes. It is a mind marked by purpose, conviction, and integrity. It is marred by narrowness and backwardness. Both its virtues and defects are perfectly exemplified in the way the Lowells have run their institution.

The main job of the institute has been to present lectures to Boston. The

first series came in 1840; the last has not yet been given. As the decades have passed, there has been a gradual, if uneven, expansion of services. By 1940 there were, besides the regular lectures, the Lowell Institute School, the Teachers' School of Science, the discourses on theology, and the University Extension program. Since 1940 the leading development has been the appearance of a model radio station, WGBH, which is also today WGBH-TV.

The institute was set up through a bequest by the widely traveled John Lowell, Jr. He named the first director or trustee and specified that each should select his successor. So far there have been four trustees. Mr. Weeks sketches the contribution of each one with a mixture of understanding and charity. John Amory Lowell, the initial trustee, was compelled, by being first, to be enterprising. His great coup was importing Louis Agassiz. Science was his favorite subject; literature, particularly contemporary literature, left him cold. So did public opinion. He thought nothing of having his summer supper served, with strawberries and champagne, in a graveyard; he was a Lowell. Augustus Lowell succeeded him. About Augustus, Weeks says moderately that "he was a composite of strongly held views, verging on prejudice, and other, more liberal areas in which curiosity opened the mind."

A. Lawrence Lowell was the next trustee. A late bloomer, as we say in the schools, he grew to have many interests, and the institute suffered because of that fact. He became president of Harvard and a leader in American education. He cut the lecture fee from \$150.00 to \$100.00. A side light on him is that he never allowed a book by Shelley in his house. The fourth and current trustee is Ralph Lowell. His civic responsibilities are so many that Weeks reports that he is nicknamed "Mr. Boston." His great contribution has been pulling the institute into the electronic age.

The opportunity to give an institute series has occasioned some notable books including works by Agassiz, James Russell Lowell, Justice Holmes, and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. Many of the lecturers have had genuine distinction. But the lecturers omitted and the subjects shunned have been almost as striking. The institute barred Emerson from its platform, along with many another advocate of new thought; it barred the more forthright reformers; it barred females of any persuasion until the 1950's. Besides its avoidance of transcendentalism in every form, its hostility toward advance guard literature has been its most revealing characteristic.

And yet the very fact of its continued existence is impressive. As Weeks traces its history and characterizes its trustees, we see that the New England mind still lives and the institute is an embodiment of it. It is a narrow, even warped mind, but it is the best we have.

University of Maryland

CARL BODE

JAMES K. POLK, *CONTINENTALIST: 1843-1848*. By *Charles Sellers*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 513. \$12.50.)

THIS second volume in a projected three-volume biography of the eleventh President of the United States begins with August 1843, just after Polk's defeat in his second attempt to become governor of Tennessee. It ends three years later when he is in the White House with a major part of his domestic objectives

achieved and when a well-advanced expansionist program has produced peril of conflict with Great Britain and actual war with Mexico.

Polk emerges in Professor Sellers' pages as a hard-working, effective leader of Congress and a hard-bitten expansionist, determined to see his country established firmly on its natural frontiers of the Rio Grande and the Pacific Ocean. At the same time, paradoxically enough, he is a little man—reserved, cautious, with a “nostalgic moral preference for the simpler agrarian world that was so rapidly vanishing,” with no moral sense as to human bondage or external aggression, and strangely blind to the great convulsion over slavery that was shaping before his eyes. He was, moreover, disingenuous, a slippery quality that served him in good stead.

There are many good things to be said about this book. The scholarship is impeccable, and the bibliography is extensive. Sellers' account of the twistings and turnings of ambitious politicians is impressive; his explanation of Van Buren's defeat and Polk's nomination by the 1844 Democratic Convention is complete. There is a good picture of the social life in the presidential mansion, and humorous side lights on men and events are plentiful.

Any ambitious historical work is bound to raise some questions in the minds of the author's fellow historians, and this book is no exception. One wonders if the portrayal of Calhoun's responsibility for the South's backing away on 54° 40' is not overdrawn. Sellers gives Polk credit for the forty-ninth-parallel settlement with Great Britain, but I emerged from a perusal of that tangled story with the conviction that sheer chance played as great a part as did Polk's “combination of nerve, judgment and disingenuous manipulation of men.”

Finally, there is a more fundamental question. While there is much new detail as to the political maneuverings of the period, is there enough that is new in the way of larger interpretation to justify such an intensive treatment? Admittedly, cabinet making and patronage distribution have their complexities, but twenty-six pages on the former and thirty-eight pages on the latter are exhausting as well as exhaustive. In these and other instances the reader is overwhelmed by the involutions and convolutions of the material. Is it not better, historically speaking, to get a clear picture of great movements and great decisions than it is to examine their background so meticulously that their outlines become obscured? It is clear that Sellers himself recognizes this difficulty, for in his foreword he refers to “this already greatly elaborated story,” and perhaps not so much should be made of that aspect of this work. Despite all criticism, the book remains a monument to its author's scholarship and to his potential as a writer of history. It is obvious that, with the completion of the third volume, we shall have the definitive life of James K. Polk.

University of Rochester

GLYNDON G. VAN DEUSEN

EXPECTATIONS WESTWARD: THE MORMONS AND THE EMIGRATION OF THEIR BRITISH CONVERTS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By P. A. M. Taylor. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 277. \$7.50.)

THE study of Mormon history took a firm step forward with the publication, ten years ago, of William Mulder's work on Scandinavian converts. P. A. M.

Taylor's long-awaited companion study of the British converts is, by comparison, disappointing.

Taylor has actually written two books. The first, comprising Chapters v and vi and parts of other chapters, is a history of the Mormons in Utah. The nine remaining chapters focus on the British mission and its converts. Neither topic is adequately treated. Taylor's history of the Mormons is unoriginal and not entirely relevant. His account of the British converts, while useful, is diluted by extraneous matters, such as details on British maritime practices or on the vying of Missouri River towns for the business of "outfitting" westering migrants.

The dual history is probably explained by the author's admission that during his seventeen years of intermittent research he had shifted his emphasis and point of view from an Atlantic "center" to Utah. This is a justifiable shift, but it was not successfully carried out, as he candidly admits. One would expect, for example, that the shift would reward us with a section on the acculturation of British converts analogous to Mulder's on the Scandinavians. But it is not to be found. The closest we come to the emigrants themselves is Taylor's "Atlantic" chapter on the numbers and social make-up of the converts. But the chapter is so short as to be unsatisfactory. It is of little comfort to the reader to be told in the conclusion that the study of British adjustment "must be left to the scholars who live in Utah." Indeed, this statement is an admission that his own intended shift to a Utah "center" did not succeed.

In general, the book is widely researched, accurate, and clearly written. Despite serious shortcomings of balance and relevance, those parts of the book dealing with the converts themselves are more complete than anything now available on the subject.

University of Massachusetts

MARIO S. DE PILLIS

A WESTERN PANORAMA, 1849-1875: THE TRAVELS, WRITINGS AND INFLUENCE OF J. ROSS BROWNE ON THE PACIFIC COAST, AND IN TEXAS, NEVADA, ARIZONA AND BAJA CALIFORNIA, AS THE FIRST MINING COMMISSIONER, AND MINISTER TO CHINA. By *David Michael Goodman*. [Western Frontiersmen Series, Number 13.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1966. Pp. 328. \$11.00 postpaid.)

THIS biography of the Irish-American writer, government employee, traveler, and diplomat, John Ross Browne, was in its original form a thesis at the University of Arizona.

Browne was born in Ireland in 1821. His family went to Indiana in 1833, but shortly removed to Louisville, Kentucky. At twenty, Browne went to Washington, D. C., to make his fortune. His skill with shorthand recording enabled him to get a job as a reporter for the *Congressional Globe*. In 1846 he published a book entitled *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise* which was based on his experiences during a tour of duty aboard a whaler and another on a merchantman. This publication possibly did as much to bring reform to whaling vessels as did Richard Dana's *Two Years before the Mast* for merchant seamen.

Browne traveled widely. His tours included Europe, Africa, Asia, Iceland, the Near East, and much of western America. He was in California in 1849

when the gold rush began, but apparently did not participate. He achieved the position of recording the proceedings of the California constitutional convention. In December 1849 Browne returned to the East Coast and remained there writing and publishing until his appointment in 1854 as a Treasury Department inspector. In this capacity he investigated and corrected inefficiency and malfeasance among Treasury and Indian agency officials.

Over the years travel articles and caricatures of miners, politicians, and persons who interested him appeared in periodicals of the day. Browne also published a detailed report on the mineral resources of the area west of the Rocky Mountains compiled for the Treasury Department in 1867. In 1868 Browne was appointed by President Johnson to be the American minister plenipotentiary to China. The eighteen months spent there were revealing to Browne who found that his predecessor, Anson Burlingame, had misrepresented the conditions and the degree of Westernization in the area. His public statements to this effect soon brought knowledge of his impending removal, which led him to resign and return home. The experience in China ended Browne's public life. He settled in Oakland, California, and invested in real estate. He continued to write on such subjects as his travels in China, the agricultural potential of California, swamp drainage, and irrigation. He was interested in railroad building and tried to promote rail extension. He continued to lead a full life until his sudden death on December 8, 1875.

Mr. Goodman has done a respectable job of research. His resurrection of Browne is a worthy effort and an addition to the knowledge of a man and a time in the Old West.

Adams State College of Colorado

D. P. GREENE

AMERICAN RAILROADS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ANTE-BELLUM ECONOMY. By *Albert Fishlow*. [Harvard Economic Studies, Volume CXXVII.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 452. \$10.00.)

THIS important book, the finest product of the "new" economic history yet to appear, is the work of a powerful analytical mind steeped in the historical sources pertinent to his study. Fishlow does not inertly take those sources as given; instead, he refines his own compilations of railroad receipts, employment, profits, and investment from the "sparse and unreliable" published statistics. Some of the resulting estimates are admittedly synthetic, partaking both of observation and conjecture, but I would agree with Fishlow that assumptions are unavoidable and that the relevant question is whether they are sufficiently limited and well based. Some of the assumptions made by Robert Fogel in his *Railroads and American Economic Growth*, with which most readers will wish to compare the present work, have been well questioned. Fishlow's is a different kind of book; it does not seek to quantify the subjunctive, but addresses itself to a past that was.

This difference between the approaches of Fogel and Fishlow may largely explain some of the differences in their findings. Both distinguish between the direct and indirect effects of the railroad, the former resulting from lowered transportation costs and other charges, the latter, from resource demands gen-

erated by railroad construction and operation and from the induced response of other activities, especially those of farmers and manufacturers. Fogel estimates direct benefits to have amounted to less than 5 per cent of gross national product in 1890, but Fishlow assigns approximately the same figure to 1859 and argues that it increased to "at least 15 percent" by 1890. Not surprisingly, to Fogel the railroad was not "indispensable"; to Fishlow it was "important."

The difference between indispensability and importance, however, is only one of degree, and the proper question is whether the importance of the railroad to growth can be determined at all without at the same time determining the relative importance of all other elements in the causal complex. My own answer is no, partly because these elements shift their positions during the process of growth and partly because some cannot be easily quantified. Fishlow is well aware of these difficulties; his subtle study is no mere exercise in linear programming or comparative statics. Furthermore, his closely reasoned and well-written book challenges a dozen accepted theses, perhaps most importantly the notion that the railroads were built ahead of demand and were therefore heavily dependent upon governmental subsidy. But, while he makes his case for the midwestern railroads of the 1850's, he has underestimated the earlier need for governmental aid in traversing the Appalachian barrier. And before acquiescing in his emphasis upon the rational efficiency of the market economy I would urge attention to a far broader role of government than is considered in this book.

Michigan State University

STUART BRUCHEY

NEVADA: THE GREAT ROTTEN BOROUGH, 1859-1964. By *Gilman M. Ostrander*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1966. Pp. xii, 247, viii. \$4.95.)

To undertake a scholarly analysis of Nevadan politics is no ordinary historical venture. Although it is the third oldest western state, Nevada presents those characteristics and problems most often associated with the contemporary urban ghetto. A population like Nevada's, which is traditionally depressed, unskilled, and transient, does not exist in durable or meaningful communities; a frail and colonial economy lacks sufficient institutional resources to preserve vital historical records; a politics that has been too frequently sordid and bizarre does not permit easy scholarly access.

For these reasons this work is an important pioneering achievement in the chronicling of Nevada's elusive past. Professor Ostrander's narrative can be roughly divided into four political epochs: the nineteenth-century dominance first of San Francisco mining interests and later of San Francisco railroad interests; the rise to both national and state power of progressive Senator Newlands; the lamentably influential careers of Senators Pittman and McCarran; the return to power of outside economic interests (national gambling syndicates) and ineffectual congressional representation.

Ostrander's most provocative and substantial analysis is that of the nineteenth-century political environment. Here Nevada's politics became a peculiarly ignorant and provincial charade; public service was but a way for "Working on the Railroad," and political reform meant only "Plutocratic Populism"—the use of radical demagoguery in order to mask private compliance. In this milieu,

formal party organizations became nonexistent and political ideologies inconsequential.

Unfortunately, the remainder of the book lacks the virtuosity of the earlier sections. Because the author attempted so much in relatively so little space, he gives increasingly less attention to Nevada's inscrutable politics. Thus in writing about Newlands' long political career, he characterizes Newlands in terms of his national role, but fails to mention his many significant legislative and administrative attempts to reconstruct Nevada's own politics along progressive lines. With Newlands' demise in 1917, the focus of the book shifts Nevada even farther into the background, to be replaced almost entirely by the senatorial exploits of Pittman and McCarran on the national scene.

The final chapters become so superficial that the author fails even to use the voluminous Pittman manuscripts in the Library of Congress or those documentary materials essential for any analysis of "the interaction of business and politics." The state legislature receives no analysis, and its records no citation; similarly, the governorship is mentioned only in passing, and the state's administrative machinery not at all.

Ostrander's concluding preoccupation with the weaknesses of American federalism is no justification for his neglect of the Nevadan scene. Undoubtedly "the lightly populated Western states" do reveal historical patterns of "absentee economic and political control" and "a relative lack of [senatorial] statesmanship," but this is not because the states have been traditionally underpopulated. What has made Nevada so unfortunate has been the condition of its population, not its size. Contemporary urban ghettos, to repeat an opening theme, resemble Nevada's political economy in all its many misfortunes, but by definition urban ghettos are not underpopulated.

Yale University

WILLIAM LILLEY III

HO! FOR THE GOLD FIELDS: NORTHERN OVERLAND WAGON TRAINS OF THE 1860s. *Helen McCann White*, Editor. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1966. Pp. viii, 289. \$8.50.)

BEGINNING in the 1930's, various people at the Minnesota Historical Society and Professor Charles J. Ritchey of Macalester College interested themselves in the overland expeditions of the 1860's between Minnesota and Montana. In 1944 Grace Lee Nute, then chairman of the Alvord Commission, asked Helen M. White to carry on the project with the idea of eventual publication. She worked at it, with numerous interruptions, for more than two decades. Here, in book form, with extensive annotations, maps, illustrations, and a thoroughly written introductory chapter, is the story of the eight expeditions conducted between 1862 and 1867. The sources of her information came from private donors, the historical societies of Minnesota and Montana, the National Archives, newspaper accounts, and printed federal documents.

In her excellent general introduction White explains why Minnesota viewed the Montana country as a rich economic empire and why some fourteen hundred people were induced to make the crossing in the five travel seasons under consideration. Important gold strikes were an obvious attraction, but, in addition to

short-range considerations, Minnesotans hoped for the development of permanent commercial routes. The rather vague notion of trade with the Orient was brought into closer view by the Isaac I. Stevens expedition and the Fraser River gold rush in British Columbia, both in the 1850's. As early as 1856 William Nobles obtained a congressional appropriation of fifty thousand dollars to lay out a road through the Black Hills that would connect Minnesota to the great overland route that approached the Pacific Coast by way of South Pass. In the 1860's prominent Minnesotans used their influence with the Lincoln administration to gain another fifteen thousand dollars for protection of the Stevens (northern) route. General interest in Minnesota was brought into focus by James L. Fisk, an active propagandist, who led several trains across the Plains. Other enterprising westerners, whose accounts are included in the volume, duplicated his feat and demonstrated that the journey could be made with relatively little difficulty under normal conditions. Their writings provide a thorough documentation of the problems of travel, equipment used, organizational difficulties, and procedural methods employed by wagon trains in this period.

This is a long-awaited volume, and the patience of western historians has been rewarded. It is a major contribution to the history of the northern Plains.

University of Colorado

ROBERT G. ATHEARN

IRONMAKER TO THE CONFEDERACY: JOSEPH R. ANDERSON AND THE TREDEGAR IRON WORKS. By *Charles B. Dew*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 345. \$10.00.)

THAT the Tredegar Iron Works of Richmond, Virginia, was in the 1860's one of the largest and most sophisticated undertakings of its kind in North America and that it was a major factor in the war effort of the Confederate States have long been recognized by historians. Also widely appreciated have been the extraordinary abilities, technical, economic, even sociological, of the Tredegar's principal entrepreneur, General Joseph R. Anderson. Yet Professor Dew's study will demand the attention of any serious student of southern logistics, for it serves to document, properly, for the first time, a number of commonly held beliefs.

From the diary of John B. Jones onward, commentators upon the Confederacy have emphasized a standard cluster of woes: deficiencies of raw materials, too few facilities for manufacturing, financial unwisdom, disintegrating railroads, too little wagon harness, an uninspired distribution of manpower, and a fatal disinclination to subject certain local interests to an effective discipline. It has seemed safe to assume that Anderson's ironworks, as a southern instrumentality, should be involved in identical categories. But we no longer need to assume anything; we have here the Tredegar in proper depth: the figures, the citations, the quotations, taken largely from primary and little-worked sources, effectively arranged and, most gratifying, presented in a singularly easy prose style. This is not only a fill-in of another Civil War backwater; it is first-rate industrial history.

Much of the book is factual. There is, however, a clearly defined thesis, repeatedly stressed: the absence of adequately developed supplies of raw ma-

terials was a Confederate difficulty greatly surpassing the often cited lack of industrial equipment. For the Tredegar, this meant a deficiency of ordinary pig iron, which after a year or so of war reached such proportions that Anderson could seldom operate at more than one-third of capacity. How this affected the military potential of the Confederacy, and especially of the Army of Northern Virginia, need not be imagined; it is set forth in documented detail.

The book is an attractive, almost lavish, physical product. The citations are placed below the pages of text, where, scholars used to insist, they belong. Effectively chosen maps, charts, and photographs are very helpful additions.

Colorado Woman's College

ROBERT C. BLACK III

STORIA DELLA GUERRA CIVILE AMERICANA. By *Raimondo Luraghi*. [Biblioteca di cultura storica, Number 87.] ([Turin:] Giulio Einaudi Editore. 1966. Pp. xl, 1395. L. 8,000.)

Few students of American history ever completely escape the attraction of the military campaigns of the American Civil War. For some it becomes no more than an avocation, fully satisfied only on those rare occasions when they can trudge a battlefield with a copy of *Lee's Lieutenants* under one arm and Steele's *American Campaigns* under the other. I am merely one of these buffs.

Professor Luraghi's massive volume is further proof, if such is needed, that the war still grips the attention of scholars the world over. I am struck by the enormity of the task the author set for himself and the extraordinary degree of excellence he achieved in accomplishing it. The study is a military history of the Civil War, and, quite properly, Luraghi has handled the background, causes, origins, and so forth by succinctly weighing the theses of the standard authorities in the first two hundred pages of the book. One thousand pages are devoted to the task at hand and concluded by a short essay in which the author evaluates his findings.

The military actions are accurately described, and the total picture enormously enhanced by the skillful interweaving of pertinent data, such as the role of the railroads, propaganda, finance, foreign relations, without which military history tends to suffer from acute sterility. No detail is too obscure to escape Luraghi's attention. Thus, actions from Cub River to Glorieta Pass receive their due attention along with Gettysburg and the Wilderness. The sections on the war at sea and on the inland waterways are brief but wholly adequate.

It should be noted that few if any of the important archives and caches of documentary materials escaped the author's personal attention. Luraghi also displays something more than passing acquaintance with such materials as are in various state archives, private collections, the memoir literature, and technical studies. The author has a firsthand knowledge of the ground, having taken the time to visit the major and many of the minor scenes of conflict. Judicious handling of northern and southern sources contributes much to the objective treatment rendered to so vital a phase of our history. Excellent photographs and skillfully prepared maps add immeasurably to the value of the volume. A detailed critical bibliography, which could adequately serve as a guide to the study of the war, accompanies the text.

It remains for the specialist to examine Luraghi's treatment of the specifics

of the various campaigns and to render final judgment. There is little doubt, however, that this volume should be promptly translated so that it can take its place as a standard reference work on the subject.

Portland State College

GEORGE A. CARBONE

ILLINOIS IN THE CIVIL WAR. By *Victor Hicken*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 391. \$7.50.)

It was from the Illinois prairies that two towering figures—Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses Grant—came to save the Union. And others from that state, such as Stephen Douglas, John Logan, Benjamin Grierson, John McClernand, Benjamin Prentiss, John Pope, Wesley Merritt, and Richard Yates, were also prominent actors in the great drama of 1860–1865.

Of the spate of centennial histories of state participation in the Civil War, this volume is one of the ablest. In this well-documented study author Victor Hicken has, by extensive use of soldiers' diaries, reminiscences, private correspondence, and numerous regimental histories, succeeded in re-creating the raw emotions of the people from Illinois in the crisis of the republic.

Pointing like a dagger at the heart of the Confederacy was "Egypt"—southern Illinois—where zealous prosoutherners clashed with crusading abolitionists there and elsewhere in the commonwealth. Of the 259,092 men from the state in the Federal services, nearly 35,000 made the supreme sacrifice. Illinois Boys in Blue assisted Grant in gaining the first great Union victory at Fort Donelson. They were present at Shiloh, Vicksburg, Chickamauga, and Atlanta. Men from Illinois started and ended the Battle of Gettysburg. Negro troops from the state were on the scene at Lee's surrender at Appomattox. On the Illinois home front, war mobilization, especially on the economic front, acted as a catalyst in the state's remarkable postwar expansion.

If there is a weakness in this book, it is that the author occasionally accepts the verdict of just one Illinois correspondent or diarist regarding a given officer or event. Also, perhaps not enough attention has been given to Douglas' efforts to rally pro-Union sentiment in Illinois, or to the role of the state's soldiers in the eastern campaigns.

This necessarily rambling and involved story centers on the elusive composite feelings of the Illinois volunteers, and Hicken tells it well in this solidly researched volume. The book deserves a respected place on the shelf of Civil War state histories, but its use is restricted by an inadequate index.

Pennsylvania State University

WARREN W. HASSLER, JR.

PHYSICIAN-GENERALS IN THE CIVIL WAR: A STUDY IN NINETEENTH MID-CENTURY AMERICAN MEDICINE. By *Paul E. Steiner*. (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas. 1966. Pp. xv, 194. \$8.00.)

In his study of the thirty-three physicians "who became general officers in the combat services rather than in the medical department in the American Civil War," Dr. Steiner of the University of Pennsylvania Medical School has attempted to "determine the significance of this phenomenon, which has not been

repeated in our subsequent wars." The twenty-seven Union physician-generals and six Confederates "were combined in the analyses" as no significant differences were observed. Three control groups were also studied: generals who were not physicians, "matching enlistees," and "control physicians" in military medicine.

Over half the book consists of biographical sketches (case studies) of the physician-generals, none of them particularly outstanding in either the medical or military fields. Then follows a careful, "objective" analysis of the various factors in prewar, wartime, and postwar life, most of which had to be dismissed as negative. The author concluded that their weak commitment to the medical profession was the chief reason influencing the thirty-three to serve in nonmedical capacities; some had given up medicine before the war, and others would do so later.

In the mass of statistics presented, one learns the number of wartime wounds, injuries, and illnesses among the four groups, and other comparisons and averages that seem to have little relevance to the original question—why the physician-generals chose combat rather than medical service. The "scientific method," somewhat overdone in this case, produced many sets of unrelated figures, sometimes based on admittedly incomplete data.

The book may be of interest to Civil War buffs and physicians with an antiquarian interest in medical history; for the professional historian it contributes little that is new on "nineteenth mid-century American medicine."

Louisiana State University

JO ANN CARRIGAN

YANKEE REBEL: THE CIVIL WAR JOURNAL OF EDMUND DEWITT PATTERSON. Edited with an introduction by *John G. Barrett*. Biographical essay by *Edmund Brooks Patterson*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1966. Pp. xix, 207. \$6.00.)

EDMUND DeWitt Patterson was a native of Lorain County, Ohio, who in his late teens went south to Tennessee and Alabama as an itinerant book salesman and schoolteacher. Having little taste for these two occupations and having developed sympathy for the southern cause, he enlisted in a company called the Lauderdale Grays, which became a part of the Ninth Alabama Infantry Regiment which eventually joined one of four Alabama regiments making up the brigade of General Cadmus M. Wilcox of Longstreet's division.

As a young private and later as an officer he participated in the Battles of Williamsburg, Seven Pines, Gaines' Mill, and the other bloody encounters that developed as McClellan moved up the Peninsula toward Richmond. After recuperating from serious wounds he was able to be with his regiment at Fredericksburg. He was on detached duty when Chancellorsville was fought, but he and his regiment moved with Lee to Gettysburg, where he was captured and sent, as a prisoner of war, to Johnson's Island in Lake Erie near Sandusky, Ohio. A cycle had been completed; he was back near his home in Ohio. But it was no longer home. He had become a confirmed rebel.

During his three years as soldier and prisoner young Patterson kept an intermittent diary, recording the joys and hardships of the common soldier. But

this diary is much more than an encyclopedic recital of events. More than in any Civil War diary I have seen he has succeeded in putting into words the feeling, the emotional reactions of the soldier to the hours before a battle, during the battle, and as a dangerously wounded and half-frozen man lying on the battlefield wondering if help would come. This ability to convey feeling in words marks young Patterson as a literate and articulate person, and it makes the diary a substantial contribution to the literature of the Civil War.

A word of commendation should be said for the editing. Enough notes have been supplied to clarify certain portions of the text but not so many, as is sometimes the case in printed diaries, that the reader is overwhelmed with foot-notes.

Tulane University

JOHN P. DYER

THE BLACK CODES OF THE SOUTH. By *Theodore Brantner Wilson*. [Southern Historical Publications, Number 6.] (University: University of Alabama Press. 1965. Pp. 177. \$5.95.)

THIS useful, workmanlike review of the Black Codes enacted by the southern states in 1865 and 1866 is also something more ambitious and more exasperating. The introductory chapter, a search for precedents of the Black Codes, develops the principal theme of the book. The origins of the Black Codes were in the era of slavery, says the author, but not in the institution of slavery. The Negro was part of what he calls the "gray institution," a body of patterned and ritualistic race relationships existing in the shadow of but not directly within the slavery institution. This "gray institution" was compounded of both law and custom and governed race relations of free as well as slave Negroes. The full importance of these key words in the semantic game is revealed later when the author emphatically denies that the Black Codes, as the North charged, tried to reinstitute slavery. Instead, though neither North nor South realized it, they were an attempt to reinstitute the "gray institution." It is hard to take seriously an institution so ghostly that it was unknown to the people of the time.

The Black Codes were real enough, and they are closely examined, state by state and clause by clause. More thorough research into the conditions of the time and place and into the code-making process might have deepened our understanding. Between codes and between clauses Mr. Wilson finds wide variations. Some were aggressive and exploitative, others paternalistic or unconsciously discriminatory, others benign in intent and effect. That the codes of 1865 were harsher than those of 1866 he explains not by the policies of presidential Reconstruction but by the financial and psychological panic at the end of the war. The author indicates sympathy with many of the purposes of the codes; on the other hand, he asserts that northerners put the worst possible construction on the codes not because of pro-Negro sentiments but for "more self-centered considerations" of northern sectional power. While this may be a valid judgment of northern motives in Reconstruction, it would need to be proven, rather than merely asserted, against the contrary conclusion of a large volume of recent historical literature.

There are many other general assertions without adequate proof. A notable

example is the final sentence: "The Black Codes of the South did not cause Radical Reconstruction," which can hardly be proven by examining the letter of the Black Codes. Not all would agree that Negro troops "offended the sensibilities of the white population while encouraging the freedmen to insolence and idleness." The author regrets that "the harsh features of the South Carolina Black Code were widely publicized while the protective features went unnoticed," as though whipping and confinement to the premises of contract servants were balanced by limited due process rights in some Benthamite calculus. One might also question whether Benjamin C. Truman was "one of the least biased of northern reporters."

The author's jaundiced view of Reconstruction might have been better sustained by a direct investigation of political behavior in the period than by minimizing the Black Codes or conjuring up a "gray institution."

University of Maryland

LOUIS R. HARLAN

THE TWEED RING. By *Alexander B. Callow, Jr.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 351. \$7.00.)

SCRIBBLED disagreements spill over almost half the pages of my copy of *The Tweed Ring*. Some of my scribbles exclaim at Callow's mode of discourse. He explains events without independently establishing the existence and significance of his variables and without concern for the criteria of scientific elegance. Is it necessary, for example, to posit a peculiar "moral twilight" in post-Civil War America in order to explain Tweed's success?

The most important and emphatic of my marginal notes challenge the substance of Callow's argument. He contends that Tweed developed a stable and highly centralized political machine that allowed him to exercise almost absolute control over large segments of the city's life. Tweed, Callow insists, was the prototype of the modern political boss.

I do not believe this argument, at least partially because Callow's own language and choice of similes hint at unresolved contradictions in his thought. He repeatedly describes New York's political system as "feudal," comparing the ward leaders to powerful and cantankerous barons and dukes. At the same time he argues that the system was centralized, with formal and formidable hierarchical lines of control. Traditional terms of medieval history, let alone modern organization theory, suggest the hedges in this comparison. You cannot have your feudal cake and centralize it too. Nor is it useful to describe Tweed's short reign as evidence of political stability. The "Boss," it seems to me, ruled by paying off the participants in a fundamentally decentralized system. His power, and that of his immediate successors, was inherently unstable.

What, moreover, is the prototypical modern political machine to which Callow alludes? Is it the machine of 1966 or of 1900? In either case the ideal type he employs has very little substance. Samuel Hays has laid Lincoln Steffens' "boss" in his grave; the contemporary city as described by Banfield and Wilson hardly suffers from an excess of centralized control. Callow's frame of reference seems, in my scribbles, curiously irrelevant.

University of Pennsylvania

SEYMOUR J. MANDELBAUM

A HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN TEXAS 1865-1965. By *Paul Casdorph*. Introduction by *Dwight D. Eisenhower*. (Austin: Pemberton Press. 1965. Pp. 315. \$6.95.)

WITH the emergence of the Republican party to new prominence in Texas beginning with the first Eisenhower victory in 1952, there has been a need for a published history of the party and its activities in the state. This has been filled to a considerable extent by the present volume, which covers a century of history from the birth of the party during Reconstruction to the defeat of Goldwater in 1964. This chronological account carries us through the ups and downs of the Republican organization from its brief dominance in the late 1860's and early 1870's through the various phases of its role as a small minority party during the late nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries.

The period of Negro leadership under Cuneo from 1883 to 1898 and the succeeding struggle between the "Black and Tan" and the "Lily White" elements for the control of the party machinery are the subjects of two chapters. Meanwhile, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Republicans played politics with the Greenback party and its successor, the Populist party, a part of the story to which the author might have given more attention. Three chapters cover the first half of the twentieth century and deal with the Bull Moosers, the rivalry of Wurzbach and Creager for control of the party, and the long regime of Creager from 1923 to 1950 when the organization was reduced to a patronage dispensing machine. The Republican victory of 1928 when the state was carried for Hoover was not the work of Republicans.

The last three chapters cover the Eisenhower-Nixon-Goldwater period and could well have occupied a larger proportion of the book since Eisenhower carried Texas in 1952 and 1956 and Nixon nearly did in 1960. The elections of John G. Tower to the US Senate in 1961 and 1964 were also major Republican accomplishments.

The chief criticisms of the book in addition to those mentioned are that it is confined too closely to a mere chronology of the Republican organization proper and deals too little with the environment in which it operated, its impact upon other parties, and, most recently, the effects of Democratic factionalism upon it.

University of Texas

O. DOUGLAS WEEKS

A SPARK LIGHTED IN PORTLAND: THE RECORD OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF FIRE UNDERWRITERS. By *A. L. Todd*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1966. Pp. 231. \$4.95.)

A BOOK compounded of about one-quarter history and the remainder a description of a trade association's services and activities would ordinarily not be considered appropriate for review in a historical journal. In the area of American insurance history, however, a field that still needs considerable plowing and cultivation, such a study may, nonetheless, be valuable. This work is a brief history of the National Board of Fire Underwriters during the century of its existence until it merged with two other trade associations to form the American Insurance Association in January 1965.

A. L. Todd does not profess to be an insurance history specialist. He writes an interesting, although too brief, history of the origins of the National Board of Fire Underwriters. Similar to the origins of other insurance trade associations, cutthroat competition forced premiums down and agents' commissions up, thus sharply emphasizing the need for businessmen in the fire insurance industry to unite and attempt to correct the situation. Restrictive legislative acts in the various states aimed at unethical underwriters in the fire insurance industry and mounting fire losses also led to formation of the association in Portland, Oregon, on April 30, 1866.

In time, however, the organization's activities began to focus on certain limited but vital objectives: new and higher standards in fire prevention and protection; drafting and enforcement of building codes; development of firesafe measures; testing of new products to ensure the safety of consumers; efficient organization of forces in the war on fire waste; minimizing the danger from explosion; reducing losses resulting from major natural perils; fighting arson, theft, and fraud; and providing an early warning system, so to speak, against the outbreak of major conflagrations and other disasters.

The author doubtless did his homework in connection with the research required for the preparation of this account, but he fails to list his references and sources of information. For the professional historian, this is a serious and glaring omission. The National Board of Fire Underwriters has had a rich and memorable history. The present work merely whets the appetite for a definitive study that remains to be written.

US Department of Labor, New York City

HARRIS PROSCHANSKY

AMERICAN BASEBALL: FROM GENTLEMAN'S SPORT TO THE COMMISSIONER SYSTEM. By *David Voigt*. Foreword by *Allan Nevins*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1966. Pp. xxxi, 336. \$5.95.)

In April 1884 President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard turned aside from more conventional problems of educational policy to evaluate the game of baseball in a program of interscholastic sports. "I think it is a wretched game," he wrote. "There are only nine men who can play the game . . . and out of the nine there are only two desirable positions—pitcher and catcher—so there is but little chance for the youth to gratify his ambition." Yet Eliot's dictum came in the period that Mr. Voigt calls the "golden age of major-league baseball," when a majority of Americans seemed to accept the claim of baseball's promoters that the sport was in reality "America's national game." About the popular appeal of baseball Voigt has little to say that has not been said before. About the origins of the game, he is content merely to discredit once more the so-called "Abner Doubleday myth," but it seems to me that he states the "myth" in a more extreme form than any claims even from the Baseball Hall of Fame at Cooperstown, New York.

From a sociologist as competent as Voigt we had a right to expect a more consistent effort to place the game of baseball in its appropriate sociological setting. What he has to say in this vein is part of an interesting, but scarcely challenging, introduction. It is not implicit as his story develops. So much of his

comment is merely the repetition of what others have said. He ventures too few opinions drawn from his own well-documented study of the decades from mid-nineteenth century to 1920, when his account ends rather abruptly.

If the reader wants to know how a dignified game for amateurs became a "big business" enterprise in a few decades, he will be enlightened by Voigt's pages. Indeed, the author is much more concerned with the business of baseball than with its appeal to the spectators. He sketches clearly, and with fascinating detail, the bitter rivalries of managers, the buccaneering raids from one team to another, the unscrupulous manipulations of investors, the emerging concept of professional status, and its organization into leagues of highly skilled teams. These were exciting times (1870-1900) for promoters and managers from Spaulding, Chadwick, and Wright to "Pop" Anson and Hulbert and Ban Johnson, but one wonders how much fun the players got out of the game. Perhaps this is the point of the story. Americans have not yet learned to play, except as an extension of their preoccupation with business. If this be so, one wishes that Voigt had been more explicit.

Heidelberg College

JOHN A. KROUT

RASMUS BJØRN ANDERSON: PIONEER SCHOLAR. By *Lloyd Hustvedt*. [Authors Series, Volume II.] (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association. 1966. Pp. xi, 381. \$6.75.)

IN the history of many and perhaps all immigrant-American groups in the United States, there appeared one or more individuals whose achievements or notoriety caused eddies of controversy to swirl about them. The subject of this carefully prepared biography was such a person among Norwegian-Americans during much of his adult life, especially for the fifty years from the 1870's to World War I. From brash youth to mellowed old age, Rasmus B. Anderson kept himself at the center of things Norwegian-American. Rarely dull, frequently outrageous, always contentious, dependably egotistical, and, in some ways, a charlatan, he was sufficiently significant in Norwegian-American history to justify his inclusion in the "Authors Series" of the publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association.

Anderson's significance is effectively presented in a brief opening statement, after which the volume settles down to a meticulously detailed account of his family, his rebellious years at Luther College in Decorah, Iowa, his even more controversial teaching experience at the short-lived Albion Academy in Wisconsin, his achievement of a professorship of Scandinavian languages at the University of Wisconsin, his brief but rather undistinguished service as minister to Denmark under Cleveland, his editorship of the influential Norwegian-language newspaper *Amerika*, and his numerous collateral activities in the promotion of Norwegian literature in the United States. His insistence on certain canons of literary taste involved him in endless controversy, as did his firm opinions in the fields of religion and education.

The author of the book, himself of Norwegian-American background and now professor of Norwegian at St. Olaf College, has managed to rise above personal involvements and even the limitations of the origins of the book as a

doctoral dissertation and presents an objective and probably definitive study of his highly controversial subject. The book is well edited and has a selected bibliography, a good index, and some appropriate illustrations.

Carleton College

CARLTON C. QUALEY

CUSTER'S GOLD: THE UNITED STATES CAVALRY EXPEDITION OF 1874. By *Donald Jackson*. [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 14.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. vi, 152. \$5.00.)

THE Treaty of 1868 gave the Sioux the part of Dakota Territory that lay west of the Missouri River. No white man could enter the reservation without the consent of the Indians, who agreed not to molest the builders of the Union Pacific or attack white settlers and travelers. Peace seemed assured, but by the early 1870's the white men began to clamor for the gold reputed to be in the Black Hills. In July 1874 the army, yielding to pressure, sent an expedition under Brevet Major General George Armstrong Custer into the region. The ostensible purpose was a scientific reconnaissance, but the real object was to determine whether there was gold in the area. Despite the fact that only limited deposits were found, the gold seekers overran the Black Hills, and the treaty soon became a dead letter.

The first and last chapters of Mr. Jackson's book discuss the events preceding and following Custer's reconnaissance. Approximately two-thirds of the text covers the day-to-day minutiae of the expedition, which lasted from July 2 to August 30, 1874. Jackson knows his sources well and makes excellent use of them. His clear and highly readable style is to be envied, and the book is singularly free of the pedantry that frequently surrounds a monograph of limited scope.

The author's purpose is to examine the tendency of the American people, as reflected in the taking of the Black Hills, to usurp lands that they wanted and the Indians "did not need." I feel that the study should properly have been a chapter either in a biography of Custer or in a history of the Black Hills gold rush. One questions whether it deserves to be a volume in itself, no matter how well done. It is to be hoped that Jackson will devote his considerable talents to a study of the whole era.

There is no bibliography, but the volume is well annotated, with four appendixes, and original photographs of the expedition are reproduced.

United States Air Force Academy

M. HAMLIN CANNON

THE YEAR OF THE CENTURY: 1876. By *Dec Brown*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1966. Pp. x, 372. \$7.50.)

WRITTEN for a popular audience, this sprightly, well-illustrated book never loses reader interest. Mr. Brown, a librarian at the University of Illinois, whisks his readers from the "most extraordinary noise" with which Philadelphia welcomed the centennial year to the great strike of 1877. Two major themes dominate the book: the six-month Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia that one in five Americans managed to see; and the campaign, dispute, and compromise that

made a President. Though Brown is more concerned with describing the centennial than explaining its significance, he argues it inspired Americans "to examine their past, to wonder about themselves and their institutions, and to seek an identity upon which to base their future." They journeyed to Philadelphia and searched the Centennial Exposition for "the true meaning of the United States of America. . . . There in an effervescent microcosm of parades and encampments, of excitement, effort, and confident expectation, was the essence of the Republic." Whatever it may have been, I suspect most visitors found their true essence of the republic not in parades but in the most popular exhibition: the gigantic Corliss engine. Brown's political theme is more familiar, and though it adds little to our knowledge, his detailed account of the campaign in Indiana and South Carolina may be read with profit. Though his prejudices never lead him to be grossly unfair, Brown likes Ulysses S. Grant and his cronies, is cool to reformers, roots for Samuel J. Tilden, and dismisses Rutherford B. Hayes as the master of the platitude.

He also explores minor events such as evangelist Dwight L. Moody packing New York's Hippodrome night after night; Susan B. Anthony interrupting the Fourth-of-July ceremony at Independence Square to declare the independence of women; and General George A. Custer blundering to his last stand and immortality. From the potpourri Brown evokes the spirit of 1876: its heroes and villains; its fundamentalist religion, story paper literature, banal art, and materialistic science; its crude amusements; and its ritualized politics.

Based on secondary and printed primary sources, this book is aimed at the layman and is of interest to the professional historian chiefly for its fresh quotations. Brown has ransacked numerous newspapers and has studded his work with lively comments from reporters. The book's scholarly apparatus is thin; footnotes are provided only for direct quotes, and authors whose ideas and information have contributed to the book are credited only in the admittedly fragmentary bibliography.

Pennsylvania State University

ARI HOOGENBOOM

THE SOUTHWESTERN JOURNALS OF ADOLPH F. BANDELIER, 1880-1882. Edited and annotated by *Charles H. Lange* and *Carroll L. Riley*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press; Santa Fe: School of American Research, Museum of New Mexico Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 462. \$10.00.)

PUBLICATION of Bandelier's field journals has been eagerly awaited. To me, this anticipation has been replaced by a certain degree of disappointment. This, however, is not entirely the fault of the editors, who have written an excellent background chapter placing Bandelier and his southwestern explorations in sharp conjunction.

Beyond the introductory chapter the reader is confronted with the journals themselves, and, while the editors have made certain deletions of irrelevant material, Bandelier's writing remains tedious, disconnected, and often naïve. Other anthropologists of that day, such as Alexander M. Stephen, who recorded the life of the Hopi Indians, do not merit such criticisms. One really wonders

how, save for Bandelier's fine analyses of historical documents, he produced any monographic syntheses of significance from the data recorded in his field diaries. These diaries represent Bandelier's day-to-day accounts of his 1880 and 1882 residences at the New Mexico pueblos of Santo Domingo, Cochiti, and Acoma, as well as his travels throughout much of the territory in quest of ethnological and archaeological data.

Furthermore, the editors unfortunately have been somewhat inconsistent in their annotations. To give but a few examples, Bandelier remarked upon Spanish or Mexican schools at Cochiti prior to the American conquest and noted that the Hispanic religious group of Penitentes was active in the same village. There is no editorial elaboration of these important aspects of Pueblo culture change. The same absence of elucidation is true regarding descriptions of factionalism, a Pueblo origin myth, and witchcraft. Yet the annotators comment at some length on the mundane and not particularly important question of whether or not the pueblo of Acoma contains six or seven kivas. The preface of this book indicates that this is the first of a series of volumes of the Bandelier journals to be published; before these appear, the editors should exercise more ethnohistorical acuity.

Among the book's valuable passages are Bandelier's description of the selection of a cacique, or religious leader, at Cochiti and his characterization of Tesuque pueblo. The diaries present some good, albeit esoteric, facts of Pueblo life as well as miscellaneous details of the tribulations of anthropological research in New Mexico in the 1880's. But, almost paradoxically, in spite of these criticisms, Bandelier's journals, for whatever use, will be more valuable to the specialist in southwestern anthropology than to the historian.

Prescott College

ROBERT C. EULER

SAMUEL GOMPERS: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Bernard Mandel*. Introduction by *Louis Filler*. ([Yellow Springs, Ohio:] Antioch Press. 1963. Pp. xxii, 566. \$8.00.)

MORE than most men, Samuel Gompers was self-righteous and egotistical. While possessing a clear, though not necessarily always consistent, philosophy as to what the American labor movement ought to be and do, summarized in his own phrase as "pure and simple trade unionism," he sometimes lacked candor and on occasion was disingenuous. For thirty-nine years Gompers dominated the American Federation of Labor that he helped found in 1886; he was its president for every year except one until his death in 1924. His voice and his policies were taken to represent organized labor in the United States. Being the kind of man he was, Gompers relished the role.

He is the sort of man about whom it is difficult to be neutral, and it seems to me that any biographer has to be either an admiring partisan or a stern critic, no matter how objective he may try to be. Professor Mandel is in the latter category. His approach to Gompers is essentially ideological, both in the realms of labor organization and politics. He clearly believes that Gompers, although originally sympathetic to industrial unionism, did American labor a grave disservice by opposing it. He bears down hard on Gompers' opposition to socialism and the Socialist party. He finds fault with Gompers' reliance on collective bar-

gaining as the means of achieving labor's economic objectives and his opposition to government intervention in matters of wages, hours of labor, and working conditions. He scolds the "Old Man," as Gompers liked to be called, for what he believes was his excessive accommodation to the nation's business and industrial communities and for his own concept of business unionism. And he excoriates Gompers' racial attitudes, which originally were quite liberal, his jingoism, his superpatriotism before and during World War I, and his enchantment with government officialdom.

In short, Mandel carries on an almost steady biographical warfare relieved only on those occasions when he finds himself in general ideological agreement. These tend to be on issues confronting Gompers early in his career when he crusaded for trade-unionism and flirted with radical causes. Consequently, this huge biography must be read with this bias in mind, although Mandel's account is scholarly and straightforward, if not always delectably presented (the author has a special penchant for split infinitives). This biography of Gompers is the best written yet, though it has little competition, a commentary on the writing of American labor history. But it will hardly stand as definitive.

University of Massachusetts

HOWARD H. QUINT

SOCIALISM AND THE WORKERS IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1886-1912. By *Henry F. Bedford*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 315. \$6.50.)

IN 1898 Haverhill, Massachusetts, became the first American city to elect a Socialist mayor. John C. Chase, a shoemaker by trade, ran as a Social Democrat; he had once been a Populist and, later, a member of Daniel De Leon's Socialist Labor party. One of his Social Democratic comrades represented Haverhill in the Massachusetts General Court. The next year Brockton, another shoe manufacturing center, elected a Social Democratic mayor. Other Massachusetts towns—Chicopee, Newburyport, and Georgetown—had promising Socialist organizations. The electoral success of the Massachusetts movement came about a decade before such Socialist achievements elsewhere and made Bay State comrades prominent in the Socialist party nationally.

Massachusetts Socialists, however, failed to advance after the 1902 elections, and the organization soon began to slip badly. The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union leadership, which had looked favorably or at least tolerantly upon the Socialists, became anti-Socialist. Impressed with the Socialist vote, major party politicians intensified their campaign to woo back voters who had drifted away to the Debs camp. A few important defectors who went all the way over to the vehement opposition were a factor in Socialist decline, and the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in the state, once unconcerned or only passively disapproving, "became actively, officially, and effectively hostile." By 1912, when the Industrial Workers of the World led the textile strike at Lawrence, Bay State Socialists, both because of their hesitancy to identify themselves with the IWW and because of their general weakness, were unable to play more than a vacillating, unimportant role. Socialists elsewhere did not fail until 1917-1919, but five years before that the Massachusetts party was "dead" even though it "lacked the dignity to lie still."

This book, based mostly upon local newspapers and widely scattered manuscript collections, is a piece of competent historical craftsmanship. In writing local history there is a problem of how much emphasis to put upon local matters that have little significance beyond the locality and how much to put upon the more generally, perhaps even universally, significant. The author might have said more, for example, about the interesting and general phenomenon of ideological apostasy that plagued the Massachusetts movement to an unusual degree and less about seemingly endless local elections, but that is a matter of taste or style, and every writer must make his own choices. The author of this book did well what he chose to do.

University of Maryland

DAVID A. SHANNON

HARPER'S UNIVERSITY: THE BEGINNINGS. By *Richard J. Storr*. [A History of the University of Chicago.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 411. \$8.95.)

THE title is right. The personality of William Rainey Harper dominated the University of Chicago during his presidency, 1890-1906, the period of this book. To replace Veblen's well-known caricature of Harper—the "captain of erudition" seeking for his institution "statistical magnitude" and "conciliatory publicity"—Storr portrays an astonishingly gifted and diverse human being who was a Yale Ph.D. (at eighteen) and a leading Chautauquan, a practitioner of the higher criticism and a devout Baptist, a charismatic leader of men and an administrator with a hypertrophied organizational drive, yet, withal, a self-questioning man of decent instincts.

At the risk of financial disaster, Harper resisted mere adequacy and sought greatness for the new university. The avoidance of disaster is a tribute to John D. Rockefeller, who detested deficits, but repeatedly financed Harper's costly developments after the fact. Of Rockefeller, too, Storr offers a revisionist view, in large part necessarily derived from the man's silence, which is interpreted here as purposeful restraint. More than two men come to life in these pages, but the tension between these two keeps the volume taut.

A series of innovations distinguished the new university: the quarter system, extension, and programs of coordination with colleges and schools, with aims predictive of regional accrediting associations. But in its research emphasis the university simply drew on developments already proved in the preceding quarter century, and there was downright conservatism in the blend of Christian moralism and athletics under Amos Alonzo Stagg and in the guarding of the Latin requirement for the A.B. The successful but sometimes painful combination of prophecy and preservation, intellect and affluence, makes the Harper years of the University of Chicago an epoch in American educational history.

Quite aside from the importance of the university involved, this book should not be mistaken for another dust-gathering academic local history. Storr's subtle analysis and understated prose are unfailingly engaging, though his restraint somewhat veils the importance of his revisionism. It is within the human predicament rather than any sociological model that he places the frustrations of men in complex organizations. No assessment of the postprogressive generation of American historians should ignore Storr's work, which brilliantly represents the

"new consciousness of the human and the problematical" that John Higham sees as characterizing the present renewal of history.

Amherst College

HUGH HAWKINS

GEORGE W. NORRIS: GENTLE KNIGHT OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. By *Norman L. Zucker*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1966. Pp. x, 186. \$5.00.)

THE span of George Norris' life coincided with the emergence of the modern world. He was born a few months after the Battle of Bull Run and died a year before the atomic destruction of Hiroshima. In his long political career Norris also spoke for the forces of modernity. First as a prosecuting attorney and judge in Nebraska during the 1890's and then as a US representative and senator between 1902 and 1942, he played important roles in Populism, Progressivism, World War I, the "New Era," the Great Depression, the New Deal, and World War II.

This book is not a biography but an inquiry into Norris' contribution to democracy. It is based on Norris' papers and published speeches and writings and also on secondary sources that place the subject in historical context. The organization is logical rather than chronological, with a chapter, subchapter, or section each devoted to Norris on politics, business, agriculture, labor, natural resources, minorities, and international relations.

Taking his subtitle from a speech by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Norman Zucker portrays Norris as the "gentle knight of progressive American ideals." He further agrees with Harold Ickes that the Nebraskan was "one of the best representatives that the people ever had. . . ." Norris was at his best, as Zucker convincingly shows, in his rebellion against Speaker Cannon, in his fight for public power and against labor injunctions, in his courageous endorsement of Al Smith and FDR. The Lame Duck Amendment is only one of the monuments the Nebraska liberal left behind.

Yet, however partisan, Zucker calls attention to Norris' shortcomings. He criticizes his grasp of taxation as amateurish, his celebration of the dirt farmer as pious, his attitude toward Europe as insular, his faith in nonparty government as unrealistic, his view of Negroes and "new immigrants" as ungenerous, and his belief in conspiracies as simplistic. Few readers are likely to disagree with these judgments, but one wonders how Norris managed to do so much good in spite of (or was it because of?) his intellectual unsophistication.

Zucker's well-organized, informed, readable, sympathetic, but critical book deserves a wide and appreciative audience. Yet, in a study of Norris and democracy, there is, disappointingly, very little about Norris the campaigner or about the kind of constituents who, for some forty years, enabled him to stage a forum for progressive ideas in the national capital. Although aware of the problem, moreover, Zucker has not convincingly explained Norris' evolution from an anti-Populist Republican in the 1890's to a progressive Republican after 1910. But such questions perhaps belong to Norris' biographer, and one must wait for the answers until Richard Lowitt finishes his multivolumed work in process.

University of Chicago

ARTHUR MANN

EXPLORER OF THE UNIVERSE: A BIOGRAPHY OF GEORGE ELLERY HALE. By *Helen Wright*. With an introduction by *Ira S. Bowen*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1966. Pp. 480. \$10.00.)

As soon as one has gone even a little way into the history of American science, he realizes that George Ellery Hale was one of the giants—a good scientist and a superb institution builder. Nevertheless, information on him has been excessively hard to find; he came just too late to have an ample life and letters. Hence this biography of Hale swishes into an almost complete vacuum with all manner of new and interesting things. As an approved biography, this one is in the life-and-letters tradition although Miss Wright has boiled down her quotations to fit her text in the best twentieth-century fashion.

Born in 1868, Hale belonged to that first generation of American scientists who were thoroughly at home with the best international standards, the same generation who staffed the new American universities and built their research departments. A leading theme of his career as an astrophysicist was the coupling of a physical laboratory with its spectrographs and other instruments to the telescopes of astronomical observatories. He studied the sun as the most accessible typical star, and Wright characterizes his discovery of the magnetic fields of sunspots as his greatest scientific achievement. Although she consistently treats astronomy nontechnically, writing on occasion almost a popularization of the subject, she is very much at home with astronomers and their shoptalk, devoting perhaps more space to this aspect of Hale's career than to any other.

Yet Hale's full significance lies in a broader contribution to American culture. The Yerkes Observatory was an ornament of the early University of Chicago. The Mount Wilson Observatory led the way to the California Institute of Technology, not vice versa. And the Palomar Observatory, with its two-hundred-inch Hale telescope, is a monument to his skill as a designer and promoter of these remote, western outposts where big science was born. Hale was one of the first prototypes of the high-pressure, heavy-hardware, big-spending, team-organized scientific entrepreneur. Would that all who followed him on this path had his technical competence, his clarity of scientific objective, and his breadth of view. Outside of astronomy his role in the founding of the California Institute of Technology, of the National Research Council, and of the International Council of Scientific Unions made him a major statesman of his era, quite appropriately an intimate of Elihu Root. Much, perhaps too much, of his energy went into transferring nineteenth-century fortunes to the service of twentieth-century science.

This book can also be considered as a prospectus for a great collection of manuscripts, hitherto unseen by historians, which will illuminate many more subjects than those treated by Wright. Hale, who fought the influence of Duveen and Rosenbach to turn the Huntington Library to the path of research, would doubtless rejoice to see his own papers enter the stream of scholarship.

University of California, Berkeley

A. HUNTER DUPREE

RETREAT TO NEVADA: A SOCIALIST COLONY OF WORLD WAR I.

By *Wilbur S. Shepperson*, with the assistance of *John G. Folkes*. [The Lancehead Series, Nevada and the West.] (Reno: University of Nevada Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 204. \$5.25.)

NEVADA'S TWENTIETH-CENTURY MINING BOOM: TONOPAH; GOLDFIELD; ELY. By *Russell R. Elliott*. [The Lancehead Series, Nevada and the West.] (Reno: University of Nevada Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 344. \$5.95.)

BOTH of these books deal with twentieth-century developments in Nevada. Shepperson's study is of a curious socialist colony, Nevada City, that had a fleeting and unprosperous existence in the Lahonton Valley between 1916 and 1919. Written from a variety of sources, including colony records and interviews with survivors, the story is of near tragicomic proportions. A total of 562 individuals who were seeking a utopian retreat resided in the settlement sometime during its short life span, their thinking a hodgepodge of antimilitarism, Neo-Populism, and socialist dreams of capturing political control of Nevada. Unfortunately their utopian promoters proved to be grasping in a most capitalistic way; the colonists fell to bickering among themselves; and the enterprise soon crumbled into ruin.

The Elliott volume is broader. It focuses on the mining booms of southern and eastern Nevada in the period 1900-1920: the gold and silver camps of Tonopah, Goldfield, and Rhyolite in the south, and the copper district around Ely to the east. These were booms that revitalized Nevada and dominated the state's economic and political development well into the 1930's. Very much at home with his subject, Elliott traces the evolution of both the towns and the mineral industry that nourished them, weaving their history together to provide an excellent overview. He treats in detail such questions as ore discovery, its financing and extraction, promotion and speculation, the entrance of the large corporation onto the scene, and the labor strife that inevitably followed. He is concerned with the towns themselves—with their specific problems of growth, decline, and, in Rhyolite's case, death. Elliott has produced a tightly constructed, well-researched contribution to the understanding of the economic and social history of western America.

University of Illinois

CLARK C. SPENCE

THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS: THE CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART, 1916-1966. By *Carl Wittke*. ([Cleveland:] John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust and Cleveland Museum of Art; distrib. by Press of Western Reserve University, Cleveland. 1966. Pp. xi, 161. \$7.00.)

THE independent private institution for the pursuit of excellence and the public good is well known through schools, colleges, universities, and libraries. Less well known are the museums of fine arts, and this volume is an attempt to tell the story of such an institution, the Cleveland Museum of Art. The story begins with the founding of Cleveland in 1796 and moves quickly through the next century, with numerous entertaining bits of information about the pioneers of art in the city and their aesthetic interests and tastes. Successive chapters, most

of them following a generally chronological pattern, take up special aspects of the museum: the May show, the department of education, music, collections and exhibitions, and other topics. Emphasis is given to social and cultural aspects of life in Cleveland as well as the internal development of the institution. Personalities emerge vividly; problems and their solutions are dealt with candidly; and a light touch relieves much that must have been difficult for the participants. There is no bibliography, but footnotes are provided at the end of the book. Sixteen pages of illustrations, mostly interior and exterior views of the building and portraits of officers, visitors, and benefactors add to the attractiveness of a handsomely printed work.

Whether *The First Fifty Years* is regarded as a gift volume, a study in civic philanthropy, or an essay in local history, the reader will find it informative, amusing, and thought provoking.

Ohio University

HARRY R. STEVENS

COMPETITION & COOPERATION: THE EMERGENCE OF A NATIONAL TRADE ASSOCIATION. By *Louis Galambos*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 329. \$7.50.)

TRADE associations have long been a subject of controversy. Some have considered them an instrument of monopoly while others have regarded them as a basis for effective competition. In *Competition & Cooperation* Professor Galambos has presented a history of the Cotton-Textile Institute from its origin in 1926 to 1935 when it was at the peak of its power. The first third of the book deals with the early history of the trade association movement, when it was composed of regional bodies, to the era when the institute was born; then the author turns to the trials and tribulations of the national organization.

The institute was promoted to cope with the perennial problem of "excess capacity," by means of systematic voluntary "cooperative controls" that would ensure stable prices and profits. This scheme of "regulated cooperation" was based originally on the open-price plan or statistical exchange among the members. The theory was that, after exchange of full information and discussion of the statistics, through the institute, "management would maintain fairly stable shares of the market . . . and would keep prices relatively stable." The inadequacies of the procedure soon forced the use of supplementary measures in the form of active directives such as "emergency curtailments" of production. The result, however, was an intensification of the institute's problems in attempting to placate the great variety and often conflicting factions within the membership and between the organization and other interests in the community, including the substantial number of nonmembers. As in other industries, the Great Depression accelerated the demand in the cotton textile industry for government power to back the regulations of the association. Thus, with the support of the majority of manufacturers, the leadership of the institute helped to promote the establishment of the New Deal's National Recovery Administration (NRA) in 1933 and became dominant in the Cotton Textile Code Authority. On the basis of the empirical investigations of economists, the author contends that by the time the NRA was held unconstitutional two years later, this experiment in coercive self-

regulation had failed to realize its objective of stable prices and profits. The author concedes that the cotton textile code had brought some small benefits, such as protecting "some marginal firms" and preventing "disastrous price declines." I wish that the author had developed the reasons why he considered these advantages small. But this deficiency is more than compensated for by the substantial amount of new relevant material that the author has made available to investigators of the continuing problem of monopoly.

Columbia University

JOSEPH DORFMAN

SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND FARM POLITICS IN THE AGE OF ROOSEVELT. By *Richard S. Kirkendall*. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 358. \$7.00.)

THOSE who have been following Professor Kirkendall's progress, in a notable series of articles and of papers delivered before scholarly meetings, will not be disappointed to see the final product of his careful work in this case study. Those who come upon his work for the first time in this book should be warned that he provides rich fare indeed; his is a work to be read with care, since he makes every word count, and he does not take time to leaven his story with wit or humor. He introduces a number of characters—Howard Tolley, M. L. Wilson, John D. Black, Mordecai Ezekiel, Lewis C. Gray, Carl C. Taylor—little-known even to students of the period and depicts their relationships with such luminaries as Henry A. Wallace, Claude Wickard, Rexford Guy Tugwell, and Chester C. Davis.

The agricultural programs have unquestionably provided the best vehicles for social science experimentation in the period of the New Deal. The "service intellectuals" who played the leading roles in this drama were committed citizens, determined not only to play the part of experts but also to have a hand in making and implementing policies. They were determined to solve the "farm problem," but not at the expense of the dirt farmers, farm laborers, or sharecroppers. Secretary Wallace, in spite of his close identification with the American Farm Bureau Federation (and of occasional lapses, such as the celebrated "purge" of Jerome Frank's group of radical lawyers in 1935), was generally sympathetic with the sometimes conflicting aspirations of his service intellectuals. Secretary Wickard, perhaps because his wartime problems were so different from those of Great Depression agriculture, often held back his support. According to Kirkendall's interpretation, Secretary Clinton P. Anderson, determined to repair President Truman's political fences in both Middle West and South, ended the last serious effort at economic planning by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, leaving the few remaining social scientist-service intellectuals in a state of frustration.

This is clearly a major work in twentieth-century American history. Kirkendall is at his best in leading his readers through a maze of pressure group and bureaucratic politics. His people come alive, and their complex problems engage both our intellects and our emotions. The range of his research is enormous. In addition to a great mass of published materials, he has used nineteen manuscript collections (scattered from Hyde Park to Bozeman), interviewed twenty-

one participants, and examined eight of Columbia's oral history projects. The book is well designed and indexed. The notes are, unfortunately, where most publishers persist in putting them, at the back of the book.

University of Washington

ROBERT E. BURKE

THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF SOCIAL SECURITY. By *Arthur J. Altmeyer*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 314. \$6.50.)

ARTHUR J. Altmeyer has spent a lifetime in Wisconsin and Washington developing and administering social insurance legislation. A subordinate during the first years of the New Deal, his great opportunity came with appointment as a member of the three-man Social Security Board in 1935 and as its chairman in 1936; he left government service in 1953. It is the years 1934-1954 that are termed the formative years of social security in the United States.

This book is autobiography, chronicle, institutional history, attempted vindication, and anticipatory forecast; there is some second-guessing. Erstwhile critics of social security developments will be interested in the last. From the perspective of 1965, Altmeyer thinks that in 1935 employees could have begun to contribute to unemployment insurance to raise benefits, that in 1939 minimum benefit standards could and should have been set for that program; that a more uniform old-age insurance payment system should have been enacted by 1940; that permanent total disability benefits could have been added as early as 1938; and that the categorical aids approach of 1935 was a basic error. President Roosevelt should have accepted the board's 1939 recommendation that federal aid to states be proportional to their per capita income and should have supported the Wagner bill of 1938 to provide federal funds to states for establishing medical care plans. A compromise with Senator Taft in 1946 or compromise with Flanders-Ives and Nixon-Javits in 1949 might have brought medical care insurance protection to the whole population.

I fully agree that "administration consists of more than organization, procedures, and personnel"; there can be interpretation of law so that "fundamental purposes" can be achieved. Altmeyer and the board indeed influenced social security history by insisting on the term "insurance" despite fierce criticism; by the broad interpretation of "employee"; by administering through USES employment offices nationwide; and by deciding that state old-age assistance plans must pay on the basis of individual need. It was administration that fully clothed naked but key phrases of law like "state plan," "money payments," and "fair hearing."

A reading of this interesting, but always personal, book and of Edwin E. Witte's *The Development of the Social Security Act and Social Security Perspectives* will help mildly interested historians to personalize a most difficult and sometimes dry area of American social history. We must agree with the author that the Social Security Act took the form it did "in the light of the situation existing at that time, not in the light of the situation existing . . . more than a quarter of a century later."

Southern Oregon College

VAUGHN D. BORNET

ISOLATIONISM IN AMERICA, 1935-1941. By *Manfred Jonas*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 315. \$7.50.)

THIS significant monograph analyzes the basic assumptions of isolationist spokesmen during the heyday of their movement. With meticulous precision it illuminates the ephemeral triumph of isolationism and explains its subsequent decline.

While Professor Jonas is a multicausationist, he plays down ethnic, geographical, political, and economic factors and finds that blind faith in unilateralism and an overriding fear of war provided the twin dynamics of isolationism.

The author has done a superb job of reconstructing the case for nonentanglement. In his diligent search for source material he has traced forgotten letters and speeches and has uncovered many unusual books, pamphlets, and articles. One of the strongest features of the book is its deft pen portraits of major and minor isolationists. Many telling flashbacks to pioneer American diplomatic thinkers enhance the reader's interest.

Jonas is scrupulously fair and regards the isolationists as purveyors of a coherent policy that appealed to a large and respectable segment of the American public. He understands that the isolationists were compelled to magnify the shortcomings of Western democracies. He further insists that the great majority preferred an Allied victory though they were unwilling to risk war to ensure the defeat of the Axis. Nevertheless, Jonas finds many flaws in the isolationists' arguments, and he submits that their stand eventually created insolvable dilemmas.

The author classifies the various types of isolationists and distinguishes between "belligerent" isolationists and the "timid" group. He further distinguishes between the liberal-radical wing who craved peace in order to carry the New Deal farther to the Left and the conservatives who feared that war would guarantee the triumph of collectivism at home.

This superior study evinces tireless research and impressive reflection. Jonas all but ignores the isolationism of the 1920's that connects the classic isolationism of the pre-Sarajevo days and the profound mood of detachment that followed the onset of the Great Depression. A more thorough consideration of this decade might have modified his verdict on some isolationists who had formerly been collective security enthusiasts. The author also neglects the fact that some men were isolationists primarily because it was Franklin D. Roosevelt who championed the other side; this is because Jonas is prone to belittle economic considerations.

The book is written with clarity and verve, but the end result would have been even better had some repetitious quotations been cut. These, however, are minor reservations, and the work is a welcome addition to the historiography of the interwar years.

State University of New York, Buffalo

SELIG ADLER

THE COMMUNIST CONTROVERSY IN WASHINGTON: FROM THE NEW DEAL TO McCARTHY. By *Earl Latham*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 446. \$7.95.)

THIS is the ninth volume in the "Communism in American Life" series sponsored originally by the Fund for the Republic. Although a fair treatment of the

subject may not be feasible with so many of the individuals and issues involved still alive, and with so many facts still unknown, Latham's detailed, sometimes tedious analysis is a valiant attempt.

Latham accepts as essentially credible the charges made by Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley. Then, with further evidence from careful examination of congressional investigation transcripts, published State Department documents, and autobiographies, he concludes that there were Communists in high government positions; some committed espionage, while others tried to turn American foreign policies in directions favorable to the Soviet Union. They had contact with known Soviet agents, and thousands of documents changed hands illegally, at least long enough to be copied. With the aid of the most comprehensive use yet made of the Institute of Pacific Relations hearings, Latham seems to indict as Communist sympathizers at least six or eight State Department advisers who tried to shape our China policies during and just after World War II. Much of Latham's evidence about the State Department group, however, is not of high quality.

Although he leans over backward trying to be fair to the investigators, Latham concludes that for the most part Communists in government were useful only as agitators and as fund raisers and that they frequently were not very good at either. When a number of party members found employment in the FBI's identification center, they tried to organize a union and got every member fired. As for the influence of the State Department advisers, there were too many bureaucrats with different views above and around them for their proposals to have more than a marginal influence on foreign policy. Later suggestions of "treason" obscured America's real foreign policy deficiencies: poor intelligence work and inadequate understanding of politics in countries like China—and Vietnam.

Latham, a political scientist, regards McCarthyism as a rather simple case of political expediency. Conservative Republicans used the Red hunters as a weapon to gain the power denied them since 1932: "When McCarthy and the Communists had served this purpose, they both disappeared." This theory is a useful although parochial attempt to explain a complex phenomenon.

Princeton University

STANLEY COBEN

THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO TROOPS. By *Ulysses Lee*. [U. S. Army in World War II: Special Studies, Number 8.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army. 1966. Pp. xix, 740. \$7.75.)

It is not surprising that the War Department delayed publication of this volume for several years. Professor Lee writes with ironic detachment. He carefully traces the steps toward integration taken by the army during the latter part of the war. Yet his ponderous factual recital produces an overwhelming indictment of the army's racial practices during World War II.

Lee focuses on the development of army policies in regard to using Negro troops. At first the military acted on two assumptions: that Negroes, being inferior, were unfit for combat service; and that the army's role was not to

inaugurate "social change." Both assumptions proved dysfunctional for fighting a war effectively. Army actions, writes Lee, "were more a function of expediency in response to external circumstances . . . than a response to specific need." Sensitive to certain public and political pressures, the War Department denied that it was reluctant to use Negro troops in combat and attempted to place Negroes in all types of units. Segregation was universal, but only reluctantly were Negro units assigned Negro commissioned officers. Inferior recreational facilities, hostility of whites in nearby towns, police brutality, separate quarters for Negro and white officers, a promotion ceiling for Negro officers, and a widespread feeling among the white officers that the enlisted men and Negro officers under them were unsatisfactory soldiers—all produced low morale.

By the end of 1943 the army was converting most Negro combat units into service forces. Yet public pressure compelled the War Department to use a few of them in overseas combat, just as earlier public pressure had compelled the air corps to train a few Negro pilots. Essentially the army's experience with Negro combat troops proved to be largely a self-fulfilling prophecy of its original pessimistic assumptions. Thus the generally poor showing of the Ninety-second Infantry resulted from the years of discrimination that the unit had suffered before it went overseas. Presenting countless case studies, Lee persuasively argues that army expectations of poor combat performance often produced just that. He demonstrates that morale was the critical factor in Negro troop performance; that men made good soldiers when they could trust their officers, whether white or black, and when they believed that the army was offering their unit the opportunity to make a significant contribution to the war effort.

Lee's careful study will be mined by scholars for years to come.

Roosevelt University

AUGUST MEIER

THE SIGNAL CORPS: THE OUTCOME (MID-1943 THROUGH 1945).

By *George Raynor Thompson* and *Dixie R. Harris*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army. 1966. Pp. xvi, 720. \$5.25.)

"Every commander understands that his command control depends upon effective signal communications. Effective communications must be fast; they must be accurate; they must be secure." The authors also note: "It is the absence of good communications rather than their presence that makes news." Here is the theme of this book. Dealing as it did with the intricacies of radio and radar, of telephone and telegraph, and of all the related activities of visual as well as sound and electronic communication of messages and representations, the Signal Corps was, in a way, the technical service par excellence of the army.

But how does one relate the story of a technical service in all its aspects in World War II? The problem is to isolate the particular specialties under consideration while making them intelligible within the context of the larger story. Any such separating out of particular elements is bound to be artificial. Yet the Second World War was of such vast dimensions that even the most perceptive cannot hope to do more than catch a glimpse of it whatever the approach may be.

In this volume the authors attempt a compromise in which they devote the first half, roughly, to activities in the overseas theaters and the remainder to a broader treatment of Signal Corps activities, mostly within the United States, but returning to the theaters from time to time for illustrative examples. The treatment in the second half turns out to be more satisfactory. The first half, though a well-written survey of signal activities in combat operations, singles out one element, which gives it a sense of unreality. It seems a rather strange world where radio and radar become the heroes, and technicians the operators, rather than means in the hands of commanders. It is not a matter of overemphasis; it is in the nature of things. The narrative itself is interesting enough and surely is an invaluable fund of experience for the young officer assigned to communications duty in a combat zone or for the student seeking broader understanding of the war. Some may find the too frequent use of military phraseology and the inevitable abbreviations annoying. In the second half the book is at its best as it treats the complex and fascinating subjects of electronic warfare, production and distribution of Signal Corps equipment, photography, signal security and intelligence, training, and organization.

One of the most valuable parts of the book is an appendix that catalogues and explains all the major items of signal equipment in use during World War II. The volume took nearly twelve years to prepare. It follows the high standards set by the sixteen technical services volumes and the sixty-three volumes of the army's massive World War II history that have preceded it.

National War College

JAMES A. HUSTON

TRUCE TENT AND FIGHTING FRONT. By *Walter G. Hermes*. [United States Army in the Korean War.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army. 1966. Pp. xix, 571. \$6.00.)

This is the second of a scheduled five volumes to be published in the series "United States Army in the Korean War." When completed these volumes will present a comprehensive account of the US Army's role in that highly controversial and somewhat frustrating war that was once euphemistically called a police action.

Most military historians divide the Korean conflict into five rather well-defined phases. During the first and third phases the Red armies scored substantial victories and pushed deep into South Korea. In the second and fourth phases the United Nations forces gained the upper hand and drove back across the thirty-eighth parallel separating North and South Korea. In July 1951, after a year of bitter combat, the war of movement came to an end, and a new and more static fifth phase began. As the battle lines stabilized, the impetus for a political settlement of the conflict increased, and for the last two years of the war "battle was the handmaiden of policy rather than its consort."

In this work the author is primarily concerned with this fifth phase: the period of stalemate and negotiations for a cease-fire. He presents a careful reconstruction of the almost interminable truce talks, develops the issues debated, and captures the color of the debaters and their arguments. By using the theater commander as the focus of the book, Dr. Hermes manages to shift to Wash-

ington for policy decisions that affected the war, or moves smoothly to the truce tent or fighting front to show how the policy was implemented. He accomplishes these shifts with amazingly little confusion. His handling of the dialectic, propaganda, and frustrations of the conference table, where first Admiral C. Turner Joy and later General William K. Harrison carried the load for the UN, is indeed dramatic. The study is rich in object lessons and case studies that illustrate the difficulties American officers may encounter in negotiating with Asiatic Communists. The tough negotiations over the handling of prisoners of war is especially well done.

This volume is certainly a worth-while contribution to the politico-military history of what may well become the pattern of conflict in the future—the limited war. Lessons learned in the Korean truce talks may yet get a trial in Vietnam.

University of Arkansas

JAMES J. HUDSON

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1965. By *Richard P. Stebbins*. (New York: Harper and Row for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1966. Pp. ix, 430. \$6.95.)

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1965. Edited by *Richard P. Stebbins*. With the assistance of *Elaine P. Adam*. (New York: Harper and Row for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1966. Pp. xxi, 498. \$9.50.)

A YEAR that began under favorable omens, following the defeat at the polls of the reputedly adventurous Barry Goldwater, was soon to see his successful rival embark upon courses that seemed adventurous to cautious minds. In February President Johnson initiated the bombing of North Vietnam and soon thereafter began the large-scale build-up of American combat troops in South Vietnam. At the end of April he landed troops in the Dominican Republic, justifying the step, first, as vital to saving the lives of foreigners, later, as needed to prevent a Communist take-over. Both measures called forth storms of protest abroad and some voluble dissent at home. The war in Vietnam halted what had appeared to be a promising *détente* with the Soviet Union, but did not prevent the US and the USSR from cooperating in the UN Security Council to stop the India-Pakistan hostilities. Intervention in the Dominican Republic alienated many friends in Latin America, and although the OAS consented, with no votes to spare, to assume nominal sponsorship of the occupation, Washington failed completely in its attempt to persuade the sister republics to join in creating a stand-by international force to meet similar emergencies in the future. In the Dominican affair the US was fortunate; the cease-fire eventually held. Before the end of the year the provisional government of Héctor García Godoy was functioning without open resistance, and Latin American antagonism to the US had moderated. In Vietnam, on the other hand, despite Johnson's repeated offers of "unconditional negotiation," the war continued to escalate on both sides, recalling an earlier warning by Senator Mike Mansfield that the struggle might develop into an "open-end war." As between the official view of the war as one of aggression by Hanoi and the contention that it is basically a South Vietnamese

civil war, Stebbins leans to the former. Indeed, he goes all the way with the State Department, quoting from Marshal Lin Piao's September article a description of Vietnam as "a testing ground" in the world-wide struggle between Communism and "U. S. imperialism." Other disquieting events of the year were the announcement by President de Gaulle of his intention to withdraw France from the integrated NATO command; the defeat of the United States in its attempt to penalize nonpayment of assessments for UN peace-keeping undertakings; and the postponement of the "Kennedy round" of tariff negotiations. On the more hopeful side of the picture were the shattering of the myth of "monolithic" Communism, the repudiation of Chinese Communist leadership in Indonesia and in several African states, and the maintenance or restoration of peace in the Congo, Cyprus, and Kashmir. Though 1965, hailed by U Thant as the International Cooperation Year (ICY), had done more to justify its acronym than its name, the author concludes that there was much in the year's record "to balance the obvious disappointments and justify a belief that the efforts put forth by the United States had not been wasted."

The volume is written with the smoothness, comprehensiveness, and objectivity that we have long since come to expect in this series. The documents in the companion volume are well selected to support and fill out the narrative. A new feature is a "Cumulative Index, 1961-1965," which provides a fourfold listing of all documents in the five volumes under titles, subjects, authors and addressees where appropriate, and place of origin. As a minor criticism, one could wish that the documents included were less exclusively American. For instance, excerpts from De Gaulle's press conferences of February 4 and September 9 and from Lin Piao's September article would be as enlightening for American problems and policy as many of the items of domestic origin.

University of Notre Dame

JULIUS W. PRATT

MINNESOTA AND THE MANIFEST DESTINY OF THE CANADIAN NORTHWEST: A STUDY IN CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

By *Alvin C. Gluck, Jr.* ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 311. \$7.50.)

THIS valuable book enlightens one of the murkiest and most misunderstood episodes in Canadian-American relations: the struggle to determine the destiny of the Canadian Northwest. The struggle has largely been ignored by American historians, with the notable exception of Theodore Blegen, who traced out the curious career of James Wickes Taylor, and it has been much misunderstood by Canadian historians, who have tended to see in it just one more example of American manifest destiny trying to take over Canada.

Professor Gluck has devoted many years to unraveling the complicated story with the aid of the British, Canadian, and American archives. No one before him has had such a command of all the available source materials, and no one has approached the subject with such a broad North American rather than nationalistic attitude. For him, "the history of the British Northwest was inextricably bound up with that of the American Northwest" from 1821 to 1870, the period with which he is concerned here. And he has irrefutably demonstrated

that the struggle was one between Minnesota and Ontario expansionism, with the British, represented by the Hudson's Bay Company, taking a neutral role as the company was gradually forced to renounce control over the Red River colony and turn over a major share of its vast territory to the newborn nation of Canada.

Both contending parties paid little heed to the wishes of the inhabitants, who were for the most part the half-breed (*métis*) descendants of the early fur traders. Both were established agricultural and commercial societies seeking to win control of a rich new field for agricultural colonization. Both dreamed great dreams of sea-to-sea dominion, and the clash of these two opposed manifest destinies culminated in the tragic Riel's Rebellion of 1869-1870, the effort of a seminomadic society to halt the advance of civilization that has been best described by Joseph Kinsey Howard in the first part of *Strange Empire*.

After Gluck's fully documented work, it will no longer be possible for nationalist-minded Canadian historians to find the dark hand of the US government deeply engaged in the take-over of a region that was obviously designed by Providence to provide *Lebensraum* for an overpopulated Ontario. From the Red River inhabitant's point of view, there was little to choose between the two expansionisms; only the Hudson's Bay Company's factors seemed to have had any concern for the will of the people most immediately involved. They were the predestined victims of the westward march of a more highly developed civilization on both sides of the border.

University of Western Ontario

MASON WADE

CANADA IN WORLD AFFAIRS. Volume XI, 1959 TO 1961. By *Richard A. Preston*. [Published under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 300. \$6.00.)

THE Canadian Institute of International Affairs, sponsor of this volume and series, is precluded from having or expressing any opinions. But its authors are allowed complete freedom of expression. In his introduction Professor Preston observes that there is room for wide disagreement "about the assessments that were made" by the author. Disagreement is the stuff of Canadian foreign policy, bound up in almost every detail as it is with Canadian-American relations. Yet it is difficult to find ground on which to disagree with Preston because he skillfully avoids taking any position or making any assessments; scarcely a verb or an adjective gives a hint as to his own views. One of his most daring statements concerns foreign aid: "For certain achievement of the desired result, the aid given was probably too small. It is also arguable that it was very much less than Canada could easily have afforded." His balanced summary points clearly to the major issues and dilemmas of Canadian policy, but it is more a lecture on law than a charge to the jury.

He has, however, admirably met his objective of presenting "a factual outline of events organized in such a way that a preliminary analysis may be made of Canada's participation in world affairs during the period covered." The structure selected is topical, with its advantages and faults. Each chapter takes a subject—defense, economic problems, relations with the United States, the Common-

wealth, and international organizations—throughout the entire period. Such a structure does not lend itself to flamboyant writing and makes it difficult to determine interactions between one set of problems and another, but it is clear and straightforward. Evidence is largely taken from newspapers and official statements and debates. There is no indication that Preston made any attempt to probe for inside material from the participants.

On the whole, Preston seems content with the direction and effectiveness of Canada's role in world affairs. In this he probably represents the consensus of Canadian opinion. His book demonstrates, again, that almost every aspect of Canadian foreign policy, whether political, economic, or military, must be viewed in the context of Canadian ambivalence toward the United States. This was particularly true in a period of growing anti-Americanism.

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JOHN T. SAYWELL

JAHRBUCH FÜR GESCHICHTE VON STAAT, WIRTSCHAFT UND GESELLSCHAFT LATEINAMERIKAS. Volume II. Edited by *Richard Koneczke* and *Hermann Kellenbenz*. (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1965. Pp. vi, 438. DM 44.)

THE second volume of this yearbook, like the first, shows certain dominant features that make it possible to assess certain probable characteristics of the series for the next few years. The essays are by a widely representative group of scholars on three continents, and they are in four languages. Those in German are given summaries in Spanish or Portuguese and vice versa; those in English and French are considered accessible to all likely to read the volume. The number of seminar papers by students judged worthy of inclusion is lower than is usual in such series. Potboilers by established scholars derived from the margins of research published elsewhere are more prominent but less frequent than one might expect. The fifteen essays in Volume II, in general, constitute real contributions. Further, the distribution of essays by period and type of history shows a definite pattern. Most deal with aspects of the colonial period or topics that cover the whole of the span from the European conquest to the present. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as such, receive far less attention. It is perhaps significant that the best essays on the later centuries are a summary of a fine report on the German colony in Mexico in 1850 by the then resident Prussian minister and a cultural, geographical study of the German settlement Colonia Riograndense in São Paulo as it was in 1941. Again, political history and studies in the new sociological forms popular in the United States are absent whereas economic and social history in the older European forms are dominant.

Among the more interesting essays are: Mario Góngora on the relation between rural landholding and emigration to America of villagers on the estates of the order of Santiago in Extremadura in the early sixteenth century; Enrique Otte on Genoese participation in American exploration and trade at the time of Ferdinand and Isabella; Hans Pohl on the role of the nobility in entrepreneurial enterprise in Spanish America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Marie Helmer on the sphere of trade of El Callao at the beginning of the

seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century; Manuel Nunes Dias on the *Companhia Geral do Grão Pará e Maranhão*, established by Pombal for the economic development of the lower Amazon Valley; and Inge Wolff on the frontier in Hispanic America. The last essay, with its thoughtful distinctions and comments, ought to be read by all who would discuss the frontier in history.

University of California, Berkeley

WOODROW BORAH

ANCIENT OAXACA: DISCOVERIES IN MEXICAN ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORY. By *Ignacio Bernal et al.* Edited by *John Paddock*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 416. \$18.50.)

RAPID advance in knowledge of Mexican prehistory and the steady dimming of the once firm line between prehistory and history are clearly apparent in the brilliant volume of essays on Oaxaca and Meso-America edited by John Paddock.

The three sections of the volume correspond to a clear plan or organization. Part I makes available in English the suggestions of Wigberto Jiménez Moreno (published in *El esplendor del México antiguo* [1959]) for organizing archaeological and mythological data into a coherent scheme of Mexican prehistory from the earliest traces of man to the Toltec period. The essay, which has become a classic, is now easily available. Part II is a new, long essay by Paddock, which performs the same service for the cultures of Oaxaca and demonstrates for them a far more dynamic role in Meso-America than had been assigned previously or than appears in the essay by Jiménez Moreno. The Mixteca, especially, becomes one of the great areas of innovation whereas the role of the Valley of Mexico is somewhat diminished, especially for the periods after the dominance of Teotihuacán. Paddock also suggests a new nomenclature (Pre-Urban, Early Urban, and Late Urban) to replace the present widely used one of Formative, Classic, and Post-Classic or Militaristic, with its unfortunate aura of moral judgments. Part III reproduces in English original or translation the papers prepared for the symposium on Oaxaca archaeology and prehistory of the 1962 International Congress of Americanists in Mexico City, of which all but two were published in Spanish in the *Actas*. The papers are highly diverse, from reports on new excavation to relations uncovered by varied techniques of research. The range of techniques employed is impressive in itself. The paper by Alfonso Caso, continuing his reading of the Mixtecan codices, gives us a genealogy for the lords of Yanhuitlan and their descendants that links in prehistory with the Tilantongo dynasties and ends in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Whatever the problems of following technical nomenclature, the volume embodies exciting syntheses and insights. Strikingly, lavishly, but pertinently illustrated, it provides a fascinating voyage of discovery.

University of California, Berkeley

WOODROW BORAH

HISTORIA DE LA VILLA IMPERIAL DE POTOSÍ. In three volumes. By *Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela*. Edited by *Lewis Hanke* and *Gunnar Mendoza*. [Brown University Bicentennial Publications, Studies in the Fields of General Scholarship.] (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1965. Pp. clxxxv, 407; xiii, 501; xiii, 556. \$45.00 the set.)

THREE handsome quarto volumes, issued in honor of the bicentennial of Brown

University, give us the full text of the hitherto unpublished history of the famous silver mining city of Upper Peru by Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela. Begun about 1705, the work covers the history of Potosí from its founding in the middle of the sixteenth century, through the period when its opulent mines were the envy of the European world and a profligate, quarrelsome, *nouveau riche* society ran through the easy wealth procured by Indian labor, to the comparative decay of the city in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For the first century and a half the account is based on chronicles and records, many of which have been lost. For the years of Arzáns' life as an adult to his death in 1736, the work is a chronicle of events the author himself witnessed and recorded increasingly within a few days or months of their occurrence. Three rather poor chapters at the end represent an attempt by a son to continue the chronicle and carry the narrative to 1738. On examination the *Historia* is clearly chronicle rather than history in the sense of reflective reconstruction of events in the search for meaning. Such reflection for Arzáns was already provided by the Church, and so the *Historia* is essentially a recounting of great deeds and notable events of the past (often quarrels and civil strife) and a devoutly prolix report of miracles that illustrate the divine supervision of human affairs. For the scholar intent on the study of Potosí, the main value of the *Historia* is likely to be the last sections, which give events known directly to Arzáns, and the insights afforded by the entire work into the mentality of an upper-class Creole of Potosí and the society in which he lived. Consultation of the *Historia* for information on the earlier years of Potosí is made hazardous by frequent error in Arzáns' use of sources. The editors hint that some of the sources may be fictitious since they have not been found, but that suggestion seems unnecessary when so much of the material for those centuries has vanished. There can be no doubt, however, that the *Historia* must be used with caution and checked against other sources.

This edition has been prepared with care to indicate variations between the two major manuscript versions of the *Historia*, in Madrid and in the Brown University library. Discrepancies and errors in the text are also carefully noted. A lengthy series of initial essays in Spanish includes a sketch of the life and work of Arzáns, the story of the manuscripts as far as it can be reconstructed, a study of sources used by Arzáns, another of archival sources available for the history of Potosí, and a life of Colonel George Earl Church, to whose generosity Brown University owes possession of the manuscript.

University of California, Berkeley

WOODROW BORAH

LAND AND LIBERTY: A HISTORY OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION.

By *Blanche B. De Vore*. ([New York:] Pageant Press. 1966. Pp. 344. \$5.00.)

THIS well-intentioned but unsophisticated and pedestrian retelling of the narrative history of the Mexican Revolution from about 1900 through 1964 makes no significant contribution to the vast literature on that complex subject. It is neither a bad book nor a good one. This is a pity because Dr. De Vore obviously has succumbed to the many charms of Mexico and sympathizes with the remarkable efforts Mexicans have made to overcome their country's troubled past. She transmits these feelings for a general United States audience, but, unfortunately, euphoria is not enough.

Divided into fifteen chapters, the treatment is essentially a political narrative, organized chronologically for a rather orthodox reconstruction of the sequence of events. The author leans heavily on secondary materials, especially on rather familiar published memoirs. There are some surprising lacunae among the latter, such as omission of autobiographical works by José Vasconcelos, Álvaro Obregón, Juan Andreu Almazán, and other major participants in the Revolution.

The fact that De Vore did fall under the spell of one of the aging revolutionaries, Antonio Díaz Soto y Gama, while visiting Mexico, lends a somewhat curious cast to this book. Although admittedly he was one of several important intellectuals from earliest days of the Revolution, his position is here related with wholly undue prominence. Many of his views are also echoed in the treatment of events; as Soto y Gama was usually in opposition, the effect is much as if Alf Landon's views on the New Deal were taken as a guide to the interpretation of US matters during the same period.

In some instances the author does not pursue her facts far enough and leaves an incorrect impression. An example is her statement that following the Mexican oil expropriation in 1938 the United States added to economic difficulties in Mexico by discontinuing purchase of Mexican silver; she does not indicate that this suspension lasted only three days and that the continued silver purchases signaled the Roosevelt administration's early intention to back President Cárdenas rather than US business interests in the controversy.

The present volume obviously does not fill the continuing need for a sound scholarly synthesis in English of what is now known of the Mexican Revolution. As monographic research reveals more and more of its complexities, the task becomes more difficult, but also more challenging and requisite.

Library of Congress

HOWARD F. CLINE

MEXICAN MARXIST: VICENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO. By *Robert Paul Millon*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1966. Pp. 222. \$6.00.)

A FORMER rector of the National Autonomous University of Mexico told me that the institution had produced only three geniuses in the present century and that one of them was Vicente Lombardo Toledano. When to that appraisal is added an awareness of Lombardo's important role in the Mexican labor movement and in the nation's political life in several periods, there is ample grounds for welcoming a volume that promises not only to examine the content of his thought, but also seeks to place him in his milieu and appraise the practical consequences of his intellectual development.

Dr. Millon makes no pretense that he has written a biographical study of the Mexican labor leader, who is now seventy-two and still vigorous and active. What the author does, and does exceedingly well, is to trace the evolution of Lombardo's thinking as expressed in his writings, speeches, and interviews. After sketching all too briefly and inconclusively his subject's transition from spiritualistic idealism to Marxist socialism, Millon topically summarizes and demonstrates Lombardo's thinking on Marxist philosophy with emphasis on his powerful nationalism and his relationship to the Mexican and international

Communist movements, imperialism and the development of Mexico, the social and political structure of Mexico, the Mexican Revolution and the means by which pursuit of its ideals might be continued, and international affairs.

While compilation and synthesis of this important figure's thought are most welcome and useful, it is unfortunate that the author did not assume a more critical and questioning role as an investigator. Once, when asked a rather pointed question by me, Lombardo responded that "when I talk history, I tell the truth." All too often the author of this volume seems to feel that one might generalize from this assertion, and only occasionally does he counsel caution.

In too many ways the volume becomes simply a sounding board for Lombardo's views, which stand unexamined or unchallenged. This also is apparent when the author tries to demonstrate the effect of Lombardo's thinking with chapters on his role in the labor movement and in the Popular Socialist party. Labor and political developments not only are presented from a personalized and partisan view, but there are both notable omissions and inadequate treatment of some personalities and events.

Despite these limitations, it is exceedingly useful to have available in a single source and in organized form the material delineating the written and spoken thought of one of Mexico's principal labor leaders.

State University of New York, Stony Brook

STANLEY ROBERT ROSS

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* * * * *Association Notes* * * * *

The New York Meeting, 1966*

The Eighty-first Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association took place on December 28-30, 1966, at the New York Hilton Hotel at Rockefeller Center in New York City. Over six thousand registered at the meeting, providing the largest attendance in the history of the Association. Despite the huge attendance, the Hilton offered ample room for most of the sessions. Yet many members of the Association expressed dismay that the annual conventions have grown so huge that it has become exceptionally difficult to see colleagues from other institutions, and concern was voiced over the increasing impersonality of these meetings.

The Program Committee was composed of David D. Bien, Norman Cantor, Carl N. Degler, A. S. Eisenstadt, Robert A. Potash, Eugene Rice, and C. Vann Woodward, with William E. Leuchtenburg as chairman. The committee began by establishing relations with the numerous organizations that meet jointly each year with the AHA; in 1966 twenty-eight such organizations held joint meetings, some sponsoring both luncheon sessions and regular sessions. Since the Program Committee is instructed to organize at least as many regular sessions as joint sessions, the committee begins each year with a formidable assignment. The Association will wish to consider carefully the approval of any new petitions for joint sessions at the meetings if they are not to grow even larger. At the same time, the committee found the cooperation of these organizations enormously helpful in preparing the program. By the time the committee finished its work it had developed, either on its own or in collaboration with these organizations, seventy-five sessions.

Having decided against forcing the entire meeting into the Procrustean bed of a single theme, the committee sought to encourage sessions in a number of different areas. It particularly tried to stimulate the creation of programs in the area of comparative history. One major session treated "Comparative History." Other sessions that were transnational in character included those on leaders of Asian nationalism, revolutions in Central Europe in the World War I era, comparisons of Canadian and American experience in social welfare and in religion, studies of corruption in nineteenth-century legislatures, explorations of collaborationism during World War II, and new approaches to Latin American periodization.

The committee attempted to develop sessions in areas that it believed had been underrepresented at some previous meetings. It sought to assure a larger role to areas of history outside the United States and Europe; it was pleased by the large number of sessions in Asian and Latin American history and regretted the absence of a session in African history—an omission it hopes will be remedied at

*A complete listing of sessions will appear in the *Annual Report*, Volume I, *Proceedings*, available to members upon request.

the Toronto meeting. In part as a consequence of the composition of the committee, more sessions than usual were devoted to ancient and medieval history and more to recent, even contemporary, history. Conscious of the concern over the war in Vietnam, the committee was gratified by the emergence of two programs on the way that wars are ended, both prepared by affiliated organizations with the cooperation of the committee.

Believing that political history is often overrepresented, the committee made a special effort to organize sessions in social history. Consequently, the program included such topics as "The Family as a Focus of Historical Inquiry," "The Laboring Poor, 1750-1830," and "New Perspectives on the Women's Movement in the United States." The committee also sympathized with proposals that employed the methods of the social scientists, as in the program on "Politics and Social Structure in the Early Republic," and thought it would be helpful to look at how far we have come in the marriage of history and other disciplines in the past generation. This led to a session on "History and Social Science: A Trial Balance."

In preparing sessions for the meeting, we, as a committee, found some familiar rubrics useful. In particular, we followed the tradition of setting up sessions to mark historical occasions, and this year found more than the usual quota of anniversaries: 1066 and all that, the Easter Rising, events of 1866 in Central Europe and the United States, Pearl Harbor, and the centennial of the birth of Benedetto Croce. We also endorsed the practice of developing sessions around particular books: Philippe Ariès' *Centuries of Childhood*, Lawrence Stone's *The Crisis of Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (with a comment by Stone), Howard K. Beale's *The Critical Year*, the work of Ulrich B. Phillips and Gabriel Kolko, and the sixth volume of *The Cambridge Economic History*.

Finally, the program embraced a number of sessions concerned with the nature of history and problems of the profession. These included "The History of American Science: Science or Social History?" "New Departures' in Educational History," "The Historian's Opportunity," and the preliminary report on the "Survey of the Use of Original Sources in Graduate History Training" by the National Historical Publications Commission. Perhaps the most ambitious session of this sort was the joint session with the American Studies Association, which offered papers on "Socio-Historical Phenomena: The Seen, the Unseen, and the Foreseeable," and "Space and Time as the Structure of History." The committee acknowledges a debt to the national office of the Association in preparing sessions on "The Teaching of History" and "Placement in History."

The Committee on Local Arrangements carried out its work under the efficient direction of John Roche of Fordham University.

Columbia University

WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG

The Year's Business, 1966

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR 1966

It is a pleasure to report on the Association's activities for 1966, the first full year since my coming on the staff. Surprisingly, it has been a year of continued

growth in membership, unchecked by the 50 per cent increase in dues that took effect September 1. The increased dues have among other things facilitated installing a modest array of IBM machines, under the care of a new business manager, all of which promises to make a number of our routines speedier and more economical as soon as the present process of conversion is completed.

The machines are one evidence that the Association is moving to a new scale of operation, which we cannot regret if we wish history and the historical profession to maintain their proportionate influence in our country's life. Another evidence is that this year's printing of the small pamphlet *History as a Career* has gone out in response to requests over twice as fast as its previous printing. The Association's Professional Register seems to have caught on to such an extent that this fall in the first two issues of the *Newsletter* it had nearly three times as many items as it had in the preceding year. Business of all sorts, in fact, has quietly so risen in volume as to begin to cut into the amount of time available to the Executive Secretary for staff work for the Association committees. We must now add to the staff for this particular purpose.

Several urgent matters have been forced on the Association by outside developments. First, the distressing prolongation at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, of the suit to halt distribution of S. K. Stevens' book made it necessary last spring for the Association to form, with the Organization of American Historians, a Joint Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment. The appeal sent out in midsummer brought a generous response from members and friends of our profession. We probably must not hope for a quick or easy settlement of all that we consider at stake in this litigation, and several further appeals and legal efforts by the committee may be needed before a satisfactory ruling is secured from the courts that will clarify the historian's right to publish the honest work of his craft embodying his own individual best judgments on whatever controversial matters fall within his subject.

Second, criticisms in California and elsewhere of the Caughey-Franklin-May textbook illustrate the importance of our pressing for such a ruling. At the same time, a bill reported in Congress in October to revise the copyright law opens up new possibilities for misunderstandings in practice that require fresh efforts by our staff and by the Committee on Freedom of Historical Inquiry. Third, in the second half of 1966 the Association has encountered regrettable difficulties in trying to clear up a confusing similarity between its name and that of a new society in Washington; fortunately, an early settlement of this is now in prospect.

The year's major effort has been toward more effective relations with history teaching in the schools. Under a subcontract from the American Council of Learned Societies, the Association this year completed a survey of the impact of the summer 1965 NDEA institutes for history teachers for the Office of Education. The final report by James L. Cate, who directed the survey, was printed and widely distributed in November. Shortly before that, the Council on Basic Education mailed to all our members a pamphlet containing a few carefully considered statements on the problem of history in the schools. Our increasingly good relations with the National Council for the Social Studies were marked at Thanksgiving when history was assigned first place among the main speeches during the council's annual meeting at Cleveland—in the form of a speech by me as Execu-

tive Secretary. We must not underestimate the job still to be done before history in universities and colleges can be working smoothly, as a team, with history in the schools of our country. But the Association, through its committees and the efforts of many individual members, is once again seriously engaged in the task and is making progress.

Day-to-day communication with the Office of Education on this task and cooperation on specific programs have been gratifyingly effective this year. Relations with other branches of the government in Washington are less frequent, but are developing well. The new National Endowment for the Humanities has shown cordial appreciation of historians' needs and abilities. In September the endowment announced a small grant to the Association for a survey of bibliographical services in history. This is under the supervision of Oron Hale's Joint Bibliographical Committee and is directed by Aubrey Land. With prospect of another grant from the endowment, the Association completed arrangements for Neal Allen to direct a team project that will prepare a volume of selected colonial court records of the eighteenth century on the subject of "Freedom under Law."

In the field of international relations the Association continued its special assistance to historians under arrangements with the Asia Foundation. Directed by the Program Committee, the Association arranged for two foreign historians, from Japan and Russia, to visit this country to present papers during this meeting. The Committee on International Historical Activities has circulated a questionnaire to Americans who attended the International Historical Congress at Vienna in 1965, to assist in planning the next Congress, scheduled for Moscow in 1970.

A matter of lively concern for the Association throughout the year has been efforts looking toward a center for scholars in Washington, D. C., as a memorial to President Woodrow Wilson. The Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission created by Congress received an initial proposal early in 1966. It drew its character and many actual sentences from Julian Boyd's presidential address of December 1964, which outlined the case for a center for historians in Washington. Late in 1966 a bill introduced in Congress called for detailed study by the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial that is to be located directly north of the National Archives and to include a center for scholars. This development seems compatible with what the Association has been seeking, but it will now need special efforts on our part.

Even when such a new center has taken shape, the heart of the Association's work will remain the volunteer responses of its committees and members to the needs and opportunities facing the profession. This is most massively evident in the work of each year's Program Committee and Local Arrangements Committee that results in the Annual Meetings, where so much work gets done that helpfully stimulates better scholarship. The work of our staff, whose devotion and high quality I deeply appreciate, is properly focused on making the most of these volunteer efforts, at all levels.

Finally, I feel that the case for membership in the Association is worth more emphasis than ever because of the developments in recent years. Historians in and out of our educational institutions who are not members of this Association, or at least of one of its sister organizations, are inevitably removed from the vigorous "criticism by peers," which is the heart and backbone of our discipline. Nor can

they adequately appreciate and share the present efforts to champion the interests of history on our changing national scene—efforts that I feel have unusually good prospects at the moment, if only we make the right use of our opportunities. I hope, therefore, that our membership will continue its surprising increase.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1966

The past year has been relatively routine in the history of the *Review*. Its offices, for the information of colleagues who wish to visit when they are in Washington, have been transferred from the basement to the second floor of the Association's headquarters. The move, designed to make room for various business machines installed by the Association, has proved to be most successful. More space and more efficiently organized space are now available to the staff, and, while this may not affect the quality of the *Review*, it will certainly improve the morale of those who are responsible for it.

The expansion of the *Review* can hardly have escaped the notice of members. Volume LXXI (October 1965–July 1966) contains 1,605 pages as compared with 1,376 pages in the previous volume. For the most part, this figure reflects the continuing growth of the review section of our journal. In 1963–1964, some 786 reviews were published; in 1964–1965 the number increased to 900; and this year we printed 966. In part these figures are a response to the fact that more historians are publishing more books; in part they indicate that we are having slightly more success in eliciting books for review from publishers in other countries. But of course the process of growth continues to pose problems. Reviews have to be postponed from issue to issue, lengths of reviews must be rigorously limited, and books are not reviewed that might well be noticed if there were more space.

In order to make possible even the current level of reviews, various expedients have been necessary. A year ago I pointed out that I had acted to restrict our advertising to a fixed proportion of the *Review's* pages. I recognize that the offering of new books of all kinds is a service to the profession, but I am compelled to set up priorities, and clearly the scholarly discussion of a book is usually more valuable than its advertisement. Similarly, I have, with the approval of the Board of Editors, changed the section of the *Review* labeled "Historical News" to "Association Notes" to reflect the fact that many materials previously published in the *Review* will now appear in the *AHA Newsletter*, which has become so important a part of the publication program of the Association. In this way, a few more pages have been made available for reviews in each issue, but there is a point of diminishing returns for expedients.

To be sure, limitation of reviews to between 300 to 500 words seems to have its compensations. My impression is that the necessity for compression has encouraged reviewers to be more careful writers, to be certain that what they have to say is relevant to the discussion of the work under consideration. Consequently, the editorial staff has had to do less tinkering with the contributions we receive, and those contributions, in turn, have much more often than not fulfilled the basic purposes of description and evaluation for which a review section is intended.

As for articles, Volume LXXI contained, of course, Frederic Lane's presidential address, "At the Roots of Republicanism," 1 review article, 6 "general" essays, 6 articles on modern European history, 5 on United States history, and 1 on a medieval subject. Lest this breakdown be judged to reflect an editor's bias, let me quickly point out that of the 282 articles submitted last year, exactly 5 were in ancient history and no more than 14 in medieval history. Whatever conclusions may be drawn from it, there seems to be an almost direct correlation between the number of articles in a given field and what is published. But I have tried, within the framework of what comes across my desk, to make the *Review* as varied and representative of what is happening in the world of historical scholarship as is possible.

During the course of the year, the Board of Editors authorized a change in procedure that will interest all contributors to the *Review*. When requests come to the Executive Secretary for permission to reprint articles from the *Review*, the authors are now given the option of having the copyrights transferred to them. If they do so, they can then set their own terms for permissions to reprint, allowing abridgments or not as they wish. When an author chooses to leave the management of the copyright in the Association's hands, the reprinting will still require the author's permission, a fee of fifty dollars for an article of normal length, and agreement to reprint in full including all footnotes. In the light of the widespread use of anthologies of scholarly articles in schools and colleges, it has appeared wise to allow the author of an article to decide how and under what terms his work will be reprinted.

My gratitude and that of my excellent staff for the cooperation of our colleagues in the administrative offices of the Association and of the Board of Editors are very great indeed. Let me add a special word of thanks to Charles Mullett, whose term on the Board of Editors comes to an end at this meeting. His wise advice on all matters of policy, like his judgment on a wide range of manuscripts, was always given promptly, cheerfully, and with a wit that often lightened the day for all of us. I know he will understand when I say that I intend in the future to impose upon his good nature as much as he will permit. Meanwhile, I will continue to try to evaluate manuscripts quickly but carefully, to make use of the talents of new reviewers as well as of more established scholars, and, in general, to produce a *Review* that adequately mirrors the tasks and the achievements of our profession.

HENRY R. WINKLER, *Managing Editor*

MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
THE NEW YORK HILTON HOTEL
DECEMBER 27, 1966, 9:30 A.M.

The meeting was called to order by the chairman, AHA President Roy F. Nichols. Present were: Mr. Nichols; Hajo Holborn, Vice-President; Elmer Louis Kayser, Treasurer; Paul L. Ward, Executive Secretary; Henry R. Winkler, Managing Editor of the *Review*; Council members Robert F. Byrnes, Thomas C.

Cochran, John K. Fairbank, Wallace K. Ferguson, Richard Hofstadter, Carl E. Schorske, and John L. Snell, Jr.; voting former Presidents Julian P. Boyd, Crane Brinton, and Frederic C. Lane; nonvoting former Presidents Louis Gottschalk and Bernadotte Schmitt; and Assistant Executive Secretary Robert L. Zangrando. Council member Louis B. Wright was unable to attend.

The minutes of the meeting of March 20, 1966, presented in a new format, were approved, together with a record of supplementary action by the Council initiated April 22, 1966, and approved by mail ballot.

Abraham Nasatir presented the report of the Pacific Coast Branch of the Association.

Mr. Winkler then gave his report as Managing Editor of the *Review*. He nominated Lacey Baldwin Smith of Northwestern University to fill the vacancy on the Board of Editors left by the retirement of Charles Mullett. The Council approved Mr. Smith's appointment. Mr. Winkler informed the Council that he was going to ask the Board of Editors of the *Review* at its meeting the next day for authorization to increase the number of *Review* issues to five a year.

The Council considered the Treasurer's report, presented by Mr. Kayser.

Mr. Zangrando presented several reports, the first of which was the report of the Committee on Teaching. He next gave the report of the Committee on the Professional Register. At its meeting on December 2 the committee had made a formal recommendation to the Council that the Professional Register alert candidates to the Association's endorsement of the 1940 *Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure* of the Association of American Colleges and the American Association of University Professors by naming at the end of each listing of positions available those institutions currently under censure by the AAUP, with reference to the AAUP *Bulletin* for further information. Mr. Zangrando asked the Council what the procedure should be when institutions under AAUP censure seek to list vacant positions through the Professional Register. After discussion, the Council adopted the following motion:

In consideration of the Association's endorsement of the 1940 *Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure* of the Association of American Colleges and the American Association of University Professors, the Council directs that when listings for the Professional Register are received from institutions currently under censure by the AAUP, such listings shall be marked with an asterisk when printed for distribution to individuals seeking positions through the Professional Register, and said asterisk shall refer to a full list of the institutions currently under censure by the AAUP which shall be printed at the end of the list of positions available, and the censured institutions shall be notified in advance that the Professional Register is so identifying them in its listing of positions available.

Mr. Zangrando's third report was as a delegate to the board of *Social Education*, the official journal of the National Council for the Social Studies, and his final report was that of the delegates to CONPASS, the Consortium of Professional Associations for the Study of Special Teacher Improvement Programs. (The Association has two voting delegates to CONPASS, Mr. Ward and Mr. John Thompson, and one nonvoting delegate, Mr. Zangrando.)

The next several items on the agenda were committee reports. Several members expressed the opinion that a number of the reports from chairmen of prize committees indicated similar problems and a general need for re-evaluation of

the nature and function of prize committees as they are and as they ought to be, and of the Association's prizes and awards generally. Mr. Ward noted that this should be done early in the year so that administration of prizes would not be held up. After discussion, the Council adopted the following motion:

Resolved, That the President shall appoint a new *ad hoc* committee to consider all existing prizes and awards given by the Association, and to suggest other appropriate prizes or types of honors which could be awarded by the Association.

The Council agreed that the recommendations for action proposed by the Adams and Beveridge Prize committees should be referred to the new committee.

The Council next considered the report of the Nominating Committee. Its suggestion of a medal or the like to be awarded for a great historical achievement was also referred to the committee on prizes.

With respect to the constitutional amendment proposed by the Nominating Committee to expand its own membership from five to six and provide for three-year terms instead of two-year terms, several Council members expressed the opinion that the committee's membership could profitably be increased to nine with three-year terms. A motion was made and adopted to this effect, as follows:

The Council recommends to the membership at the Business Meeting on December 29 that the text of the constitutional amendment submitted by the Nominating Committee be revised to read as follows:

"There shall be a Nominating Committee to consist of nine members, each of whom shall serve a term of three years. Three new members shall be elected each year after the new rotation scheme is established."

The Executive Secretary was asked to report this recommendation at the Business Meeting.

The Council considered the report of the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government. A subcommittee had met to discuss the question of federal support for the social sciences in general and history in particular, in the context of proposed legislation to establish a National Social Science Foundation. Mr. Ward asked the Council whether a National Social Science Foundation might better support social sciences, such as history, or whether the National Science Foundation is a preferable channel for federal support. Mr. Snell stated that the Association must take a strong stand regarding a National Social Science Foundation, and it must be prepared to throw its weight behind the type of foundation it considers desirable. He introduced a motion calling for the Executive Secretary to work vigorously for the early creation of a National Social Science Foundation. Other Council members offered amendments asking the Executive Secretary instead to take a lively interest in it, or to press for vigorous exploration of it, but Mr. Snell was reluctant to accept the amendments. Mr. Fairbank pointed out that the question is not whether or not to establish an NSSF, but how to do it, since the Association could not hope to limit federal aid to research that already exists, but only to help channel it appropriately. The Council agreed that Mr. Ward should pay close attention to events and keep in touch with government contacts. Mr. Snell proposed an amendment to his own motion, and the Council adopted the proposed amended motion, as follows:

Resolved, That the Council urges the Executive Secretary to lend the support of the Association fully either to the creation of a National Social Science Foundation or to the broadening of the interests of the National Science Foundation, but the Council expresses its preference for a National Social Science Foundation, given the facts at hand.

The Council considered the report of the Committee on International Historical Activities, presented by Mr. Ward. He mentioned that an invitation to attend the Annual Meeting had been extended to some leading East German historians, and though it was sent too late to be accepted, a cordial telegram had been received, thus laying some groundwork for improved scholarly interchange. Mr. Holborn explained that unfortunately last spring the East German representatives invited to attend the international congress of archivists in Washington in May had then been denied permission to make the trip. He introduced a motion that might indicate to East German scholars the seriousness with which the Association regarded this denial. The Council adopted the motion, as follows:

Resolved, That the Council of the American Historical Association expresses its deep concern that during April 1966 temporary travel documents were denied to the representatives of the German Central Archive and the State Archival Administration of the German Democratic Republic. Both organizations are long-time members of the International Council on Archives, which was founded under the auspices of UNESCO. Both had received formal invitations from the ICA to the international congress of archivists that took place in Washington in May 1966 with the United States as host country. Nevertheless, the representatives' requests for travel documents were rejected so that they were unable to attend the congress. As a consequence of this, the East German government has closed its archives to all American scholars.

The Council of the American Historical Association deplores this serious breach of the canons of international hospitality. It urges that in the future the Department of State endeavor to further scholarly interchange between the United States and East Germany.

Mr. Ward mentioned that the Committee on International Historical Activities had proposed inviting the International Committee of Historical Sciences to hold its Congress in the United States in 1975; he recommended that the Council extend an invitation to the ICHS. The Council adopted the following motion:

Resolved, That the Council of the American Historical Association extends an invitation to the International Committee of Historical Sciences to hold its Congress in the United States either in 1975 or in 1980.

The Council next discussed and approved the final report and recommendations of the Committee on Ancient History.

The report of the Committee on the Commemoration of the American Revolution Bicentennial was the next agenda item. The Council adopted the following statement and resolutions respecting the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission as established by Public Law 89-491:

The historical profession in the United States, as represented by its largest national organization, the American Historical Association, has followed with keen interest the action of the federal government looking toward fitting commemoration of the approaching two-hundredth anniversaries of the great events of the American Revolution. The Revolution is so pivotal an event in world history, so fraught with social and moral as well as political implications for our own time, so in need of continuing study and interpretation by and for the American people as well as other peoples of the

world, and so certain to be celebrated in many diverse and sometimes doubtfully appropriate ways, that it would be unthinkable for the historians of the nation not to join actively in the planning and conducting of anniversary proceedings that ought to be commensurate in substance and dignity with the events being celebrated.

Through individual members, therefore, and also as a learned body directly concerned, the Association has encouraged and aided in the drafting of federal legislation for this purpose. This has now taken the form of a Joint Resolution of Congress, passed as Public Law 89-491 and signed by President Johnson last July, which provides for the appointment by the President of an American Revolution Bicentennial Commission "to plan, encourage, develop, and coordinate" suitable commemorative activities at suitable times and places in the years ahead.

In the opinion of the Association, the law is a good one, but is deficient in one vital respect. As drafted by its sponsors in the House of Representatives, and also as recommended by the President, the measure provided for appropriation of funds to enable the commission to do its work. An amendment offered in a House committee substituted for this provision another which reads: "All expenditures of the Commission shall be made from donated funds only." In this form the resolution passed both houses and was signed.

In the eyes of historians at any rate, it seems scarcely fitting for the United States government to solicit funds for a cause to which the government itself has declined to contribute. In reporting the amended resolution, the House Judiciary Committee stated that "Because of the great interest of all Americans, the committee is of the opinion that the Commission should be privately financed by public donations." This is a vague and lame justification at best. It says nothing of how and where the funds shall be raised. And it opens the door wide to individuals and special-interest groups that are always ready to contribute funds for self-advertising purposes. Under such conditions the commission is bound to be handicapped in engaging a properly qualified staff and hence in planning and carrying out its primarily educational tasks.

The American Historical Association believes that the commemoration of the birth of the United States is, among all causes that could be named or thought of, the last to be left to chance, extraneous pressures, or dubious sponsorship. At the same time, with regret, it believes that the present law, by failing to provide federal funds, runs just these risks, which may defeat the best intentions of Congress and the executive and the high expectations of the public. Therefore, at its Annual Meeting held in New York City on December 29, 1966, the Association earnestly urges, and by vote of its members *Resolves* to recommend to Congress, that Section 7(a) of Public Law 89-491 be amended, as soon as may be, to read as follows:

"Congress shall annually appropriate such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of the commission, and there is authorized to be appropriated a sum not to exceed \$200,000.00 for the twenty-four-month period beginning on the date this amendment is passed. The commission is also authorized to accept private donations, to be expended wholly at its discretion."

The Association further *Resolves* that copies of this statement and resolution, prepared by its Committee on the Commemoration of the American Revolution Bicentennial, be furnished to members of the House of Representatives and of the Senate, to the Organization of American Historians and the American Association for State and Local History for their concurrence, and to the press.

The Council considered the report of the Committee on University and College Teaching and with it an excerpt from a letter from Ray Billington to Mr. Ward asking if the AHA would consider establishing a committee jointly with the Organization of American Historians to work out acceptable curriculum criteria for different types of institutions in American history. Mr. Snell suggested a

scheme of consultations similar to what the new Committee on Ph.D. Programs will be doing, adding that he opposed the idea of setting down general criteria claiming universal applicability. He said he approved of advisory committee work, responding to requests from particular schools and viewing each problem separately. The Council referred the request stated in the letter to the Committee on University and College Teaching, with a caution to the committee expressing the sense of Mr. Snell's remarks.

The Council discussed the report of the Joint Committee of the Canadian Historical Association and American Historical Association. Mr. Ward had laid before it a resolution establishing the Corey Prize in Canadian-American Relations. The Council first noted that, like the others, this prize was referred for consideration by the new *ad hoc* committee on prizes; it then adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The Councils of the American Historical Association and the Canadian Historical Association in December 1963 approved in principle the establishment of a prize to be awarded biennially by the Joint Committee of the American Historical Association and Canadian Historical Association, the first award to be made when funds contributed reached a total of \$25,000.00; and

WHEREAS, Contributions to the prize fund from American and Canadian sources now total \$25,070.00; therefore,

Be It *Resolved*, That the American Historical Association agrees with the Canadian Historical Association to undertake joint sponsorship of an award to be known as the Albert B. Corey Prize in Canadian-American Relations. The prize shall be a memorial to the late Albert B. Corey (1898-1963), onetime chairman of the American Section of the Joint Committee, and shall be administered by the Joint Committee.

And Be It Further *Resolved*, That the American Historical Association extends whole-hearted thanks to the donors whose contributions, together with an opening gift from an anonymous donor, have made the Albert B. Corey Prize in Canadian-American Relations a reality:

American Metal Climax Foundation, Inc.
The Clark Foundation
Mr. A. C. Cramer, Vice-President, Albany Felt Company
Honorable Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, New York
The Charles E. Merrill Trust
Professor Mason Wade, London, Ontario
The Xerox Fund

And Be It Further *Resolved*, That the funds contributed which are now being held by the American Historical Association, together with the interest they have accumulated, are allocated to the Albert B. Corey Prize Fund within the endowment fund in the custody of the Board of Trustees of the Association, income from the fund to be used in the maintenance of the prize in accordance with the rules for the award.

The Council considered the report of the Joint Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment; Mr. Nichols summarized its activities for the year. The Council reviewed a statement of the committee's receipts and expenditures and adopted the following motion:

Resolved, That there be set up within the Association's accounts a standing account for the Protection of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment, disbursements from this fund to be subject to approval by the Council.

After discussion the Council approved a proposal by the Executive Secretary and Treasurer that expenses of the two joint committee meetings this year, printing, postage, supplies, and office overhead in the amount of \$2,979.00 be met out of the general funds of the Association, and that the \$5,000.00 tentatively advanced to the joint committee for legal fees be formally disbursed from the new account.

Mr. Brinton reported that the Committee on Honorary Members recommended that the following four men be made honorary members of the Association: Fernand Braudel, University of Paris; Sir Denis Brogan, Cambridge University; Claude Cahen, University of Paris; and Richard W. Southern, Oxford University. The Council adopted the recommendation.

The report of the Committee on Committees was considered next. The Council adopted, after some discussion, a motion by Mr. Byrnes, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Committees be directed to make an effort to bring in individuals from types of colleges and from fields other than those at present represented on the Association's committees, in the interests of rotation.

It was further resolved that an announcement be printed in the *Newsletter* inviting members to assist in this effort, not so much by volunteering for committee service as by submitting suggestions of individuals known to them to be peculiarly qualified to fill vacancies on specific committees.

After making some revisions, the Council adopted the report and recommendations of the Committee on Committees, as follows:

Standing Committees:

Committee on Committees.—Paul L. Ward, American Historical Association, chairman (ex officio); John M. Blum, Yale University; Donald E. Emerson, University of Washington; Elizabeth Foster, Bryn Mawr College;*James C. Olson, University of Nebraska; John K. Fairbank, Harvard University (ex officio); Hajo Holborn, Yale University (ex officio); Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University (ex officio); Henry R. Winkler, *American Historical Review* (ex officio).

Committee on the Harmsworth Professorship.—Frank E. Vandiver, Rice University, chairman; Allan Nevins, Huntington Library; Bell I. Wiley, Emory University;* Hajo Holborn, Yale University (ex officio); Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania (ex officio).

Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.—Louis Morton, Dartmouth College, chairman; Robert A. Divine, University of Texas;* William M. Franklin, Department of State; David S. Landes, Harvard University;* Rowland L. Mitchell, Jr., Social Science Research Council;* Bradford Perkins, University of Michigan; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., City University of New York.

Committee on Honorary Members.—C. Crane Brinton, Harvard University, chairman; Julian P. Boyd, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson; Carl Bridenbaugh, Brown University; Frederic C. Lane, Johns Hopkins University; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania.*

Committee on International Historical Activities.—Paul L. Ward, American Historical Association, chairman (ex officio); Howard F. Cline, Hispanic Founda-

tion, Library of Congress; Rosalie L. Colie, State University of Iowa; Raymond Grew, University of Michigan; Helmut G. Koenigsberger, Cornell University;* Frederic C. Lane, Johns Hopkins University; Richard Pipes, Harvard University; Boyd C. Shafer, Macalester College; Kenneth M. Stampp, University of California (Berkeley);* Arthur F. Wright, Yale University.*

Committee on the Professional Register.—Robert L. Zangrando, American Historical Association, chairman (ex officio); Dean Albertson, University of Massachusetts; Charles E. Blitzer, Smithsonian Institution;* Lawrence A. Cremin, Columbia University;* David A. Shannon, University of Maryland; Roger Shugg, University of Chicago Press;* Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University (ex officio).

Service Center Editorial Advisory Board.—Stanley J. Idzerda, Wesleyan University;* Edward C. Kirkland, Thetford Center, Vermont; Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University.

Committee on Teaching (Service Center for Teachers of History).—Wilson Smith, University of California (Davis), chairman; Donald Cole, Phillips Academy, Exeter;* Robert R. Coon, Lakewood, Colorado; Nelda Davis, West Hyattsville, Maryland; Henry Drewry, Princeton High School;* Frank Freidel, Harvard University; Jim B. Pearson, Council of Chief State School Officers; Thomas J. Pressly, University of Washington; Leften S. Stavrianos, Northwestern University.

Committee on University and College Teaching.—Joseph J. Mathews, Emory University, chairman; Gene A. Brucker, University of California (Berkeley); Theodore P. Greene, Amherst College; Ralph E. Morrow, Washington University; Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University; William R. Taylor, University of Wisconsin.

Prize Committees:

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Felix Gilbert, Institute for Advanced Study, chairman; Joel G. Colton, Duke University; Gabriel Jackson, University of California (La Jolla).*

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Piotr S. Wandycz, Yale University, chairman; Ivo J. Lederer, Stanford University;* Arno J. Mayer, Princeton University.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.—Lawrence W. Towner, Newberry Library, chairman; Jack P. Greene, Johns Hopkins University;* William J. Griffith, Tulane University; Eric E. Lampard, University of Wisconsin; David D. Van Tassel, University of Texas.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Wesley Frank Craven, Princeton University, chairman; Norman A. Graebner, University of Virginia; Holman Hamilton, University of Kentucky.*

Committee on the Clarence H. Haring Prize.—J. H. Parry, Harvard University, chairman;* Robert N. Burr, University of California (Los Angeles);* Richard M. Morse, Yale University.*

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Joseph H. Smith, Columbia University School of Law, chairman; John J. Biggs, Jr., Wilmington, Delaware;

* New member this year.

Gerald Gunther, Stanford University School of Law;* Alfred H. Kelly, Wayne State University; David J. Mays, Richmond, Virginia; Paul L. Murphy, University of Minnesota.

Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.—Willson H. Coates, University of Rochester, chairman;* Philip D. Curtin, University of Wisconsin;* Philip P. Poirier, Ohio State University;* David Spring, Johns Hopkins University;* Sylvia Thrupp, University of Michigan.*

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Ainslie T. Embree, Columbia University, chairman; Brijen K. Gupta, Brooklyn College; Norman Palmer, University of Pennsylvania.

Ad Hoc Committees:

Committee on the Commemoration of the American Revolution Bicentennial.—Lester J. Cappon, Institute of Early American History and Culture, chairman; John R. Alden, Duke University; Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., American Philosophical Society; Julian P. Boyd, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson; Lyman H. Butterfield, The Adams Papers; Oliver W. Holmes, National Historical Publications Commission; Otis A. Singletary, University of North Carolina (Greensboro); William J. Van Schreeven, Archivist of Virginia; Clarence L. Ver Steeg, Northwestern University.

Committee to Collect the Quantitative Data of History.—Lee Benson, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; William O. Aydelotte, University of Iowa;* Allan G. Bogue, University of Wisconsin; Sidney Fine, University of Michigan;* Dewey W. Grantham, Vanderbilt University; Samuel P. Hays, University of Pittsburgh; Morton Keller, Brandeis University; Richard P. McCormick, Rutgers University; Philip P. Mason, Wayne State University; Thomas J. Pressly, University of Washington; Charles G. Sellers, Jr., University of California (Berkeley); Richard L. Watson, Jr., Duke University;* Robert L. Zangrando, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Freedom of Historical Inquiry.—Arthur Bestor, University of Washington, chairman; Mrs. Vincent Eaton, South Hadley, Massachusetts;* Robert A. Gorman, University of Pennsylvania School of Law; Herman Kahn, National Archives;* Louis Morton, Dartmouth College.

Committee on National Aid to Historical Research.—W. Stull Holt, University of Washington, chairman; Robert F. Byrnes, Indiana University; A. Hunter Dupree, University of California (Berkeley); Joe B. Frantz, University of Texas; David Herlihy, University of Wisconsin; John Higham, University of Michigan; William H. McNeill, University of Chicago; Louis Morton, Dartmouth College; Gordon Wright, Stanford University.

*Committee on Ph.D. Programs in History.***—John Bowditch III, University of Michigan, chairman; Walter L. Berg, Central Washington State College; Joe B. Frantz, University of Texas; Lacey Baldwin Smith, Northwestern University; John L. Snell, Jr., University of Pennsylvania; Richard L. Watson, Jr., Duke University.

*Committee on Prizes and Awards.***—Eugene N. Anderson, University of Cali-

* New member this year.

** New committee this year.

fornia, Los Angeles; Charles Gibson, University of Michigan; Richard W. Leopold, Northwestern University; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College.

Joint Committees:

*Joint Bibliographical Committee.***—Oron J. Hale, University of Virginia, chairman; Erich H. Boehm, American Bibliographical Center; John Carroll, Texas Christian University; Elizabeth E. Hamer, Library of Congress; S. W. Higginbotham, Rice University; Oliver W. Holmes, National Historical Publications Commission; Donald N. Koster, Adelphi College; James H. Shideler, University of California (Davis); Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historical Society; Henry R. Winkler, *American Historical Review*; Oscar O. Winther, Indiana University.

Joint Committee of the Canadian Historical Association and the American Historical Association.—Charles F. Mullett, University of Missouri, US chairman; Richard A. Preston, Duke University; John Hall Stewart, Western Reserve University,* Craig Brown, University of Toronto, Canadian chairman; Gerald M. Craig, University of Toronto; C. P. Stacey, University of Toronto.

*Joint Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment.***—AHA members: Hajo Holborn, Yale University, cochairman; Julian P. Boyd, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson; Carl Bridenbaugh, Brown University; C. Crane Brinton, Harvard University; Oliver O. Jensen, Editor, *American Heritage*; Frederic C. Lane, Johns Hopkins University; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Paul L. Ward, American Historical Association; OAH members: Thomas C. Cochran, University of Pennsylvania, cochairman; W. D. Aeschbacher, Organization of American Historians; Ray A. Billington, Huntington Library; John W. Caughey, University of California (Los Angeles); Avery Craven, University of Chicago; Paul W. Gates, Cornell University; Richard P. McCormick, Rutgers University; George E. Mowry, University of California (Los Angeles).

Mr. Cochran pointed out that the Association's delegates to the Social Science Research Council should serve two terms, or six years, if possible, since only one year of a three-year term makes full use of the experience of the delegate. The Council agreed.

For the 1967 Annual Meeting the Council confirmed the appointments of Louis Morton of Dartmouth College as Program Chairman and J. B. Conacher of the University of Toronto as Local Arrangements Chairman.

Mr. Kayser questioned the size of the program for the Annual Meeting. Council members agreed that it is awkwardly large and should be pocket-size; the amount of advertising was considered the major reason for its unwieldy size. The Executive Secretary was directed to investigate alternatives to reduce the size of the program.

Mr. Ward brought up the proposed bylaws drafted in 1963. At that time the Council had resolved that the bylaws should be distributed to all present and future officers and Council members, but in the meantime they had become out

* New member this year.

** New committee this year.

of date. The Council thus directed that these bylaws not be distributed pending their examination and revision.

Mr. Nichols and Mr. Ward reported on the progress of work toward a national center for historical research in Washington. Several ideas for a center exist, including a bill in Congress and a study of details about to be launched by the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue and the Smithsonian Institution. Mr. Nichols reviewed the Association's efforts, thus far fruitless, to enlist someone to carry on a campaign of fund raising and information gathering for the historians' aspects of the proposed center.

The Council approved actions taken by the Executive and Finance Committees on its behalf since the March 20, 1966, meeting.

Mr. Kayser reported on the progress of the legal action against the American Historical Society to get that group to change its name because of substantial confusion caused by its similarity to the Association's name. The Council adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That, subject to approval of the court, it is the sense of the Council that any agreement which may be arrived at with the American Historical Society must include a change in the name of the defendant society to one which is not confusingly similar to that of the Association. Such a satisfactory name would be "Historical Society of the United States." The Association, through its counsel and officers, will negotiate on other matters listed in the complaint as they deem desirable.

Mr. Ward presented his report as Executive Secretary.

The budget was considered and approved by the Council.

Under the heading of new business, the Council discussed a resolution submitted by Mr. Boyd on the problem of the National Archives and the interests of historians. Mr. Boyd urged the adoption of a statement and resolution; the Council thus adopted the following:

The National Archives Establishment of 1934 was a monument to the labors of Jameson, Leland, and others in the historical profession who felt a deep sense of responsibility for the manner in which the records of the nation are preserved, managed, and made accessible. Since its creation vast changes have taken place. An archival profession has emerged as a separate discipline in which those trained as historians are greatly outnumbered by those trained in the new techniques of records management. A quite unprecedented system of presidential libraries has been established and is still evolving, each of its parts reflecting its own period in history as well as the character and personality of the chief executive who provided its reason for existence. A series of Federal Records Centers across the nation has been created, and these immense repositories are rapidly taking on the character of research agencies. The National Historical Publications Commission was galvanized into activity in 1951 and in little more than a decade stimulated impressive numbers of documentary publications, achieved some financial support from government and private philanthropy, and embarked upon its far-reaching program for "Equal Opportunities for Scholarship" through microfilm publication of historical sources of national significance wherever they may be and in whatever quantity they exist.

These achievements and these immense opportunities have been accompanied by problems and dangers about which most historians seem to have little awareness or concern. In 1949, suddenly and without opportunity for a considered exploration of the consequences for archivists, for historians, and for the public, the National Archives Establishment lost its status as an independent agency responsible immediately to the President. The proud monument that historians had labored so long to erect was lowered in

dignity and in rank to the level of a bureau under the newly established General Services Administration, thereby, in the name of efficiency, placing the records of the nation in the same category as articles of office equipment and storage warehouses. It is a measure of the distance the historical profession had traveled in the brief years since the Jameson era that its members made no public outcry against both the nature of this act and the precipitate, unconsidered manner in which it was brought about. Historians left it to their friends in the new archival profession to defend their interests and to make a somber appraisal of what one of the most thoughtful of archivists called a "turn in the road" for the National Archives [Oliver W. Holmes, "The National Archives at the Turn in the Road," *American Archivist*, XII (Oct. 1949), 339-54]. As an organized profession, historians to this day have made no protest against this ill-considered decision. Without repudiating both its role in the establishment of the National Archives and its obligations as a society of scholars, the historical profession cannot remain silent any longer while those in its sister profession who administer the records of the nation do so in subordination to an agency bound by no professional standards and obligations and concerned not with our cultural patrimony but with efficiency in the housekeeping operations of government.

The dangers are present and clear to those in the archival world. They should be made equally apparent to historians. The generation of archivists trained in historical scholarship is now passing from the scene. Recruitment of replacements becomes increasingly difficult. Budgetary claims of the National Historical Publications Commission and other archival activities of the first importance for historians and for the national heritage are placed in competition with those of other bureaus having no relevance to either. The most obvious danger looming on the horizon is that the mistaken turn of the road in 1949 will be rectified only to the extent of providing a separate status for the presidential libraries. For, whatever division of opinion may exist in the scholarly community about the value of these libraries as a group of repositories decentralized and scattered over the land on no principle more rational than the accident of birth, they constitute a system that in a single generation has become irrevocably established and one, too, in which successive incumbents of the office of President will undoubtedly have a peculiarly close and personal interest. This is natural, and it is equally so that such a concern on the part of the chief executive would not normally be extended in comparable force to other segments of the archival establishment.

But to give separate status to the libraries would be a tragic mistake, compounding both the original error and the present difficulties. These libraries constitute an integral and inseparable part of the whole archival establishment of the United States. The National Archives, the presidential libraries, the Federal Records Centers, the National Historical Publications Commission, and the Office of the Federal Register form an immense and indivisible complex of archival and historical activities. This fact is central, and its importance cannot be exaggerated. The National Archives in all of its ramified functions brings nonpartisan and professional service to *all* branches of the federal government—executive, legislative, and judicial. No part of its indivisible functions should become the special ward of any particular branch of government. A danger threatening one part of the archival system threatens the entire fabric. In no area is this truism more applicable than in the administrative control that gives coherence and direction to the whole. For it is here that decisions will be made and policies formed that will determine how far the interests of historians are recognized and the well-being of the archival patrimony is safeguarded.

Both experience and common sense suggest that, in order to achieve the highest benefits of professional service for the records of all branches of government, administrative control should rest in the hands of a professional archivist. This is the ideal held up by the historians who labored to found the National Archives a generation ago. It is a principle honored by the examples of other nations. It therefore seems high time that the American Historical Association should call for a reconsideration of the sudden and almost cavalier decision of 1949 which had in its favor neither precedent nor considered examination by archivists and historians.

In order to remove existing difficulties, to forestall impending dangers, to open up new possibilities, to give encouragement to those in the archival profession who have clung steadfastly to scholarly ideals in the face of increasing difficulties, and, perhaps most important of all, to awaken historians to a realization of their responsibilities in this area, the following resolution is proposed for adoption:

Resolved, That the Organization of American Historians and the Society of American Archivists be invited to join with the American Historical Association in creating an *ad hoc* committee to be composed of not more than two representatives of each organization and to be directed to investigate and report upon the status of the National Archives in the federal government, particularly with reference to the question whether it should exist as an independent agency, with the Archivist of the United States appointed by and accountable to the President, and, if so, whether authority for determining general archival policy should be vested in a board of governors under the chairmanship of the archivist and composed of representatives of the three branches of government, the archival and historical professions, and the public at large.

In view of its urgency, Mr. Boyd suggested that the resolution and statement be made available immediately to the presidents of the Society of American Archivists and Organization of American Historians and released to the press.

Upon motion by Mr. Boyd, the Council considered and adopted the following resolution on the continuation and enlargement of the grants program of the National Historical Publications Commission:

In 1950 President Truman gave the first strong impetus to the National Historical Publications Commission by requesting Congress to make it an active agency for planning and aiding the publication of "the public and private writings of men whose contributions to our history are now inadequately represented by published works." In 1954 the commission presented to President Eisenhower a survey of desiderata of this kind entitled "A National Program for the Publication of Historical Documents." This report received congressional endorsement by a concurrent resolution, but no appropriation.

Meanwhile, by means of private support, substantial progress was made toward the aims President Truman had in mind. Almost simultaneously with the appearance of the commission's 1954 report, enterprises were organized under a great variety of sponsorship to edit the papers of Benjamin Franklin, the Adams family, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison. Still others followed, for the need of comprehensive and reliable sources in our expanding graduate schools was—and remains—pressing.

By 1960 or thereabouts it became clear to the commission that private support alone would neither assure the continuity of large-scale enterprises already begun nor furnish the means for undertaking others if the American past were to be adequately documented. In a report issued in 1963 entitled "A Proposal to Meet Existing and Anticipated Needs over the Next Ten Years under a National Program for the Collection, Preservation, and Publication, or Dissemination by Other Means, of the Documentary Sources of American History," the commission therefore called upon the federal government to take a share in the work by funding a grant program under the direction of the commission.

The 1963 report was received enthusiastically by the scholarly community and the public at large. In accepting it, President Kennedy declared emphatically that "This work, now progressing with such momentum, must not be allowed to falter. . . . Compared with the funds required for other programs for the national good, those requested by this Commission for this program are modest indeed."

The response of Congress, on the other hand, was slow and fell short of the needs set forth. The commission's report called for a total of \$15,000,000.00, from both public and private sources, to meet existing and anticipated needs over the next ten years. Public Law 88-383, passed by Congress and signed by President Johnson in the summer of

1964, authorized annual appropriations not to exceed \$500,000.00 to be used for grants over the next five years. This was a start, and the fact that the government was participating, even if only in token fashion, led to a grant of \$2,000,000.00 by the Ford Foundation later in 1964 to the National Archives Trust Fund Board to support the five largest current documentary projects over a ten-year period. But the legislation fell far below minimal requirements, which were bound to increase as time went on.

With the funds available (actually \$350,000.00 rather than \$500,000.00, thanks to budget paring by the General Services Administration), the commission during the past three years has initiated and sustained projects that have resulted in some sixty volumes of printed documents and some three hundred rolls of microfilm publications of sources. These range chronologically from the colonial period to the present century, geographically from New England to the Pacific Northwest, and in subject from agriculture, conservation, finance, and government to law, military affairs, religion, scholarship, and science. Without the assurance of renewed support, this work will be brought to a halt in two or three years. It has already been badly handicapped in planning of large-scale editorial and microfilm undertakings. And without liberal and continuous support from the federal government it will scarcely begin to meet the demands upon it from historians, archivists, and librarians in all parts of the country. The danger of its faltering, of which President Kennedy spoke, is real and imminent.

Since history is being made in our contemporary world at an ever swifter pace and is being written, read, and studied ever more widely and intensively; since sound history depends directly upon the availability and dissemination of documents; and since the grant program of the National Historical Publications Commission has been remarkably well administered and equally fruitful in accomplishment, the American Historical Association therefore earnestly and urgently recommends that Congress authorize, as soon as may be, an annual sum of \$1,000,000.00 to be expended in grants by the commission for the editing and microfilming of historical sources of national significance; and that Congress place no limit of time upon this authorization, in order to make the commission's program parallel, as it intrinsically is, with the government's open-ended programs in education, science, and the arts and humanities.

Mr. Ward's report on the Association's policy regarding royalties received from prize books for which the AHA holds the copyright was approved. The Executive Secretary will continue to study both the existing and proposed revised copyright laws to consider how best to allocate royalties received from prize books, and he will in due course present a report and recommendations to the Council; in the interim he is authorized to notify authors or their heirs when the initial copyright term is about to expire for a particular book and to offer that the Association relinquish all rights in the book beyond that term in favor of such authors or heirs.

As comment on a request from the history department chairmen of the "Big Ten" and the University of Chicago, Mr. Ward reported that the Council of Graduate Schools has a committee working with the Educational Testing Service on standardization of applications for graduate school admission and for fellowships. Next fall this committee will be ready to initiate a feasibility study limited to the academic field of economics. The Council of Graduate Schools offers to authorize a person named by the Association to sit with the committee in connection with the feasibility study and further developments. The Council expressed its general approval of the Association's appointing the Executive Secretary or another individual to serve in this capacity.

Mr. Ward commented on a letter from five members of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Palo Alto regarding the controversy

in California over the state's adoption of an eighth-grade history textbook by Caughey, Franklin, and May. A clipping sent with the letter, from the San Francisco *Chronicle* of December 9, 1966, reported that pursuant to advice from a panel of historians, the State Board of Education had unanimously endorsed the textbook, and furthermore that State School Superintendent Max Rafferty had then hailed this outcome of the revision of the book through the good offices of Messrs. Nevins, Dumke, and Sellers as "an outcome we can all be proud of." Mr. Ward felt that since the duly constituted authorities had in the end handled the matter as all historians would have hoped, there was no need of action by the Association; the Council agreed.

The Council appointed Messrs. Cochran and Snell, the junior members of the body, as a committee to draft appropriate resolutions of thanks for introduction at the Business Meeting.

The Council appointed the Executive Committee, as follows: Mr. Holborn (chairman), Mr. Schorske, Mr. Kayser (ex officio), Mr. Ward (ex officio), Mr. Winkler (ex officio), with one other member to be named [Mr. Fairbank was so named].

Since there was no further business, the meeting, on motion, was adjourned.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
THE NEW YORK HILTON HOTEL
NEW YORK CITY
DECEMBER 29, 1966, 4:30 P.M.

The Business Meeting of the American Historical Association was called to order by the President, Roy F. Nichols; approximately two hundred members were present. The minutes of the previous meeting were approved as printed in the April 1966 issue of the *American Historical Review*.

The report of the Executive Secretary was presented by Mr. Paul L. Ward and was, on motion, accepted.

Mr. Elmer Louis Kayser gave the report of the Treasurer, noting that the figures indicate the Association is carrying on a wider range of activities and is expanding more than ever before; it is, therefore, spending more money. He stated that the Association had been wise to raise its membership fees since they constitute 62 per cent of its income. If members wish to minimize further increases in the future, he suggested they contribute and encourage others to contribute to the endowment fund. On motion, the Treasurer's report was accepted.

Mr. Henry R. Winkler presented the report of the Managing Editor of the *Review*, which was, on motion, accepted.

A constitutional amendment submitted by the Nominating Committee was the next item of business. The constitutional provision in question presently reads: "There shall be a Nominating Committee to consist of five members, each of whom shall serve a term of two years. In the odd-numbered years, two new members shall be elected; in the even-numbered years, three; this alternation shall

continue except in case of elections to complete unexpired terms." The following proposed amendment was moved and seconded: "There shall be a Nominating Committee to consist of six members, each of whom shall serve a term of three years, and two to be elected each year." Before discussion of the motion submitted by the Nominating Committee, Mr. Ward introduced a resolution adopted by the Council of the Association on December 27, as follows:

The Council recommends to the membership at the Business Meeting on December 29 that the text of the constitutional amendment submitted by the Nominating Committee be revised to read as follows:

"There shall be a Nominating Committee to consist of nine members, each of whom shall serve a term of three years. Three new members shall be elected each year after the new rotation scheme is established."

The latter paragraph of the resolution was moved and seconded as an amendment to the amendment.

With both proposed amendments on the floor, Mr. Nichols recognized Mr. David Potter, Chairman of the Nominating Committee. Mr. Potter said the two proposals presented the membership with a choice between two propositions that were alike in some respects, but that differed significantly. The Nominating Committee's original proposed amendment, he said, was intended to ensure continuity on the committee; on the other hand, the Council's proposed revision would go further and enlarge the membership of the committee. He stressed that the Nominating Committee had considered the question at length, including the ideal size of the committee, but had stated its conclusions in brief without referring to the matter of size. He pointed out that there had been no joint discussion of the matter between the Council and the Nominating Committee and that to adopt the Council's recommendation would be to reject the deliberations of the Nominating Committee. Mr. Potter suggested that the timing of the constitutional amendment's adoption was secondary to the importance of full consideration before action. He moved that both amendments be referred back to the Council, pending joint consultation on the matter between the Council and Nominating Committee. The motion was seconded and subsequently carried.

The Executive Secretary reported on actions taken by the Council at its meetings of March 20, 1966, and December 27, 1966, noting that the minutes would be printed in the April 1967 issue of the *Review*. He read a statement and resolution adopted by the Council on December 27, which called for special action by the membership at the Business Meeting, submitted by the Committee on the Commemoration of the American Revolution Bicentennial. (See *AHR*, LXXII [Apr. 1967], 1193.) The statement and resolution were adopted upon motion duly made and seconded. The Executive Secretary said the statement and resolution would be distributed to members of Congress, to the Organization of American Historians and the American Association for State and Local History, and to the press, as soon as possible.

Mr. Ward read two resolutions adopted by the Council at its meeting of December 27: the first concerned the problem of the National Archives and the interests of historians; the second concerned the continuation and enlargement of the grants program of the National Historical Publications Commission. (See

AHR, LXXII [Apr. 1967], 1200.) Both resolutions were approved by the membership.

The report and recommendations of the Nominating Committee were presented by Mr. Potter, who said the committee had sent letters to the Association's members October 1, setting forth the following nominations for office: President, Hajo Holborn; Vice-President, John K. Fairbank; Treasurer, Elmer Louis Kayser. Since no further nominations had been received, he moved the adoption of the recommendations of the Nominating Committee; the motion was carried unanimously. Mr. Potter reported the results of the mail ballot to fill two vacancies on the Council and three vacancies on the Nominating Committee, noting that 2,074 votes had been received from members. Philip D. Curtin and William B. Willcox were elected to the Council, and Bryce Lyon, Merrill D. Peterson, and Lewis Spitz to the Nominating Committee.

Mr. Nichols introduced Mr. George Richard Potter, immediate past president of the Historical Association of the United Kingdom.

New business was the next item on the agenda, and the chairman asked for resolutions from the floor.

Mr. G. W. F. Hallgarten made the following motion regarding translation of historical literature:

Due to the rapid rise of underdeveloped areas all around the globe the problem of studying their historical literature is becoming more important than ever before. The increasing production of the natives of these areas in the fields in which the members of the American Historical Association are interested makes it imperative that the study of this literature be no longer restricted to linguists familiar with the languages spoken there.

For this reason, it is suggested that the Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association be requested to form a study group for investigating this problem and the question whether it should be handled by establishing an agency concerned with the continuous translation of pertinent foreign language material to be selected by the American Historical Association, upon recommendation by its different committees.

It was moved and seconded that the motion be referred to the Council for consideration, and the motion carried.

Professor Thomas C. Cochran presented the following resolutions, both of which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the Association wholeheartedly thanks the Chairman of the Program Committee, Professor William Leuchtenburg, and his associates for their achievement in creating an outstanding program.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Association be conveyed to the Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee, Professor John F. Roche, his associates, and admirable staff of student aids for their hospitality and assistance.

Mr. John M. Thompson made the following motion:

WHEREAS, The American Historical Association has expressed its concern for the improvement of the teaching of history in the schools through its Service Center for Teachers, its Committee on the Teaching of History, and its programs and cooperative efforts with other public and private agencies with similar concerns, therefore,

Be It *Resolved*, That the American Historical Association at its 1966 Annual Meeting goes on record commending the program undertaken by the US Office of Education under the authorization of Title XI of the National Defense Education Act,

as amended, to provide institutes for advanced study of history for elementary and secondary-school teachers; regretting the reductions in appropriations for the program made by the recent Congress; and urging the administration and the Congress to strengthen the institute program through appropriations more nearly adequate to the national need; and

Be It Further *Resolved*, That the Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association be directed to communicate this resolution to the appropriate members of Congress and to the executive branch of the federal government.

The motion was duly seconded and adopted.

Mr. Walter Berg made the following motion:

Resolved, That the American Historical Association appoint a committee to investigate procedures for the establishment of accreditation of graduate schools of history and to explore the need for professional standards for both graduate and undergraduate degrees in history.

Mr. W. Stull Holt said the number of institutions giving Ph.D.'s in history is growing, and he pointed out that the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education accredits both graduate and undergraduate programs. One member stated that the NDEA fellowship program does also and that only fifty institutions are ranked "acceptable." The opinion was expressed that as a professional organization, the Association cannot afford to leave it to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare or NCATE to do the accrediting in the field of history. Mr. Ward said that informal approaches had revealed that the National Commission on Accrediting does not intend to approve any more accrediting programs in arts and science fields, but that the Association could exert substantial influence on specific situations where a school asked for consultants to help in setting up programs in history. It was pointed out that the National Commission on Accrediting has not prevented psychologists, chemists, and others from doing their own accrediting. Mr. John Snell said that while many persons distrust NCATE, the Association should not rush into accreditation in history hastily on this ground alone. He said the Association's new Committee on Ph.D. Programs in History exists to study the question and asked that the motion be withdrawn until next year. Mr. Berg stated that now is the time for the Association to look into the alternatives of accreditation. Upon motion duly made and seconded, Mr. Berg's motion was referred to the Committee on Ph.D. Programs in History and the Committee on University and College Teaching for study of the matter of accreditation of both graduate and undergraduate programs in history.

Mr. Snell then announced that the Conference Group for Central European History has voted to sponsor a new journal to be called *Central European History* and to be published triennially or quarterly with financial support from Emory University. The editor will be Douglas Unfug of Emory University.

Upon motion by Professor Lawrence Gipson, the meeting was adjourned.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

RECENT DEATHS

Donnell M. Owings of the University of Oklahoma died February 28, 1966.

Horace Bailey Carroll, professor of history at the University of Texas, died

May 12. He was primarily concerned with promoting the study of the history of Texas, having served as director of the Texas State Historical Association and editor of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for many years.

Leonid C. Sonevytsky of New York City died August 6.

Frank J. Dixon of St. John's University, Brooklyn, New York, died November 9.

Oliver M. Dickerson of San Diego, California, a life member of the Association, died November 26.

William Robinson Reynolds died December 28.

On December 31 Pieter Geyl died at the age of seventy-nine in Utrecht. In this country Geyl is well known through many translations of his work. He taught at Stanford University, Smith College, and Harvard University, where he received an honorary degree. He was made an honorary member of the American Historical Association in 1957.

In Geyl's work two periods can be roughly distinguished. Until World War II he devoted most of his writing to the early modern history of the Netherlands. During the war, which he spent mainly as a hostage in German concentration camps, he turned toward historiographical and theoretical problems. His fame as the first and most stubborn protagonist of Toynbee won him, much to his amusement, a place among philosophers of history.

Geyl's practical and theoretical works are based on the same basic attitudes and concerns. In his monograph on the Revolt of the Netherlands, for example, he exploded the old conception of the formation of the Dutch and Belgian states as the result of a natural and determined evolution; he showed how incidental military events had decided the outcome of the struggle. And in his work on the seventeenth century this indeterminist approach again resulted in a revision of the whole history of the Dutch Republic. The same indeterminism served as a basis for Geyl's attack on Toynbee—and the Marxist historians'—myth of the inexorable process of history.

A second theme present in his writing is the dilemma of objectivism and subjectivism, and, to quote the title of one of his books, "the use and abuse of history." On one hand it was Geyl's contention that he was more objective than, for example, Pirenne in the controversy over the Revolt of the Netherlands, and more scientific in the handling of evidence than Toynbee and his school. On the other hand Geyl's views on the history of the Netherlands were influenced by a deep-seated "Greater Netherlands" nationalism, and his dislike of Toynbee stemmed partly from an unshakable belief in the vitality of a liberal Western civilization. Similarly, he admired Ranke for his supposed objectivity, but attacked him for the relativism and quietism that were the result.

These contradictions stemmed from a personality that was fascinated by the pluriformity of human life, but that at the same time passionately played its own active role in history. As a historian Geyl consciously admitted both sides of his personality and tried to reach an impossible balance between them. His basically moral attitude accounts for many of his limitations: his lack of interest in the

social sciences and his almost dogmatic rejection of those patterns in history he disliked. But it was this uneasy balance and the conception of history as a discussion without end that made Geyl the admirable teacher that he was for his students and colleagues alike.

Frederic C. Church, emeritus professor and former chairman of the history department at the University of Idaho, died recently.

Herbert C. Bell of Middletown, Connecticut, and Monsignor Thomas A. Meehan of Chicago, Illinois, life members of the Association, died recently.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Richard M. Leighton's recent review (*AHR*, LXXII [Oct. 1966], 120) of our book, *A Short History of Warfare*, is so lacking in objectivity that, were it not for its injustice, it would best be ignored. Leighton's acrimonious opening dismissal of the work as a "dreary little textbook" alerts the reader that what follows cannot be taken as a balanced evaluation. Indeed, Leighton's acerbity leads us to question whether he is not attempting to strike through us at someone else. His development of a single sentence taken out of context into an indictment of our powers of logical reasoning is unusual for a serious scholar. Since presumably he read the first page before the second, he well knows that, rather than advancing a narrow determinism, we maintained there and throughout the book the inseparability of the study of war from the study of the history of society as a whole.

The reviewer also damns us for what we specifically stated in the preface was our purpose. Leighton asserts that we seem to have compressed three volumes into one; our intention was "a brief, unified history of Western warfare . . . designed to accompany more detailed studies." The book was never meant to be more than an outline history, and Leighton's pretentious attempt to judge it as a scholarly monograph is palpably unfair, despite promotional statements for which we are not responsible.

That Leighton disagrees with our judgments is certainly his prerogative, and he concludes by correctly identifying some of our omissions. Certain of these have already been written into a new, revised edition made possible by favorable reviews and good sales. On the other hand, while every Sophomore student of US military policy knows the work of General Emory Upton, Leighton's suggestion that we include something on "Henry Upton" is perhaps indicative of his familiarity with military history prior to World War II, his area of *expertise*.

Kansas State University
Naval War College

ROBIN HIGHAM
DAVID H. ZOOK, JR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I suppose one mark of the pro in this business is never to indulge in forthright critical language in reviewing books. Some do, of course, and appear to enjoy the ensuing bloodletting in the letter columns. I do not, and can only say that I regret having given offense to Messrs. Zook and Higham. Also, I am glad

their book is selling well. To label the book as "dreary" was, I realize, a subjective judgment, inappropriate in a published review and discourteous as well. It is only poetic justice that the authors should pin me to the wall for my "Henry" Upton blooper. I will long remember it.

As for the substantive points, I have searched both my conscience and the book a second time. But I do not see how the statement that war "has determined the course of civilization" can be ignored or even discounted as out of context. It has all the hallmarks of a credo—prominently placed, tersely and dogmatically asserted, under a boldface heading "Determinants," immediately following a quotation from Cyril Falls that war has "profoundly influenced" history, which of course it has. The contrast between the two was so obvious that I could only assume it was intended. If one believes, and proclaims, this kind of determinism, one should expect to have it challenged. I see no connection, incidentally, between this point and "the inseparability of the study of war from the study of . . . society as a whole," which determinists and nondeterminists alike can accept.

They seem to have missed my point about the compressed character of the book. I like short books and do not quarrel with the length or brevity of this one. What I criticized was its fragmentary character, which suggested a somewhat mechanical compression of a larger original. In retrospect the criticism seems a little harsh. I suppose one man's fragments may be another's well-ordered subdivisions.

Industrial College of the Armed Forces

RICHARD M. LEIGHTON

USIS-CALCUTTA

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An Encore for Reform

THE OLD PROGRESSIVES AND THE NEW DEAL

by OTIS L. GRAHAM, JR., *University of California, Santa Barbara*. The author delves into an important source of the reform tradition—the reformers of the Progressive era who survived into the days of the New Deal. Through interviews with over 100 of them, he discovered that more than half opposed the New Deal in whole or in part. “I have read it with interest and admiration. This is a fine monograph.”—FRANK FREIDEL, *Harvard University*

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DUBLIN, EASTER 1916

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Cloth, \$12.50. *A Galaxy Book*, GB 195, paper, \$2.95

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Early Mesopotamian Constitutional Development

NELS BAILKEY*

RELIGION excepted, few aspects of civilization in the ancient Near East hold the attention of modern students for long as they press on to the serious study of the Greeks. As pertinent today as it was nineteen hundred years ago is the observation by the Jewish historian Josephus of "the current opinion that, in the study of ancient history, the Greeks alone deserve serious attention" (*Against Apion*, I. 2). Particularly is this true in the area of politics where an unchanging "Oriental despotism" is commonly contrasted with the variety and uniqueness of the Greek achievement.

The view that the Greeks "invented politics" is a pardonable exaggeration that effectively points up the difficulty of naming a form of government unknown to this gifted people. Among the many types of polity which the Greeks experienced and to which they affixed enduring names, five may be singled out as marking basic stages in their constitutional development: monarchy, oligarchy, tyranny, democracy, and, finally, a return to tyranny.

The Greeks called their earliest form of government monarchy because

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of the prominent part played by the war leader in the Homeric epics. But since this Homeric basileus was not a monarch in the strict sense of the word, being limited by the active presence of an advisory council (boule) of his fellow nobles and by an assembly (agora) of all arms-bearing men whose assent was needed at moments of crisis, later Greeks were troubled by the term and qualified it in usage. Thus, for example, Thucydides (1. 13) called Homeric kingship "hereditary monarchy with established rights and limitations." Modern scholars, similarly troubled,¹ have preferred such terms as "primitive monarchy." Oligarchy followed primitive monarchy when the nobility succeeded in replacing the kings with short-term, compliant magistrates and in ignoring the popular assemblies. The baneful effects of oligarchic rule upon the common people, both peasantry and rising middle class, led next to the despotic rule of usurpers called tyrants (*tyrannoi*), apparently an Oriental term borrowed from nearby Lydia. When tyranny had served its purpose, political power in most Greek states became centered in a revived and democratic popular assembly. Finally, when democracy faltered, return to rule of the tyrant—the "champion powerful in action" of disillusioned democrats like the Athenian Isocrates—often followed.

The prevailing view that nothing approaching this rich and varied constitutional development can be dated earlier than the Greeks now needs considerable modification in the light of burgeoning evidence from ancient Mesopotamia. The object of this essay is to demonstrate the extent to which this evidence—chronologically surveyed to the end of the Old Babylonian period (about 1595 B.C.)—warrants the conclusion that, with the important exception of democracy, early Mesopotamia evolved constitutional forms that parallel, in their essentials, those of Greece. Consideration also will be given to a more plausible explanation for the failure of the ancient Mesopotamians to achieve democracy than simply the absence of a "democratic spirit," an unhistorical begging of the question first resorted to by ancient Greek writers.²

When history proper began in the city-states of Sumer around 2550 B.C. with the appearance of relatively abundant documentary sources, government was already in the hands of the ill-famed "Oriental despots" of

¹ E.g., "Agamemnon is an absolute [*sic*] king. . . . Yet the council of the Greek chiefs is obviously a normal and necessary institution, and the assembly of the army must have some standing, or why should it be summoned?" (A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* [London, 1956], 10.)

² E.g., Plutarch, *Solon*, 27 (tr. John and William Langhorne): "Solon . . . replied [to Croesus]: 'King of Lydia, as God has given the Greeks a moderate proportion of other things, so likewise has he favored them with a democratic spirit. . . .'"

Western tradition. But there is conclusive evidence that this early despotism, which, as will be shown, closely resembled Greek tyranny in character and origin, was not the first form of government in Sumer. Thorkild Jacobsen's analysis of the chief literary sources for the preceding protohistorical period—epic tales that describe the institutions and ideas of a typical heroic age and the somewhat earlier myths that depict the life of the gods as a projection of human society—has demonstrated persuasively that the tyranny of historical times was preceded by primitive monarchy (or what he more aptly terms "primitive democracy") with its tripodal structure of war leader and two distinct "assemblies" (*ukkin*), one an aristocratic council of "elders" (*abba*), the other a popular assembly of "men" (*gurus*).³ It remains to present evidence that not only did oligarchic aspirations, centered in the council, continually threaten the position of the primitive monarch, but that eventually, near the end of the protohistorical period, primitive monarchy was replaced by full oligarchic rule.⁴

Evidence of the suspicious hostility with which the aristocratic council viewed the Sumerian primitive monarch is not hard to find in the myths and epic tales. That this hostility was as old as kingship itself is disclosed in the Babylonian version of the myth on origins, *Enuma elish* (When Above), which, in recounting the origin of kingship among the gods, in reality describes its origin among men. Kingship did not exist in heaven until the gods were threatened with destruction by a host of monsters. To be their leader and champion, the "fifty senior gods" approached Marduk (Enlil in the lost Sumerian version), the heroic son of a fellow senior god. Yet so reluctant were the senior gods to grant adequate power to Marduk that he threatened to refuse the office unless they reconsidered: "If I am to be your champion, . . . and keep you alive, then establish an assembly and proclaim my lot supreme . . . and let me when I open my mouth have power . . . even as [equal to] you, so that whatever I frame shall not be altered and the command of my lips shall not return void, shall not be

³ Thorkild Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, II (No. 3, 1943), 159-72, and "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, LII (1957), 99-109. The Sumerian heroic age was first described by Samuel N. Kramer, "Heroes of Sumer: A New Heroic Age in World Literature," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XC (No. 2, 1946), 120 ff.

⁴ In his indispensable "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia," Jacobsen sees despotism emerging directly out of primitive democracy. (See also his "Primitive Democracy," 159.) The importance of oligarchic forces in the rise of Mesopotamian despotism is noted in I. M. Diakonoff's short study, *Vozniknovenie Despoticheskogo Gosudarstva v Drevnem Dvurec'je* [The Origins of the Despot State in Ancient Mesopotamia] (Leningrad, 1957); see summary by Joseph Klima, "Der altorientalische Despotismus unter neuen Streiflichtern," *Archiv Orientalni*, XXV (1957), 660-70; see also Diakonoff, *Obshchestvennyi i Gosudarstvennyi Stroi Drevnego Vostoka. Shumer* [Sumer. Society and State in Ancient Mesopotamia] [brief English résumé contained in this work] (Moscow, 1959).

changed."⁵ Repairing to their assembly hall, the senior gods "soaked themselves with sweetened liquor. . . . Thus they became careless and light-hearted and they transferred their powers to Marduk, the avenger."⁶ Even when sober, however, the great gods did homage "joyfully," and for good reason: they now had a champion capable of fighting their battles, yet they retained power equal to his.

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that when Marduk first called his councilors into session he was described as "ordering them kindly." Marduk had, we read, "conceived the idea of creating a clever device" that would further mollify the great gods: "I shall bring into existence a robot whose name shall be 'man'! . . . he shall be charged with the services of the gods, thus they will be relieved [of work]!"⁷ Clearly, the role of mankind was to be that of serfs, mere machines to provide their lords with the needs of subsistence. This "clever idea," as it was also called, brings to mind a similar concession—a free hand over their peasants—granted in early modern times to the powerful nobility of Eastern Europe by their emerging kings.

The myths contain additional evidence of the primitive monarch's limited power and provisional status. Kingship is termed a "counseling" (*mitluku*) and a "turn of office" (*bala*), meaning that consultation with the council of senior gods was mandatory and that the office was granted for a limited term and was recallable at will.⁸ Indeed, Enlil once experienced the indignity of being exiled. Having charged him with the rape of a young goddess, the council of "fifty senior gods and the seven gods who determine destinies had Enlil arrested . . . [tried, and sentenced:] 'This sex-criminal Enlil will leave the town!'"⁹ Furthermore, when kingship eventually "descended from heaven" as a gift of the gods to the "beclouded people," it was established as an exact copy, "a likeness on earth," of the limited kingship among the gods in heaven.¹⁰ Finally, while the high

⁵ *Enuma elish*, ii. 123 ff., tr. Jacobsen, in "Primitive Democracy," 169-70.

⁶ *Enuma elish*, iii. 135 ff., tr. A. Leo Oppenheim, in "Mesopotamian Mythology I," *Orientalia*, XVI (No. 2, 1947), 223.

⁷ *Enuma elish*, vi. 2 ff., tr. *ibid.*, 233-34.

⁸ On *mitluku*, see "Myth of Etana," tr. E. A. Speiser in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. James B. Pritchard (2d ed., Princeton, N. J., 1956), 114 and n. 9; and Speiser's commentary in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXIV (No. 3, 1954), Suppl. 17, *Authority and Law in the Ancient Orient*, 9; cf. *Enuma elish*, iv. 2: "Facing his fathers [council of elders], he [Marduk] sat down, for advising." (*Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 66 and n. 63.) On *bala*, see, *inter alia*, Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy," 170-72; William W. Hallo, "A Sumerian Amphictyony," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, XIV (No. 3, 1960), 89-90.

⁹ "Myth of Enlil and Ninlil," tr. Thorkild Jacobsen, in "Sumerian Mythology: A Review Article," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, V (No. 2, 1946), 133, n. 9.

¹⁰ "Myth of Etana," A-1, line 6; *Enuma elish*, vi. 113; see also Oppenheim, "Mythology I," 236.

priestship headed the list of the outstanding creative works of the great gods, human kingship was ranked only ninth.¹¹

Despite the myths' persistent emphasis on the limited and precarious nature of early kingship, the primitive monarchs whose heroic exploits are described in the epic tales are frequently seen ignoring or openly rejecting the advice of their priest-dominated councils. As is true of epic tales generally, those from Sumer spring from an age of incessant warfare, and the consequent enhancement of the primitive monarch's power as war leader met with determined opposition from his aristocratic council. Indeed, there was a significant correlation between a heroic age ruler's power and success and his ability to by-pass his council. Much to the point is the evidence contained in two tales that describe a clash between Enmerkar of Uruk and Ensukeshdanna of Aratta. The latter demanded the submission of Enmerkar, son and successor of the "high-priest and king" remembered in later historical tradition as the founder of the First Dynasty of Uruk, but before Ensukeshdanna could implement his threat he was roundly censured by his council for acting without its consent: "You yourself first sent to the ruler of Uruk [an] arrogant message. . . . It is not Enmerkar's doing, it is your own doing, your wicked heart prompted everything as far as can be known."¹² Lacking his council's support, Ensukeshdanna backed down and meekly acknowledged Enmerkar's superiority: "You are the 'big brother,' I cannot compare with you ever." When next Enmerkar in turn demanded the submission of Aratta, and Ensukeshdanna was futilely remonstrating with him for resorting to arms, the real power at Aratta was again revealed to lie in the council of elders, headed by the high priest. "None less than Nigi, the high-priest, is its [Aratta's] hero," begins the message that the elders sent to Enmerkar as they took over the negotiations. The message goes on to reveal that the elders' decision to dispense with strong personal leadership in the face of threatened war stemmed from their confident belief that Aratta's varied defense works and abundant resources of food and population provided ample deterrence to aggression: "Its wealth is in the grain-bins, its beacons are on all the mountains [surely history's first early-warning system!], the population is of a size suitable for it, it is adorned with seven town-walls."¹³ When Enmerkar was not

¹¹ "Myth of Inanna and Enki" (see list in Samuel N. Kramer, *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture, and Character* [Chicago, 1963], 116); see also the Akkadian ritual text, tr. A. Sachs, in *Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 342 (lines 36-37); and "Myth of Adapa," D, 10-11 (tr. E. A. Speiser, *ibid.*, 102).

¹² "Enmerkar and Ensukeshdanna," tr. Jacobsen, in "Early Political Development," 101, n. 11; see also Maurice Witzel, "Zu den Enmerkar-Dichtungen," *Orientalia*, XVIII (No. 3, 1949), 272-80; Samuel N. Kramer and Thorkild Jacobsen, "Enmerkar and Ensukeshdanna," *ibid.*, XXIII (No. 3, 1954), 232-34.

¹³ "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta," lines 286 ff., tr. Thorkild Jacobsen, in "New

deterred by this or subsequent messages from "the elders who are word-wise," Aratta submitted without fighting.

In striking contrast to the hapless Ensukeshdanna, "big brother" Enmerkar is revealed as acting without reference to his council. Whereas Ensukeshdanna had received Enmerkar's ultimatum while seated with the elders "in his council house" (*giparu*, a building of sacred character located in the temple complex),¹⁴ Enmerkar met with the messengers from Aratta "in the courtyard of the assembly hall" (*guenna*),¹⁵ that is, before the convened popular assembly. So overshadowed by Enmerkar was Uruk's council that it is nowhere mentioned. Furthermore, contrary to the state of affairs in Aratta, at Uruk it was Enmerkar who boasted of his great power, symbolized by his scepter, and implied that it stemmed from his role as protector of his city: "My scepter, . . . which is the dynamic force of princeship, that scepter has been a protecting shade over Uruk, . . . has banished all fear."¹⁶

Enmerkar's device of taking the common people into partnership in order to circumvent his council's opposition was employed also by the famed Gilgamesh, traditional fifth ruler of Uruk. In the tale of "Gilgamesh and Agga," Gilgamesh was determined to resist the demand of the powerful Agga of Kish for the submission of Uruk, and so "before the elders of his city puts the matter, seeks out their word: ' . . . Let us not submit to the house of Kish, let us smite it with weapons.'" When the elders, however, advised submission—apparently they, like their counterparts at Aratta, considered appeasement of the aggressor a lesser evil than the enhancement of the ruler's power through war—Gilgamesh appealed to "the convened assembly of the men of his city," who readily supported him and used the occasion to rebuke the appeasing aristocrats in the council: "O ye who are raised with the sons of the king, O ye who press the donkey's thigh. . . . Do not submit to the house of Kish, let us smite it with weapons." Whereupon, we are told, Gilgamesh's "heart rejoiced, his spirit brightened."¹⁷

Sumerian Literary Texts," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 102 (Apr. 1946), 13.

¹⁴ Kramer and Jacobsen, "Enmerkar and Ensukeshdanna," 232. On *giparu*, see also Jacobsen, "Early Political Development," 107-109, n. 32.

¹⁵ "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta," line 301, tr. Samuel N. Kramer, in *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta: A Sumerian Epic Tale of Iraq and Iran* (Philadelphia, 1952), 25, 50 (commentary). It is noteworthy that historical tradition remembered Enmerkar's father as ruler of E-Anna ("Temple of Anna") and Enmerkar as "king of Uruk, the one who built Uruk"; that is, Enmerkar moved his residence from the temple area to a new district whose name became identified with the city. (Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* [Chicago, 1939], 85 and n. 108, 87.) On the separation of ruler from temple, see Adam Falkenstein, "La cité-temple sumérienne," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, I (Apr. 1954), 798-99.

¹⁶ "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta," tr. Kramer, lines 341 ff.

¹⁷ Tr. Samuel N. Kramer, in *Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 44-47, and (with commentary by Thorkild Jacobsen), *American Journal of Archaeology*, LIII (No. 1, 1949), 1-18;

Small wonder then that the great "Epic of Gilgamesh"¹⁸ should begin with the statement that "the nobles of Uruk are gloomy in their chambers. . . . Day and night is unbridled his [Gilgamesh's] arrogance." By night, the nobles charged, "Gilgamesh leaves not the maid to her mother, the warrior's daughter, the noble's spouse," while by day he "leaves not the son to his father" (I. ii. 11 ff.). The first charge involves sex crimes (repeated in II. iv. 25 ff.), and is of a piece with the above-noted attack on Enlil for rape; the second refers to the conscription of young men to construct the city walls (I. i. 9 ff.), apparently resented as an arbitrary action that would increase Gilgamesh's military power.¹⁹ Having justified their opposition to Gilgamesh's "arrogance," the nobles appealed to the gods as "Uruk's [true] rulers" to "create now his double. . . . Let them contend, that Uruk may have peace" (I. ii. 19, 31 ff.). Although this tactic failed—Enkidu, the antiking, was bested by Gilgamesh in single combat, and the two thereupon became boon companions (II. vi)—there is independent evidence that the nobles eventually resorted to direct action, severely wounded Gilgamesh, and drove him into temporary exile.²⁰

The intransigence and power of the nobles of Uruk help to explain why Gilgamesh was the last of the heroic age rulers of Sumer whose exploits as pre-eminent war leaders were celebrated in epic tales. Primitive monarchy had become a spent force, and there is good evidence that for something like a century and a half following Gilgamesh (now dated shortly after 2700 B.C.), until the reappearance of strong rulers at the beginning of the historical period, oligarchy was triumphant in Sumer.²¹

cf. Abraham Malamat, "Kingship and Council in Israel and Sumer: A Parallel," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XXII (No. 4, 1963), 247-53. The assemblymen went on to cite the "great wall touching the clouds" constructed by "their king and defender" as their reason for supporting Gilgamesh (lines 33, 35; see Jacobsen, "Early Political Development," 116 and n. 53). See also "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living" (tr. Kramer, in *Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 47-50), in which Gilgamesh circumvented his council's opposition (not mentioned in this tale, but described in the "Epic of Gilgamesh," III. v [*ibid.*, 80]) to his proposed expedition to the Cedar Forest (the Lebanon) by convening the popular assembly (lines 48 ff.; see Kramer's commentary in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, I [No. 1, 1947], 37) to conscript an army of fifty "single males who would do as I do" and who have neither "house" or "mother."

¹⁸ Latest bibliography and commentary, *Gilgamesh et sa légende*, ed. Paul Garelli (Paris, 1960); lines quoted tr. E. A. Speiser, in *Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 72 ff.

¹⁹ Scholarly commentary has completely overlooked the power rivalry between the nobles and Gilgamesh. (See Thorkild Jacobsen, "How did Gilgamesh Oppress Uruk?" *Acta Orientalia*, VIII (1930), 62-74; O. E. Ravn, "The Passage on Gilgamesh and the Wives of Uruk," *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, X (No. 1, 1953), 12-13; A. Leo Oppenheim, "Mesopotamian Mythology II," *Orientalia*, XVII (No. 1, 1948), 21-23; V. Korošec, "Gilgamesh vu sous son aspect juridique," in *Gilgamesh et sa légende*, ed. Garelli, 164, 165-66.

²⁰ See Jacobsen, "Early Political Development," 116-18, n. 55.

²¹ John Gray, "Canaanite Kingship in Theory and Practice," *Vetus Testamentum*, II (1952), 193-200, details a later parallel development in which a heroic age monarchy was replaced by an oligarchy of "elders" (*adrm*) and feudal "equestrians" (*mrynm*). On the date of Gilgamesh, see now M. R. Rowton, "Chronology: Ancient Western Asia," *Cambridge Ancient History* (rev. ed. of I-II in progress, Cambridge, Eng., 1962-), I, Chap. vi, 66.

The oligarchic character of the economy, society, and government of the late protohistorical period is revealed by archaic texts, archaeological finds, and trends in art. A purely decorative art, mainly religious in character, replaced the earlier narrative art which had featured the exploits in war and peace of the city ruler.²² The archaic texts of the period, most of which are from Shuruppak (modern Fara), show political power firmly in the hands of an oligarchy led by priests. The earlier primitive monarchs—at Shuruppak only one was famed in later tradition, and that was owing to his obsequiousness²³—have been replaced by a plural executive with limited powers and tenure.²⁴ These weak magistrates bore a new title, *ensi-gar*, literally “governor installed (by a superior),”²⁵ an indication of their subordination to the gods and to the gods’ priestly representatives in the council of elders. Attesting to the great wealth possessed by the aristocracy were a cult statue donated by an “elder of the city” of Adab to a temple “for the life of” an *ensi-gar* of his city,²⁶ the numerous rich landowners of Shuruppak who rode about in chariots drawn by four asses (“seemingly a typical sign of riches”),²⁷ and the many sumptuous graves of “great householders” (*lugal*, literally “great man”) and their “ladies” (*nin*) in the predynastic cemetery at Ur.²⁸

²² Ann Perkins, “Narration in Babylonian Art,” *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXI (No. 1, 1957), 56.

²³ Ziusudra (Akkadian Utnapishtim), the Sumerian Noah who was forewarned of the flood because he was “humbly obedient” to the gods, and who took care to consult “the people and the elders” of Shuruppak before acting. (See *Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 44 [lines 147–48], 93 [xi, 35].) The Fara texts are dated about 2650 B.C. by Adam Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk* (Berlin, 1936), 16 *passim*, esp. 22.

²⁴ A. I. Tiumentsev, *Gosudarstvennoe Khozyaistvo Drevnego Shumera* [The Economy of the Ancient Sumerian State] (Moscow, 1958) (see résumé by Achsa Belkind, *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* [hereafter cited as *Revue d'Assyriologie*], LII [No. 2, 1958], 95); Maurice Lambert, “La période présargonique: La vie économique à Shuruppak (I),” *Sumer*, IX (1953), 210. Lambert’s difficulties with the question “Who were the rulers of Shuruppak?” derive, in my view, from his late date for the Fara texts (time of Ur I, that is, after about 2550 B.C.) and from his translation of *é-gal* as “palace” of a prince rather than “great house” of a great landowner (see note 33, below). On the large number of short-term eponymous *bala* officials at Shuruppak, see Hallo, “Sumerian Amphictyony,” 89; Jacobsen, *King List*, 148.

²⁵ Lambert, “Vie économique,” 210–11; see also William W. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles: A Philologic and Historical Analysis* (New Haven, Conn., 1957), 35–38, 39; Raymond R. Jestin, *Nouvelles tablettes sumériennes de Shuruppak au Musée d'Istanbul* (Paris, 1957), 18.

²⁶ Hallo, *Royal Titles*, 38, 107–108. For a similar donation at Uruk, see Maurice Lambert, “La période présargonique: Essai d’une histoire sumérienne,” *Sumer*, VIII (1952), 61.

²⁷ *Id.*, “Vie économique,” 198. It is noteworthy that a majority of the Fara economic texts represent private and not temple accounts. (Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte*, 47.)

²⁸ Concisely described in André Parrot, *Archéologie mésopotamienne* (2 vols., Paris, 1946–53), I, 297–304. The generally held view that all the great Ur tombs are “royal” appears untenable. Since *lugal* originally did not mean “king” and, as will be noted below, can be so translated only when followed by a name of a city, with one exception the male occupants of all these rich tombs should be considered “great householders” (one of the original meanings of *lugal*) living in what was still an oligarchic age. The exception was Akalamdug, who alone bore the title *lugal uri*, “king of Ur,” and who apparently was the immediate predecessor of Mesannipada, founder of the First Dynasty of Ur about 2550 B.C. Of the six other male occupants of the cemetery who are known by name, one (Meskalamdug) was

Significantly corroborative of oligarchy during this period is the newly revealed evidence that much of the communally owned clan land was falling into the hands of private "owners," together with "master" and "great householder" one of the several meanings of *lugal*. Deeds of sale from Shuruppak and elsewhere, witnessed and sealed by a magistrate, describe in detail how the rights of many minor members of the community were extinguished by being made a party to the act of sale. The lesser folk are recorded as receiving insignificant quantities of various staples from the buyer, while the few "owners," or, in some instances, a small group identified as "men who enjoy the price," received much more substantial payments, usually in copper. On occasion an alienated field is called "the lot of the clients," an indication, along with other evidence, that some members of the clan had been reduced to a state of dependency upon the "owners."²⁹

The beginning of tyranny (in the Greek sense of the term) in Sumer was marked by the reappearance of strong city rulers whose usurpation of power terminated the era of oligarchy and ushered in the Old Sumerian, or Early Historical, period (about 2550-2370 B.C.). Since this Old Sumerian tyrant was invariably a *lugal*—a "great householder" who had become "master" of a city—the term *lugal*, when followed by a city name, became

called simply *lugal* on a seal found in his wife's tomb, while his name only appears on several objects in his own tomb; another (Abargi) added no title to his name found on his seal; and the remaining names were compounded with the word *lugal*. (See Edmond Sollberger, "Notes on the Early Inscriptions from Ur and 'El-Obēd," in *Ur in Retrospect: In Memory of Sir C. Leonard Woolley*, ed. M. E. L. Mallowan and D. J. Wiseman [London, 1960], 79 ff., Nos. 3, 15, 28, 33; Hallo, *Royal Titles*, 13-14, 21 and n. 1, 29-32.) The Fara texts contain many examples of personal names compounded with *lugal*. (See lists in Raymond Jestin, *Tablettes sumériennes de Shuruppak conservées au Musée de Stamboul* [Paris, 1937], 65, and *Nouvelles tablettes sumériennes de Shuruppak*, 12.) Also to be regarded as the head of a great household is the victorious and feasting war leader shown on the celebrated "Standard of Ur" found in the earliest of the "royal" tombs. In contrast to the gigantic representations of the ruler of the city in the art of historical times, he is scaled only slightly larger than his drinking companions and household troops. (See Perkins, "Narration in Babylonian Art," 56-59; on the stylistic similarities that connect the "Standard" with the art of the Fara period, see Donald P. Hansen, "New Votive Plaques from Nippur," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XXII [No. 3, 1963], 166.) Cf. the similarly depicted war leaders on other mosaics of the Fara period, one from Kish inscribed with a personal name compounded with *lugal* (Parrot, *Archéologie mésopotamienne*, I, 312-13; Ernest Mackay, *A Sumerian Palace and the "A" Cemetery at Kish, Mesopotamia* [Chicago, 1929], 120-22), and the other from Mari (André Parrot, *Mari, une ville perdue* [Paris, 1945], 124-33).

²⁹ I. M. Diakonoff, "Sale of Land in Pre-Sargonic Sumer," *Papers Presented by the Soviet Delegation at the XXIII International Congress of Orientalists. Assyriology* (Moscow, 1954), 19-25. See also Lubor Matouš, "Zu den Ausdrücken für 'Zugaben' in den vorsargonischen Grundstückkaufurkunden," *Archiv Orientalní*, XXII (1954), 434-43; Lambert, "Vie économique," 208-10; Émile Szlechter, "De quelques considérations sur l'origine de la propriété foncière privée dans l'ancien droit mésopotamien," *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*, 3d Ser., V (1958), 127-32. The earliest term for "client" (*maš-en-kaš*) is on an archaic tablet found in a "great house" (*é-gal*) at Kish. (Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte*, 57 and n. 6.) See the Fara text which compares the number of men "in servitude to a great house" (*šag é-gal*) with those "in servitude to the city" (*šag uru*), that is, probably the city's temples. (Jestin, *Tablettes sumériennes*, 18, No. 554.)

for the first time a true political title and can be translated "king."⁸⁰ While the *lugal* who ruled the city resembled the primitive monarch of the epics, who commonly bore the title *en* ("lord"), in rising to power out of a war emergency and in having to face the hostility of a priest-led aristocracy, there were also marked differences between them.⁸¹ Whereas the *en* was originally a priest-ruler whose short-lived pre-eminence vis-à-vis his council was largely owing to the support of the popular assembly and the acquisition of a conscript army,⁸² the *lugal* was of purely secular origin, and his power rested on his private resources: great wealth in the form of purchased land and booty acquired in razzias, a fortified "great house" (*é-gal*, which now can be translated "palace"),⁸³ and an army composed of his own household troops. During the nearly two centuries of the Old Sumerian period, however, most city rulers bore the title *ensi* ("governor"),⁸⁴ apparently an abbreviated form of the *ensi-gar* title borne by the oligarchic magistrates of the preceding age and like it reflecting a resurgence of priestly power.

By the chance of discovery the city-state of Lagash under its First Dynasty provides the only continuous record of what was probably in large part typical of developments elsewhere during the Old Sumerian period.⁸⁵ Here a strong *lugal* who founded a dynasty was followed by five descendants and two usurping high priests, all of whom eschewed the title of *lugal* for that of *ensi*. These seven generally weak *ensi*'s acknowledged the city's patron god as their "true *lugal*" and filled their inscriptions with accounts of their piety and devotional works. A resurgent oligarchy, allowed many opportunities for oppression, created a domestic malaise that led to the reappearance of a usurping *lugal*-tyrant near the end of the period.

⁸⁰ Hallo, *Royal Titles*, 10-12, 21, n. 1, 29. At most, the *lugal*'s of the archaic texts, who were essentially aristocratic chieftains and war leaders (see note 28, above), can be called "kinglets" in the same sense as the numerous *basileis* of the Greek dark age who replaced the strong Mycenaean *wanax*. Like *lugal*, *basileus* was also used in the sense of "master." (M. I. Finley, "Homer and Mycenae: Property and Tenure," *Historia*, VI [No. 2, 1957], 141.) In the Sumerian myths and epic tales, which generally depict an age earlier than the archaic texts, *lugal* was frequently used as an epithet ("master," "big man") in addressing the primitive monarch.

⁸¹ D. O. Edzard, "Enmebaragesi von Kiš," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, LIII (1959), 23-24; Jacobsen, "Early Political Development," esp. 103, 107 and n. 32, 119-20; Hallo, *Royal Titles*, 3-29.

⁸² See note 17, above.

⁸³ The *é-gal* of the Fara period resembles the *pyrgos* of the post-Mycenaean landed aristocracy. (See D. W. S. Hunt, "Feudal Survivals in Ionia," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXVII [1947], 71-72; T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* [London, 1958], 157.)

⁸⁴ On the nature of this office, see esp. Jacobsen, "Early Political Development," 123-24, n. 71; Hallo, *Royal Titles*, 34-48.

⁸⁵ See André Parrot, *Tello, vingt campagnes de fouilles (1877-1933)* (Paris, 1948), 54, 60, 124-32; Lambert, "Essai d'une histoire sumérienne," 68-75, 198-216; C. J. Gadd, "The Cities of Babylonia," *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, Chap. XIII, 23-30; Jacobsen, "Early Political Development," 124-29.

About 2550 B.C., following a particularly destructive attack by mountain-dwelling Elamites, the First Dynasty of Lagash was founded by Ur-Nanshe who assumed power as "*lugal* of Lagash" and energetically proceeded to rebuild the walls, canals, temples, and trade of his ruined city. Ur-Nanshe was a new man, unrelated to his predecessor, an *ensi-gar*, and unconnected with the priesthood;⁸⁶ indeed, he boldly introduced a new goddess, Nanshe, whom he favored over Ningirsu, formerly the sole patron god of the city. The power of Ningirsu's priests did not remain long in eclipse, however. Apparently Ur-Nanshe himself soon found it expedient to conciliate them,⁸⁷ and his weak and little-known son and successor began the practice of using only the modest and pious title of *ensi*.⁸⁸ Even the self-styled "world conquering" Eannatum, Ur-Nanshe's grandson, whose victories over neighboring cities made Lagash for a short time the most powerful city in Sumer, ventured only twice, early in his reign, to style himself "*lugal* of Lagash,"⁸⁹ preferring thereafter to subordinate himself to "the *lugal* whom he loves, Ningirsu."⁴⁰ Under Entemena, nephew and second successor of Eannatum and only other militarily strong member of Ur-Nanshe's dynasty, the high priests of Ningirsu appeared on inscriptions as coequals with the *ensi*. The second of these high priests, Enetarzi, allowed Entemena's son only some four years of puppet rule before usurping the position of *ensi* and drawing down the curtain on Ur-Nanshe's dynasty. The next twelve years, during which Enetarzi was followed in the office by his son, the high priest Lugaland, marked the high point at Lagash of the abusive practices that for some time had been eroding the "theocratic socialism" of the temple communities and the remaining clan lands. A reaction ensued (about 2400 B.C.) that saw Lugaland replaced by Urukagina, a man of unknown background, whose efforts to restore the former collectivism and equalitarianism make him the first known social reformer in history.⁴¹

⁸⁶ Significantly, the earlier of his two known predecessors, Enhegal, was a great landowner whose single inscription as "*lugal* of Lagash" records his expenditure of nearly two tons of copper for the purchase of some 2,500 acres of land from 8 different *lugal*'s (Diakonoff, "Sale of Land," 22-24; Lambert, "Essai d'une histoire sumérienne," 59.) His tyranny seems to have been premature, however, since Lugalsagengur, his apparent successor and Ur-Nanshe's immediate predecessor, was a weak *ensi-gar*. (Hallo, *Royal Titles*, 38; Edzard, "Ennebaragesi," 24-25.)

⁸⁷ Maurice Lambert, "Sur deux textes d'Ur-Nazi," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, LIII (No. 3, 1959), 153, finds evidence of a "contract" between Ur-Nanshe and the high priest of Ningirsu.

⁸⁸ William W. Hallo, review of Edmond Sollberger, *Corpus des inscriptions "royales" présargoniques de Lagash* (Geneva, 1956), in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XVII (No. 3, 1958), 214.

⁸⁹ Hallo, *Royal Titles*, 40-42.

⁴⁰ George A. Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* (New Haven, Conn., 1929), 47 *passim*. This is the formula used by Eannatum's brother and successor, Enannatum I; Eannatum's (*ibid.*, 43 *passim*) is slightly less extreme.

⁴¹ See Gadd, "Cities of Babylonia," 30, 49-52, to whose references can be added W. von

By the time of Urukagina, the communal clan lands had disappeared at Lagash, and both the sanctity of the temple property and the rectitude of temple administrators had been seriously undermined.⁴² Temple offices were inherited, and temple lands held as prebends were treated as private property. Most active as despoilers of temple property were those former pontiffs of Ningirsu, the *ensi*'s Enetarzi and Lugalanda, who appropriated for themselves and their relatives the oxen, gardens, houses, fields, and even the commerce of a number of temples.⁴³ Graft and corruption flourished with the connivance of the *ensi*, who received in some instances a stipulated share of the exorbitant fees and dues extorted by temple functionaries from the depressed and defenseless lower classes.⁴⁴ Each acted "for his own benefit" was Urukagina's summary indictment of the ruling class and its hirelings.⁴⁵ Of particular interest among the many resulting abuses that Urukagina denounced and remedied was the use of coercion by a "powerful man" (*lugal*) to force a "client" (*šub-lugal*, "one who falls down before his master") to sell his stock and house at a fraction of their worth.⁴⁶ But the most burdensome abuse, and the one that Urukagina took greatest pride in uprooting, was the seizure of the property and even the person of debtors by temple officials, sometimes of high rank, working in collusion with corrupt judges (*maškim*)⁴⁷—the same evil that would inspire Hesiod's demand for social justice at a parallel moment in Greek history.

Aristotle's observation (*Politics*, 5. 6) that oligarchy frequently succumbs to attacks not by the mass of the people but by a dissident oligarchic faction seems the best explanation for Urukagina's rise to power. The

Soden, *Herrscher im alten Orient* (Berlin, 1954), Chap. 1. The latest translations, with commentary, of Urukagina's reform texts (Cones A, B, and its duplicate C, and Oval Plaque) are: Yvonne Rosengarten, "La notion sumérienne de souveraineté divine: Uru-ka-gi-na et son dieu Nin-gir-su," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, CLVI (Oct.-Dec. 1959), 129-60; Maurice Lambert, "Les 'réformes' d'Urukagina," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, L (No. 4, 1956), 169-84; Kramer, *Sumerians*, 317-22 (commentary, 79-83), and "Sumerian Historiography," *Israel Exploration Journal*, III (No. 4, 1953), 227-32; Joseph Klima, "Urukagina, der grosse Reformator in der mesopotamischen Frühgeschichte," *Das Altertum*, III (1957), 67-78; see also I. M. Diakonoff, "Some Remarks on the 'Reforms' of Urukagina," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, LII (No. 1, 1958), 1-15.

⁴² Tiimenev, *Gosudarstvennoe Khozyaistvo*, résumé, 96 (see note 24, above); Diakonoff, "Sale of Land," 25-27; Szelcchter, "Origine de la propriété foncière privée," 122-24.

⁴³ Urukagina Cones B-C vii, 5 ff.; Maurice Lambert, "Textes commerciaux de Lagash (époque présargonique)," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XLVII (Nos. 2, 3, 1953), 57 ff., 105 ff.

⁴⁴ Urukagina Oval Plaque ii, 15-iii, 5.

⁴⁵ Cones B-C iii, 5 ff.; see Diakonoff, "Remarks," 2, 3; Rosengarten, "Notion sumérienne," 136-38, 147, n. 1.

⁴⁶ Cones B-C xi, 20 ff.; see Diakonoff, "Remarks," 8. This abuse resembles the alienation of communal lands described above.

⁴⁷ Cones B-C iii, 5 ff.; vii, 12 ff. On the operation of this onerous abuse, see Ferris J. Stephens, "Notes on Some Economic Texts of the Time of Urukagina," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XLIX (No. 3, 1955), 129-30, 132-35.

view that Urukagina "must have been a creature of the priests"⁴⁸ of Ningirsu and other despoiled deities is supported by good evidence: his initial use of the subordinate *ensi* title, his gentle treatment of Lugalanda (granted the honorary title of "great *ensi*"), and, above all, his self-denying action in returning to the temples their lost properties and prerogatives. Furthermore, the evident impotence of the lower classes—"the widow and the orphan" is Urukagina's collective term for them—meant that an aspiring tyrant could expect no effective support from that quarter. Yet the acceptance of this view of the circumstances surrounding Urukagina's usurpation of power should not blind us to what is otherwise clearly evident in his inscriptions, which are generally held to have been composed late in his short reign to justify his reform work: Urukagina's main concern soon came to be the plight of the depressed commoners, many of whom, he noted, "had to beg for their bread," and this concern led to a break with his priestly supporters and to his early ruin.

The break can be dated at the end of Urukagina's first year when he assumed the long-suppressed title of *lugal*. In the prologue to his reform inscriptions Urukagina stated that in order to wipe out the abusive "former customs," which appeared to him to have existed "since time immemorial," he by-passed the priesthood and made a covenant with the city's divine *lugal*, Ningirsu: "When Ningirsu . . . had given the *lugal*-ship of Lagash to Urukagina, picking him out of the entire population, then he [Ningirsu] enjoined upon him [the restoration of] the divinely decreed way of life of former days. He carried out the instructions of his (divine) *lugal*, Ningirsu." And it is the substance of Urukagina's epilogue that in carrying out these instructions he became engrossed in the plight of the oppressed and defenseless: "He freed the inhabitants of Lagash from usury, burdensome controls, hunger, theft, murder, and seizure [of their property and persons]. He established liberty [*amargi*]. The widow and the orphan were no longer at the mercy of the powerful man: for them has Urukagina made his covenant with Ningirsu."⁴⁹

Seven years after his assumption of the office of *lugal*, Urukagina was overthrown by the *ensi* of the neighboring Umma, Lagash's long-time

⁴⁸ Diakonoff, "Remarks," 12, who adds that "it seems most probable that the 'reforms' were the outcome of a struggle of the priests and aristocracy (standing for the economic and political autonomy of the temple estates) against the ruler [Lugalanda], who sought to strengthen his economic and political position by annexation of the temple estates." While some scholars (e.g., Kramer, *Sumerians*, 79-82) are in general agreement with this interpretation, most (e.g., Parrot, *Tello*, 131) view Urukagina as the product of a popular revolution against oppression by priests and "leading families." Since there is evidence to support both interpretations, the source of error apparently lies in the acceptance of one to the exclusion of the other.

⁴⁹ Cones B-C iii, 2 ff.; vii, 26 ff.; xii, 13 ff. (see translations by Rosengarten and Lambert).

enemy, with an ease that suggests he lacked the support of the "powerful" men of his city. To counter oligarchy and maintain tyranny successfully, a source of support more effective than "the widow and the orphan" was required.

Within a generation after Urukagina's failure, tyranny was firmly established in Sumer by Sargon (about 2370-2315 B.C.) of neighboring Akkad, whose large standing army enabled him to subdue the Sumerian temple-dominated cities and create an empire in which, he thought it important to record, "natives of Akkad are holding the *ensi*-ships."⁵⁰ Evidence that Sargon's success both as tyrant and as empire builder was linked with the interests and support of an influential class of private merchants that had arisen in Semitic Akkad, in unaccountable contrast to the Old Sumerian cities where merchants remained temple agents, is contained in a later literary composition, the "King of Battle," which has a well-established historical nucleus.⁵¹ During the third year of Sargon's rule, the story goes, a delegate of the merchants appeared in audience before Sargon and, after emphasizing that merchants were not soldiers, asked that the army be sent to far-off Cappadocia to protect an Akkadian merchant colony from interference by a local ruler. The merchant's plea, which would do honor to economic imperialists of all ages, detailed the rich natural resources of Anatolia and included an offer to defray the costs of the expedition. Sargon's army commander spoke out in opposition, citing the vast distances, the mountainous terrain, and the danger of revolt at home. Sargon resolved, nevertheless, to assist the aggrieved merchants, who were "bitterly incensed" at the army leader—"may a hurricane . . . sweep [him] away!"—and personally headed the successful expedition.

Like Urukagina before him, Sargon stressed his role as a popular leader. But while Urukagina only implied that he was a man of the people (Ningirsu had selected him out of the "entire population" to be *lugal*), Sargon

⁵⁰ Tr. Oppenheim, in *Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 267. Sargon stated that "5,400 soldiers ate daily with him in his palace" (*ibid.*, 268), that is, he was not dependent, as Urukagina probably was, on temple levies, and he referred to Lagash as the "Temple of Ninmar" (*ibid.*, 267), apparently a reference to rule of the priests in that city (see Arno Poebel, *Historical Texts* [Philadelphia, 1914], 220-21). There is documentary evidence that the high priest of Ninmar exercised governmental functions as early as the puppet rule of the last *ensi* of Ur-Nanshe's dynasty. (See Barton, *Royal Inscriptions*, 67-69.)

⁵¹ See William F. Albright, "The Epic of the King of Battle: Sargon of Akkad in Cappadocia," *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, VII (No. 1, 1923), 1-20; see also C. J. Gadd, "The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian Invasion," *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, Chap. XIX, 12-15, and literature cited. On the archaeological evidence and the comparable nineteenth-century B.C. Assyrian merchant colonies, which are well documented, see Albrecht Goetze, *Kleinasiens* (2d ed., Munich, 1957), 64-81. The Assyrian texts frequently allude to strained relations between merchants and local rulers. (See Hildegard Lewy, "Notes on the Political Organization of Asia Minor at the Time of the Old Assyrian Texts," *Orientalia*, XXXIII [No. 2-3, 1964], 189-96.)

proudly detailed his humble beginnings—his unknown father was from “the hills”; his “lowly” mother was forced to abandon him; a “drawer of water” raised him to manhood⁵²—before becoming army commander and usurping *lugal* of Kish, a city in the north of Sumer with a large Akkadian population. Yet despite this emphasis, the Sargonid sources never refer to “the widow and the orphan” whose welfare was Urukagina’s main concern; instead, they dwell at some length, as in the “King of Battle,” on the extent of Sargon’s imperialism and the resulting general well-being. Thus, typically, we read that “three times by his own hand Sargon, the king of the universe, conquered . . . the lands beyond the Upper Sea [Mediterranean] and . . . the lands beyond the Lower Sea [Persian Gulf],”⁵³ and that “at the wharf of Agade [Sargon’s newly founded capital] he made moor ships from Meluhha [Western Asia?], ships from Magan [southeastern Arabia?] and ships from Dilmun [Bahrein].”⁵⁴ Indeed, as a slightly later source puts it, Sargon “did not sleep” in his mercantilistic efforts to promote general prosperity by providing peace and unhampered large-scale commerce: “Brisk activity dominates the wharf where the ships are docked; all lands live in peace, their inhabitants prosperous. . . . [Trade flows freely because] the city gates are [wide open] like the Tigris where it flows into the sea, . . . without hindrance ships bring their merchandise to Sumer.”⁵⁵

Yet the apprehensions of Sargon’s army commander that imperialistic ventures abroad would encourage revolt at home turned out to be well founded. Despite the presence of Akkadian garrisons, what Sargon’s inscriptions call the “rebellious” and “guilty cities” of Sumer organized a series of formidable revolts against him and his successors. The instigators of the great rebellion against Sargon, according to Old Babylonian omen texts, were the “elders of the land” who, after Sargon “overthrew their mighty host . . . gathered their movable goods and found sanctuary in the temple of Inanna” at Kish.⁵⁶ Thus it appears that the forces behind these

⁵² “The Legend of Sargon” (tr. E. A. Speiser, *Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 119), another example of the historically founded literature dealing with the Sargonid rulers.

⁵³ Tr. Ernst F. Weidner, “Das Reich Sargons von Akkad,” *Archiv für Orientforschung*, XVI (No. 1, 1952), 22.

⁵⁴ *Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 268. On the location of Meluhha and Magan, see W. F. Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period* (Leiden, 1960), 159–66; Kramer, *Sumerians*, 276–81; A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago, 1964), 63–64.

⁵⁵ “The Curse of Agade,” tr. Adam Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zurich, 1953), 188; see also note 60, below.

⁵⁶ L. W. King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings* (2 vols., London, 1907), II, 34–35. (For inscriptional evidence on this oligarchic revolution, see note 60, below.) The briefer mention of this revolt in the still later “Sargon Chronicle” (*Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 266) has “in his [Sargon’s] old age” in place of “elders,” yet even those scholars who consider this “the more probable version” have otherwise noted the general untrustworthiness of the chronicle vis-à-vis the omen texts. (See, e.g., Gadd, “Dynasty of Agade,” 11, 19.) The historical content and value of the omen texts are now generally recognized. (See Al-

uprisings were social and political and not, as is sometimes conjectured, racial.⁵⁷ At issue was the old question of who would exercise power in the Mesopotamian theocratic state: the priestly oligarchs of the temple-dominated cities or the secular but god-appointed tyrant.⁵⁸ The issue came to a head during the reign of Naram-Sin (about 2290-2254 B.C.), Sargon's grandson and third successor, who, as the "mighty god of Akkad," was the first Mesopotamian ruler to carry the protyrant version of theocracy to the extreme of self-deification,⁵⁹ but who was crushed when his priestly opponents resorted to force. According to the slightly later Sumerian composition known as "The Curse of Agade," a remarkable example of the many partisan ecclesiastical interpretations of the history of this period, it was after Naram-Sin had confiscated some temple property that the priests of Enlil's "holy city" of Nippur proclaimed that "the good sense of Agade [has] turned to folly." They set up an antiking at Nippur and were joined by the "gods" of eight other Sumerian cities in pronouncing "a curse of destruction upon Agade" and the tyrant "who defied Enlil."⁶⁰ The Akkadian Empire did not recover from the onslaught of this coalition whose more than twenty eventual members included lands stretching from Capadocia to Magan, which had harbored outposts of Akkadian imperialism.

brecht Goetze, "Historical Allusions in Old Babylonian Omen Texts," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, I [1947], 253 ff., esp. 266; Thorkild Jacobsen, "The Reign of Ibši-Suen," *ibid.*, VII [1953], 38; Poebel, *Historical Texts*, 241-42.)

⁵⁷ Of late a growing compulsion to explain the continued conflict between the Akkadian rulers and the explicitly identified "cities of Sumer" has led to a revival of the racial conflict theory, persuasively attacked long ago by Thorkild Jacobsen, "The Assumed Conflict between Sumerians and Semites in Early Mesopotamian History," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LIX (No. 4, 1939), 485 ff. Falkenstein's stress ("Cité-temple sumérienne," 808) on two opposing "traditions" and Gadd's description ("Dynasty of Agade," 33, 35-36) of "a burning zeal of patriotic sentiment" among the Sumerians support the interpretation presented here.

⁵⁸ On god-ruler relationships, see Hallo, *Royal Titles*, 132-42.

⁵⁹ Perhaps the key to the much-argued significance of the sporadic self-deification of rulers beginning with Naram-Sin (see list, *ibid.*, 152-53) lies in a phrase employed by one of the deified kings of the Ur III period: "by the awe of my countenance (to secure) obedience to orders." (*Ur Excavations, Texts*, tr. C. J. Gadd and L. Legrain [5 vols., London, 1928-53], I, 44.)

⁶⁰ "Fluch über Akkade," tr. Adam Falkenstein, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, LVII (1965), 67 ff. (commentary, 47, 89); Kramer, *Sumerians*, 64-65; see also J. J. Finkelstein, "The So-Called 'Old Babylonian Kutha Legend,'" *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, XI (No. 4, 1957), 86, 88. On the anti-Sargonid bias of priestly historiography, see E. A. Speiser in *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Robert C. Dentan (New Haven, Conn., 1955), 58-60; Burr C. Brundage, "The Birth of Clío: A Résumé and Interpretation of Ancient Near Eastern Historiography," in *Teachers of History: Essays in Honor of Laurence Bradford Packard*, ed. H. Stuart Hughes (Ithaca, N. Y., 1954), 207-208. Naram-Sin's own account ascribes the leadership of the revolt to Kish: "In the Common of Enlil, a field belonging to . . . the temple of Gula, Kish assembled and Iphur-Kish [literally 'He rallied Kish'], a gentleman [aue!] of Kish, son of Marzala and Zarikhūm, they raised to kingship." ("Inscription de Naram-Sin," tr. A. Boissier, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XVI [No. 3, 1919], 162-63; cf. the concluding line of "The Curse of Agade": "Praise be to Inanna [of Kish] for the destruction of Agade!") The view that this passage describes a last, isolated instance of political power being exercised by a popular assembly (see Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy," 165; Diakonoff, "Remarks," 10) clearly needs to be qualified. (See also note 71, below.)

Reduced to provincial size either by the time of Naram-Sin's death or early in the reign of his successor, the weak remnant could not prevent the invasion of booty-seeking Guti mountaineers who in time extended their sway over most of Sumer and Akkad. Yet so feeble and sporadic was the Gutian ascendancy of somewhat more than a century that the Sumerian cities could resume their pre-Sargonic way of life under the control of the "local nobility and temple administration."⁶¹

The next turn in the course of Mesopotamian politics was unwittingly foretold by the author of "The Curse of Agade" in stating that as a consequence of the dire economic aftermath of the breakup of the Akkadian Empire—collapse of trade, inflation, and famine⁶²—for which, characteristically, he held Naram-Sin to blame, the gods of the Sumerian cities were forced to take action to save "all mankind fashioned by Enlil" from want and misery. As it happened, however, the savior "gods" who eventually accomplished this task were the self-deified *lugal*'s of the Third Dynasty of Ur (about 2113–2006 B.C.). In the guise of "faithful shepherds" of an errant flock, these five rulers proceeded, much like Urukagina before them but with far greater success, to lead mankind back onto the "right path."⁶³ Thus Ur-Nammu, founder of the Third Dynasty, is found echoing Urukagina on three counts: (in a royal hymn) "Enlil appointed him from among all the people: 'Let him be shepherd!'"⁶⁴ (in an inscription) "Ur-Nammu . . . brought about the reemergence of the ancient state of affairs";⁶⁵ and (in the prologue to his collection of reform laws) "[Ur-Nammu] established equity in the land and extinguished disorder and inequity. . . . He made the arrogant have a master. The orphan was not given over to the rich, the widow was not given over to the powerful, the man of one shekel was not given over to the man of one mina [sixty shekels]."⁶⁶

In their zeal to restore "the ancient state of affairs," the rulers of the Third Dynasty created the most highly centralized state ever to appear in ancient Mesopotamia. The "arrogant" and the "rich" of Ur-Nammu's prologue to his reform laws, apparently the priestly instigators of the bitter

⁶¹ Klima, "Altorientalische Despotismus," 666; see also Gadd, "Dynasty of Agade," 43–44.

⁶² The long, graphic description reads in part: "the sea-rider could not sail his boat. . . . brigands dwelt on the roads. . . . The great fields and plains produced no grain. . . . a shekel of silver bought only a half *sila* of grain [six-hundred times the normal price—undoubtedly an exaggeration]. . . ." (Tr. Kramer, in *Sumerians*, 64–65; see also Falkenstein, "Fluch über Akkade," 70–75, 109, n. 179.)

⁶³ This is one of the meanings of *nig-si-sá*, usually translated "equity," on which, see below.

⁶⁴ *Hymnen und Gebete*, tr. Falkenstein and Von Soden, 87, lines 5–6.

⁶⁵ Tr. S. N. Kramer, "Ur-Nammu Law Code," *Orientalia*, XXIII (No. 1, 1954), 45–46,

n. 3.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 46–47, lines 112 ff., 162 ff.

revolts that had fatally weakened the Akkadian Empire and the new elite of merchant capitalists whose rise had been fostered by Akkadian mercantilism, were effectively curbed by the creation of a bureaucratic state in which all important officials (*ensi*'s, *šakḫana*, high priests, and temple administrators) were appointees of the central government.⁶⁷ The temple economic organization of the Old Sumerian period was fully revived to function as the state's economic arm, much like Colbert used the guild system in seventeenth-century France, with the result that most merchants again became temple agents, losing the freedom of enterprise acquired under the Sargonids.⁶⁸

A gradual revival of private business activity soon began, however, and reached large-scale proportions early in the troubled reign of Ibḫi-Sin, the last member of the dynasty. There is good reason to identify these reviving merchant capitalists (*tamḫaru*) with the "gentlemen" (*awelu*) who are described in a number of Old Babylonian omen texts that mirror the unhappy events of Ibḫi-Sin's reign as aspiring to "guide the palace," and to conclude that they joined with those other enemies of strong government, the priests, in instigating (to quote again from the omens) the "riots," "uprisings," and "defections" that early undermined Ibḫi-Sin's power and eventually resulted in his defeat by Elamite hordes who sacked his capital and carried him into captivity.⁶⁹ As in the case of Naram-Sin, the initial event in the story of Ibḫi-Sin's downfall occurred at the "holy city" of Nippur, the residence of the powerful priests of Enlil and the center of the reviving free economy. Here, early in Ibḫi-Sin's twenty-four-year reign, his military commander, Ishḫi-Erra, who was charged with the defense of Nippur and Isin against an incursion of Semitic Amorites, successfully defected with the

⁶⁷ See, e.g., F. R. Kraus, "Le rôle des temples depuis la troisième dynastie d'Ur jusqu'à la première dynastie de Babylone," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, I (Jan. 1954), 524-32; Jacobsen, "Early Political Development," 138-39; C. J. Gadd, "Babylonia, c. 2120-1800 B.C.," *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, Chap. xxii, 8, 25-27. The *šakḫana* exercised the military power formerly held by the *ensi*, now strictly a civil official.

⁶⁸ W. F. Leemans, *The Old-Babylonian Merchant: His Business and His Social Position* (Leiden, 1950), 42-48, and *Foreign Trade*, 18-22; A. L. Oppenheim, "The Seafaring Merchants of Ur," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXIV (No. 1, 1954), 13-14. A late copy of a literary composition honoring Šulgi, son of Ur-Nammu and real founder of the bureaucracy of the Third Dynasty, epitomizes in poetic form the transition from the state-assisted economy of the Sargonids to the state-controlled economy of the Third Dynasty: The deified "god Šulgi" visited many lands, finally settling in Anatolia where he established trade routes with his homeland and introduced its products. After twenty-five years of such mercantilistic activity, he returned home where, because strife and affliction had arisen in his absence, he inaugurated a reign of justice and plenty. (See C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East* [London, 1948], 28-29.)

⁶⁹ See Jacobsen, "Reign of Ibḫi-Sin," 38. On the revived private business activity, see Leemans, *Merchant*, II, 42, 45-47, 113, 121; Gadd, "Babylonia," 29; M. Čig et al., "Neue Rechts- und Gerichtsurkunden der Ur III-Zeit aus Lagaš . . .," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, LIII (1959), 83 ff., Nos. 22-25. The merchant capitalists of the Old Babylonian period immediately following the Third Dynasty are commonly called *awelu*; see also *awel* in note 60, above.

overt support, perhaps even at the instigation, of the priests⁷⁰ and, the evidence strongly suggests, of the capitalists as well.⁷¹

The fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur abruptly ended a century of economic stability and prosperity that, in view of the frequency with which the first two members of the dynasty utilized inscriptions, year names, royal hymns, and even a law code prologue to boast of their successful efforts in the matter, must have depended in large part upon a revived and closely supervised foreign trade with Cappadocia and other celebrated centers of Sargonid imperialism.⁷² As in Greece after the fall of the Athenian Empire, there now ensued a long period characterized by political instability, chronic depression, and extremes of wealth and poverty commonly but imprecisely called the Old Babylonian period (about 2006-1595 B.C.). During this Era of Contending Kingdoms, as the period is increasingly called, incessant wars to maintain the balance of power, fought by constantly shifting coalitions ("there is no king who is powerful on his own"⁷³), beset the land together with resurgent oligarchy.⁷⁴ Temporary respite from the latter evil came with the emergence of a strong ruler, but even then, with the

⁷⁰ Ib-bi-Sin complained in a letter that "Enlil [i.e., the Nippur priesthood] has chosen Ishbi-Erra as king." (Tr. Kramer, in *Sumerians*, 71.) Maurice Lambert, "La littérature sumérienne, à propos d'ouvrages récents (suite)," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, LVI (No. 2, 1962), 88, concludes that Nippur not only abandoned Ib-bi-Sin for Ishbi-Erra, but also treasonably favored the invading Bedouin Amorites. Especially revealing is the beginning of a Nippur religious text in praise of Ishbi-Erra: "Father Enlil, his words to the oppressed. The *en* of Ur [Ib-bi-Sin; note omission of the *lugal* title], the hostile man, verily he has subdued; Ishbi-Erra . . . his [Ib-bi-Sin's] foundation has broken. 'Sumer I truly love,' thus he [Enlil] said, 'and quickly as *ensi* of two cities [Nippur and Isin] I present him [Ishbi-Erra] to you.'" (*Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, tr. George A. Barton [New Haven, Conn., 1918], 57.)

⁷¹ Omens based on the events surrounding Ib-bi-Sin's downfall predicted that "the will of an *awelum* [another example has "the wills of the (members of the) country"] will guide the palace," and stated flatly that "the rise of a usurper, its other name is: the wealth (of tribute and taxes) will not enter the palace." (See Jacobsen, "Ib-bi-Suen," 38.) Another passage (*ibid.*), "Ib-bi-Suen under whom the country assembled (to choose another ruler)," parallels Naram-Sin's description of the oligarchic uprising against him. (See note 60, above.)

⁷² E.g., Ur-Nammu boasted that "he saw the sea-traders safely home" (tr. Thorkild Jacobsen, "The Waters of Ur," in *Ur in Retrospect*, ed. Mallowan and Wiseman, 184) and "became celebrated in Ur" when he restored trade with Magan ("Ur-Nammu Law Code [prologue]," tr. Kramer, 45). For the archaeological evidence, see M. E. L. Mallowan, *Twenty-five Years of Mesopotamian Discovery (1932-1956)* (London, 1956), 24, 34. Administrative officers of the Third Dynasty were stationed in Cappadocia (Julius Lewy, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXVII [1956], 11, n. 48) and at Byblos (Edmond Sollberger, "Byblos sous les rois d'Ur," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, XIX [1959-60], 120-22). See also Oppenheim, "Seafaring Merchants," 13-14; Leemans, *Merchant*, 2, 5.

⁷³ This is from a diplomat's account of five coalitions of the moment. (Quoted by Albrecht Goetze, "Mesopotamian Laws and the Historian," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXIX [No. 3, 1949], 119.)

⁷⁴ "Kings will team up and will dominate the land. . . . Elders will team up and will dominate the land," reads a pertinent omen passage. (See Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy," 164, n. 24.) Cf. the following characteristic passage from the often socially conscious "wisdom" literature: "People extol the word of a strong man. . . . They fill the storehouse of the oppressor with gold. . . . They support the powerful, . . . but destroy the weak and drive away the powerless. And as for me, the penurious, a nouveau riche is persecuting me." ("The Babylonian Theodicy," lines 267 ff., *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, tr. W. G. Lambert [Oxford, Eng., 1960], 87.)

exception of Hammurabi of Babylon (about 1792-1750 B.C.), hardly more than locally. This oscillation between despotic rule and oligarchy is epitomized in a contemporary prophecy (like the omens, prophecies sought to predict the future by describing past events in the future tense): "There will be confusion, disturbance, and disorder in the land. The nobility will lose prestige. Another man who is unknown will arise, seize the throne as king, and put his grandees to the sword."⁷⁵

Given conditions such as followed hard on the breakup of the tightly bureaucratic state of the Third Dynasty of Ur, the Old Babylonian omen writers could with good reason predict that "the wealth (of tribute and taxes) will not enter the palace."⁷⁶ Put another way by an unknown author of a piece of Old Babylonian "wisdom" literature (many examples of which are virtual documents of social history), it was now "the opulent nouveau riche who heaps up goods" and "has multiplied his wealth."⁷⁷ The predominantly private economic records of the period describe in detail how these ubiquitous rich and powerful "gentlemen" (*awelu*) invested their accumulated "capital" (*qaqqadam*, literally "head")⁷⁸ in domestic and foreign commerce and industry, purchased extensive landed estates, and made loans to peasant farmers and sharecroppers at interest rates so excessive as to become proverbial: "The *awelum* who makes [grain] loans as a creditor—his grain remains his grain, while his interest is enormous."⁷⁹ So prevalent was debt slavery that, according to a popular saying, "The strong man lives off what is paid for his strength, and the weak man off what is paid for his children."⁸⁰ A new term, *muškenu* ("clients"), was now used for the mass of the population who had been reduced to a state of dependency, which, for

⁷⁵ "Akkadian Prophecies," tr. A. K. Grayson and W. G. Lambert, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, XVIII (No. 1, 1964), 14 (commentary, 9).

⁷⁶ See note 71, above.

⁷⁷ "Babylonian Theodicy," tr. Lambert, lines 52-53.

⁷⁸ On the "balanced accounts," the system of double-entry bookkeeping in which this term was used, see Leemans, *Merchant*, 43-45; John B. Curtis and William W. Hallo, "Money and Merchants in Ur III," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXX (1959), 108-12, 115-16.

⁷⁹ "The Dialogue of Pessimism," line 64, *Wisdom Literature*, tr. Lambert, 149. The other side of the picture is a favorite subject of proverbs, for example, "The poor man—by (his) debts is he brought low! What is snatched out of his mouth must repay (his) debts." (*Sumerian Proverbs: Glimpses of Everyday Life in Ancient Mesopotamia*, tr. Edmund I. Gordon [Philadelphia, 1959], 195, No. 2.30; see also Nos. 1.55, 2.15-2.19, 2.29, 2.31-2.35.) On the multiple activities of these numerous entrepreneurs, including priests and priestesses who rivaled the merchant capitalists as bankers, see C. J. Gadd, "Hammurabi and the End of His Dynasty," *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, Chap. v, 19-20, 33, and literature cited, to which should be added Oppenheim, "Seafaring Merchants," 6-12; Lubor Matouš, "Purchase of Landed Property in Ur by Balmunamhe," *Charisteria Orientalia*, I (1956), 179-85; Leemans, *Foreign Trade*, 23 *passim*, and *Merchant*, esp. 49-67, 96, 98, 118-19, 121; D. O. Edzard, *Die "Zweite Zwischenzeit" Babylonien* (Wiesbaden, 1957), 46-47; Rivkah Harris, "The Archive of the Sin Temple in Khafajah (Tutub)," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, IX (No. 1, 1955), 31-55, "Old Babylonian Temple Loans," *ibid.*, XIV (No. 4, 1960), 126-37, and "Biographical Notes on the *naditu* Women of Sippar," *ibid.*, XVI (No. 1, 1962), 1-12.

⁸⁰ *Wisdom Literature*, tr. Lambert, 248. Lipit-Ishtar of Isin cited his ending of debt slavery as a major factor in establishing "equity in Sumer and Akkad." (See "Le code de

many if not most, bordered on destitution.⁸¹ Their plight was accentuated by inflation and famine, twin evils of a stagnant economy caused by a sharp decline of foreign and domestic trade and a continuing decrease in agricultural production caused by the gradual salting up of the irrigated land.⁸² Such conditions led one bold thinker to conclude that human nature has always been prone to evil, that at the very moment when the gods created mankind they

Gave perverse speech to the human race.
With lies, and not truth, they endowed them for ever.
Solemnly they speak in favor of a rich man,
"He is king," they say, "riches go at his side."
But they harm a poor man like a thief,
They lavish slander upon him and plot his murder,
Making him suffer every evil like a criminal,
because he has no protection.
Terrifyingly they bring him to his end, and extinguish
him like a flame.⁸³

That the poor did not always lack protection, however, is the major glory of the Old Babylonian period: the strong rulers who arose made ameliorative state action their main domestic concern. In broad reference to their work as social reformers, these rulers commonly employed the terse expression first used, as we have seen, by Urukagina, "I have established liberty [*amargi*]," meaning the removal of abuses from the oppressed and, more positively, the restoration and safeguarding of their rights.⁸⁴ In part, these Old Babylonian reformers followed their predecessors of the Third Dynasty in viewing social justice as a return to what Urukagina had called

Lipit-İstar," tr. Émile Szlechter, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, LI [Nos. 2, 4, 1957], 62, 178-79 [commentary]; cf. Edzard, "Zweite Zwischenzeit," 95-97.) See also Isaac Mendelsohn, *Slavery in the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1949), 14-16, 23-27, 112-13; Harris, "Archive of the Sin Temple," 43-44.

⁸¹ On the nature, origin, and number of the *muškenu*, and the connotation "pauperism" borne by the term *muškenu*, see Gadd, "Hammurabi," 23-24, 45, and literature cited, to which should be added E. A. Speiser, "The *muškenu*," *Orientalia*, XXVII (No. 1, 1958), 19-28; W. von Soden, "*muškenu* und die Mawālī des frühen Islam," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, LVI (1964), 133-34; Mendelsohn, *Slavery*, 109.

⁸² See Thorkild Jacobsen and Robert M. Adams, "Salt and Silt in Ancient Mesopotamian Agriculture," *Science*, CXXVIII (No. 3334, 1958), 1251-58. The earliest evidence of declining grain production, it is worthy of note, derives from Lagash around the time of Urukagina. Proverbs pungently reflect the effects of inflation and famine (see *Proverbs*, tr. Gordon, Nos. 1.15, 1.55, 1.165, 2.15, 2.28, 2.35). One reason for the general decline of trade (see Oppenheim, "Seafaring Merchants," 14-16; Leemans, *Foreign Trade*, 139, 164-65) is revealed in a letter from a merchant to his colleague: "Since I arrived here [Eshnunna] I am in trouble and the whole land is in trouble. Do not come here this year. . . ." (*Ibid.*, 78, see also 99.)

⁸³ "Babylonian Theodicy," tr. Lambert, lines 279 ff.

⁸⁴ Szlechter, "Code de Lipit-İstar," 178; Joseph Klima, "La base religieuse et éthique de l'ordre social dans l'Orient ancien," *Archiv Orientalní*, XVI (1947-49), 350. The literal meaning of *amargi* is "return to the mother." (Kramer, *Sumerians*, 79.)

"the divinely decreed way of life of former times," or what was now termed *ḫittum* (in Sumerian, *niġ-ge-na*), "truth," the fixed and invariable body of law upon which society was founded, the creation of the gods who had entrusted it to the ruler's care.⁸⁵ Increasingly, however, stress was placed on a new, dynamic type of law that had come to the fore during the period of the Third Dynasty as a supplement to *ḫittum*. Called *mišarum* (in Sumerian, *niġ-si-sá*), literally "rightings" and hence translated "justice" or "equity," this new law was clearly of human origin, the work of a true "legislator" (*lugal mišarum*, "master of equity law").⁸⁶ Promulgated as "ordinances of the king," *mišaru* acts sought to alleviate the injustices produced by the extreme economic and social dislocations of the Old Babylonian period for which *ḫittum* had no specific remedy.⁸⁷

The evidence that many of the Old Babylonian rulers issued *mišaru* acts ranges from brief phrases in inscriptions and date formulas to extensive collections of remedial legislation: the recovered "codes" of Lipit-Ishtar, Hammurabi, Ammišaduqa, and, earliest of all, an unknown ruler of Eshnunna.⁸⁸ This pursuit of social justice, broadly defined by Lipit-Ishtar of Isin (about 1934-1924 B.C.) in the prologue to his code as a desire "to establish equity [*niġ-si-sa*] in the land, to banish complaints, to destroy wickedness and malevolence, and to establish prosperity in Sumer and Akkad,"⁸⁹ produced a wide variety of legislation. Most common were Solon-like *seisachtheias*, issued at the beginning of a reign and possibly repeated if necessary, proclaiming the remission of various types of indebtedness and other obligations including, at times, the freeing of persons enslaved for debt.⁹⁰ Debt bondage was limited to three years, an indication of the fre-

⁸⁵ See, *inter alia*, Émile Szlechter, "Les anciennes codifications en Mésopotamie," *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*, 3d Ser., IV (1957), 85-86.

⁸⁶ Thus Hammurabi styled himself "the master of equity law, to whom Shamash committed truth [*ḫittum*]." (Code of Hammurabi [hereafter cited as CH] xxvb, 96-97; for tr. and commentary, see Szlechter, "Codifications," 83; cf. G. R. Driver and John C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* [2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1952, 1955], II, 99.) On *mišarum* and its relation to *ḫittum*, see *ibid.*, I, 20-23, 37-39; Speiser, in *Authority and Law in the Ancient Orient* (see note 8, above), 12-14; B. A. van Proosdij, "*Shar mésharim*: Titre des rois babyloniens comme législateurs," in *Symbolae van Oven* (Leiden, 1946), 29-35; Klima, "Base religieuse et éthique de l'ordre social," 348-52.

⁸⁷ Gadd's conjecture ("Hammurabi," 19), that "the motive of law-giving at this period seems not to have been reform but the need of forging a single government out of differing [ethnic] elements," is controverted by evidence he presents elsewhere (e.g., *ibid.*, 22-23).

⁸⁸ See *ibid.*, 14-15, 22-23, and literature cited. See also Georges Boyer and Émile Szlechter, "Introduction bibliographique à l'histoire du droit suméro-akkadien (1939-1955)," *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*, 3d Ser., III (1956), 41-79; Driver and Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, I, 5-17; Szlechter, "Codifications," 75-80; Edzard, "*Zweite Zwischenzeit*," esp. 68-69, 76-86, 125-26, 165-66.

⁸⁹ Code of Lipit-Ishtar [hereafter cited as CL] ii, 25 ff. ("Code de Lipit-Ištar," tr. Szlechter, 61; see also F. R. Steele, "The Code of Lipit-Ishtar," *American Journal of Archaeology*, LII [No. 3, 1948], 425 ff.; Kramer, in *Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 159 ff.)

⁹⁰ On the general subject, see Edzard, "*Zweite Zwischenzeit*," 81-86, 97, 126; Driver and Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, I, 22; J. J. Finkelstein, "Ammišaduqa's Edict and the Babylonian 'Law Codes,'" *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, XV (1961), 100, 101-103; F. R. Kraus, *Ein*

quency of this practice, and other distrains for debt were closely regulated with abuses severely punished.⁹¹ Interest on silver and grain loans was set "(at a rate) in accordance with the ordinances of the king," and violators were penalized by the loss of their principal.⁹² To curb inflation—the price of grain had risen to sixty times its normal level immediately following the collapse of the Third Dynasty—maximum prices were established for basic commodities, including beer.⁹³ Wages were fixed by law, as were fees charged by housebuilders, physicians, veterinarians, boat caulkers, and leasers of work animals, wagons, and boats.⁹⁴ The *tamkaru* who engaged in foreign trade became state agents, as did those merchants who dealt in mass-produced goods of general consumption such as fish, oil, and wool, all of which became state monopolies.⁹⁵ Much private trade continued, but it was circumscribed by regulations covering weights and measures, partnership and agency, the sale of liquor, and the carriage and safe deposit of money and goods.⁹⁶ The execution of these controls was largely the responsibility of the *tamkaru* themselves, their "board of trade" (*karum*) in each city being headed by a state-appointed "overseer of the merchants" (*wakil tamkari*) whose administrative and judicial authority included the collecting of taxes on business activities and the issuing of the "royal permits" (*tuppi šarim*) required of intercity traders.⁹⁷

A graphic illustration of the effect of such legislation comes from the reigns of Hammurabi of Babylon and his older contemporary, Rim-Sin of Larsa (about 1822–1763 B.C.).⁹⁸ The many names of the more affluent and

Edikt des Königs Ammi-saduqa von Babylon (Leiden, 1958), Pt. III; on the freeing of debt slaves, see *ibid.*, 41 (No. 18); CL, prologue and laws, Nos. 20–21.

⁹¹ CH, Nos. 113–19, 151–52, 241 (tr. T. J. Meek, in *Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 163 ff.); Laws of Eshnunna [hereafter cited as LE], Nos. 22–24 (tr. Albrecht Goetze, *ibid.*, 161 ff.).

⁹² CH, Nos. 88–90; LE, Nos. 18, 20–21. Cf. "the interest (rate) of Shamash," usually considerably lower than that charged by private lenders, which, together with the standardization of measures and the condemnation of fraudulent business practices, indicated that the god of justice sought to limit antisocial business practices. (See Harris, "Old Babylonian Temple Loans," 131–32; "Hymn to Shamash," lines 107 ff. [*Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 388].)

⁹³ LE, Nos. 1–2 (see commentary by Albrecht Goetze, *The Laws of Eshnunna* [New Haven, Conn., 1956], 28–33); CH, No. 111 (on liquor only, but see D. J. Wiseman, "The Laws of Hammurabi Again," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, VII [No. 2, 1962], 166, on an unpublished tariff of prices by Hammurabi). For other evidence of price control, see Gadd, "Hammurabi," 17–18, to whose references can be added Curtis and Hallo, "Money and Merchants in Ur III," 109–12. On inflated grain prices after the Third Dynasty, see Jacobsen, "Ibbi-Suen," 41–42.

⁹⁴ LE, Nos. 3–4, 7–8, 10–11; CH, Nos. 215–17, 221–25, 228, 234, 239, 241–43, 257–58, 261, 268–77.

⁹⁵ Leemans, *Merchant*, 75 ff., 79 ff., 120 *passim*; Gadd, "Hammurabi," 20.

⁹⁶ The pertinent laws are discussed in Driver and Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, I, 180–208, 233–45; Goetze, *Laws of Eshnunna*, 54–58, 96–117; Leemans, *Merchant*, 17–19, 22–35.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 67–77, 79–95, 120–25, and *Foreign Trade*, 76–77, 81, 108–109; Julius Lewy, "On Some Institutions of the Old Assyrian Empire," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXVII (1956), 35–72; Goetze, *Kleinasiens*, 74 ff.; Kraus, *Ammi-saduqa*, 33 ff. (Nos. 8–9), 75–88.

⁹⁸ See Leemans, *Merchant*, 107, 113–17, 119, 121–22.

powerful of the known Old Babylonian entrepreneurs (no doubt the prototypes of the "nouveau riche" described in the wisdom literature as "persecuting" the "penurious"⁹⁹) abruptly disappear at the moment when the evidence indicates that these energetic rulers were able to turn their attention from the foreign to the domestic scene. At the same time the numerous private business documents, which had been virtually the only economic records in evidence during the half century preceding, are largely replaced by the administrative documents of a "neomercantilistic" state. In the light of such concrete evidence, together with the wealth of social legislation surveyed above, Hammurabi can be regarded as speaking for every Old Babylonian benevolent despot in claiming that he was "like a real father to the people, [who] bestirred himself . . . and led the land aright."¹⁰⁰

The success, however sporadic and ephemeral, of the paternalistic Third Dynasty of Ur and Old Babylonian rulers in establishing a social and economic "equilibrium" (another sense of the term *mišarum*) provides a not unlikely explanation of why democracy did not succeed tyranny in ancient Mesopotamia, or, put in terms of historical process, why the Mesopotamians did not anticipate the Greeks and other later peoples in reviving their heroic age popular assembly to become the seat of political power. It is generally held that tyranny in Greece ended only after it had lost the support of the people; in Mesopotamia, however, no lengthy abatement of the compelling circumstances behind such support ever was forthcoming. In this land where proverbs noted that "the poor man has no power,"¹⁰¹ where lamentations first emerged and continuously flourished as a prominent literary genre, and where the oppressed commonly sought the intercession of the god of justice Shamash ("In his hollow voice the feeble man calls out to thee; the miserable, the weak, the mistreated, the poor. . ."),¹⁰² the only effective spokesman for "the poor [who] are the silent ones of the land"¹⁰³ was the powerful enlightened despot who sought "by intelligence and wisdom to protect the people."¹⁰⁴ He was "the beneficent shepherd" who "by the order of Shamash, the great judge of heaven and earth," spread his "benign shadow . . . in order that the strong might not oppress the weak,

⁹⁹ See note 74, above.

¹⁰⁰ CH (epilogue) xxvb, 21 ff., *Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 178.

¹⁰¹ *Proverbs*, tr. Gordon, 189 (No. 2.18). Twenty-two proverbs in this collection speak of poverty and the poor with much sympathy and compassion (see list, 298).

¹⁰² "Hymn to Shamash," tr. Ferris J. Stephens, in *Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 389.

¹⁰³ *Proverbs*, tr. Gordon, 196 (No. 2.32). But two proverbs present an intriguingly different view: "All the households of the poor are not equally submissive" (No. 2.26), and "The irreverent poor man looks contemptuously upon the rich man" (No. 2.16).

¹⁰⁴ Inscription of an unknown ruler of the Third Dynasty (see note 59, above).

that justice might be dealt the orphan and the widow."¹⁰⁵ And it is the more remarkable that, in addition to this mandate from heaven, at least one of these despots invoked a mandate from his people in presenting himself as the "true steward of the assembly."¹⁰⁶

The conclusion seems warranted that ancient Mesopotamia experienced all but one of what have been called the five basic stages of Greek constitutional development: only democracy failed to appear at the most likely point, between the early tyranny of the Old Sumerian and Akkadian *lugal*'s and the later tyranny, or dictatorship, to use the Roman term now commonly employed for postdemocracy despotism, of the Third Dynasty and Old Babylonian "beneficent shepherds." But Aristotle's famous dictum (*Politics*, 3, 14. 6) that what kept these "barbarians" from achieving democracy was a defect of character—"the people are by nature slaves"—is surely at best a half-truth. A far more accurate ancient Greek appraisal of the reasons behind the continued existence of despotism in Mesopotamia has long lain unappreciated in the work of Herodotus, whose travels and "inquiries" (*historia*) among the peoples of the ancient Orient made him the least parochial of Hellenic writers. In a passage that purports to record the arguments of three Persian nobles over the best form of government—monarchy, oligarchy, or democracy—to replace the anarchy that followed the sudden death of the unpopular Cambyses, Herodotus ably presents the case for "Oriental despotism" in words that he attributed to Darius:

One ruler: it is impossible to improve upon that—provided he is the best man for the job. His judgment will be in keeping with his character; he will act blamelessly as the steward of the people. . . . [He] comes forward as the people's champion and breaks up the cliques which are out for their own interests. This wins him the admiration of the people, and as a result he soon finds himself entrusted with absolute power. . . . To sum up: where did we get our freedom from, and who gave it to us? Is it the result of democracy, or of oligarchy, or of monarchy? We were set free by one man, and therefore I propose that we should preserve that form of government, and, further, that we should refrain from changing ancient laws, which have served us well in the past. To do so would only lead to disaster.¹⁰⁷

Herodotus' reference to "freedom" under a monarch touches on a final

¹⁰⁵ CH (epilogue) xxivb, 41 ff., *Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, 178; cf., *inter alia*, Lipit-Ishtar of Isin "whose kingship like that of Shamash brings splendor to the land, . . . savior of orphans whose misery he relieves, . . . the vigilant shepherd who conducts the people unto cooling shade." ("Hymnes sumériens en l'honneur des rois d'Isin Idin-Dagan et Lipit-Ishtar," tr. H. de Genouillac, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XXV [No. 3, 1928], 149.)

¹⁰⁶ From a hymn honoring Shulgi of the Third Dynasty, tr. William W. Hallo, in "On the Antiquity of Sumerian Literature," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXIII (No. 2, 1963), 170.

¹⁰⁷ 3. 82, *Herodotus, The Histories*, tr. Aubrey de Selincourt (Baltimore, 1954), 211, slightly revised. Andrew Robert Burn, *Persia and the Greeks: The Defense of the West, c. 546-478 B.C.* (New York, 1962), 94-95, rebuts those who here accuse Herodotus of naïveté and even "amazing mendacity."

pertinent point. It can be argued that ancient Mesopotamia knew democracy of a sort: the "true democracy" of the Roman Empire (and, as is all too evident, of large parts of our contemporary world) which, its apologists maintained, was achieved only after *libertas* (that is, individual rights) had been guaranteed by the *auctoritas* of the emperors.¹⁰⁸ All this was anticipated in the "establishing of liberty" by the ancient Mesopotamian "true steward of the assembly."

¹⁰⁸ See Chester G. Starr, Jr., "The Perfect Democracy of the Roman Empire," *American Historical Review*, LVIII (Oct. 1952), 1-16. In praising the originality of this Greco-Roman concept, Starr underscores the validity of Josephus' complaint, quoted at the beginning of this essay.

The "New Left" and American History: Some Recent Trends in United States Historiography

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IT is impossible not to notice that there is a new political Left in America. The struggle for civil rights, while endorsed by liberals and "moderates," is largely led by young people of radical commitment. The student protests on university campuses derive their fire from young men and women who reject much of American life in the 1960's. Rent strikers, peace marchers, and Vietnam protestors—all are deeply skeptical of the affluent society. Almost everywhere throughout the country, but especially where masses of young people are thrown together—most notably, of course, at the universities—new organizations, new journals, new movements are emerging, dedicated to restoring a radical voice to the contention of ideas in the United States.¹

The average newspaper reader knows the New Left for its activism. But it is not surprising that a movement that enlists so many college students, and particularly graduate students in the humanities and social sciences, should also have a reflective side. While consistently pragmatic in their day-to-day activities, the various New Left groups have begun to feel the need for theory and analysis. Their experience has already given birth to a New Left sociology, economics, and political science.² They are now

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¹ By now descriptions of the New Left have become so numerous that it would be a formidable task to supply a reasonably complete list. The following, however, are among the best: Richard Armstrong, "The Explosive Revival of the Far Left," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 8, 1965, 27-39; various authors, *Partisan Review*, XXXII (Spring, Summer, Fall 1965), 183-205, 341-72, 526-42; *Dissent*, IX (Spring 1962), 129 ff.; Irving Howe, "New Styles in 'Leftism,'" *ibid.*, XII (Summer 1965), 295-323; Staughton Lynd, "The New Radicals and 'Participatory Democracy,'" *ibid.*, 324-33. The recent book by Philip A. Luce, as the author admits, is not a discussion of the broad spectrum New Left but rather of its Trotskyite and Communist extreme as represented by such groups as the Progressive Labor party and the DuBois Clubs. (See Luce, *The New Left* [New York, 1966].) A recent anthology of New Left writings, Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau, *The New Radicals: A Report with Documents* (New York, 1966), begins with a long and useful introduction by the editors. Finally, see Jack Newfield, *A Prophetic Minority* (New York, 1966).

² The outstanding New Left sociologist is, of course, C. Wright Mills. Robert Theobald and Ben Seligman may be said to represent a New Left mood in economics. For a sign of a New Left political science highly critical of the predominant "abstracted empiricists" or "behavioralists" of the discipline, see the review by Walter Batya of Frederick Barghoorn's *The*

beginning to create a new, radical history, particularly a new, radical American history.

To understand this development, one must recall what has happened in American historical writing in the last two decades. As described by John Higham in his important article, "The Cult of the 'American Consensus,'" which appeared in 1959,³ certain trends were already clear. Since the 1940's something striking and significant had happened to the intellectual climate that surrounded the historians of America. They had abandoned the notion of struggle as the central theme of our past. Until the postwar years historians had acknowledged and indeed had emphasized the existence of social ills and social strife in the United States. The American past, like the past of other nations, seemed a series of confrontations between antagonistic and competing economic and class interest groups. American colonial history disclosed a sharp battle of yeoman and provincial nabob. The Revolution was both a struggle over "home rule" and over "who should rule at home." The Constitution was a class document. Battles between Hamiltonians and Jeffersonians, Whigs and Jacksonians, were struggles between the privileged orders and the commonalty. The Civil War was a collision of an industrial North and an agrarian South. And so it went: through the age of the robber barons, the war with Spain, Progressivism, the Great Depression, the New Deal. The binding theme of our history was class conflict, or at least an American version of it.⁴ The United States, then, was not "exceptional." The fine details of our history were different, perhaps, but at heart the American past was similar to the European past. The one plausible alternative to the class conflict view of American history—Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis—by the 1930's had been thoroughly demolished, it seemed, by the combined attack of Marxists and "progressives."⁵

Soviet Cultural Offensive in Studies on the Left, II (1961), 90 ff.; and the article by James Peters, "Ideology and United States Political Scientists," *Science and Society*, XXIX (Spring 1965), 192-216.

³ John Higham, "The Cult of the 'American Consensus,'" *Commentary*, XXVII (Feb. 1959), 93-100.

⁴ For the best brief description of the "progressive" school of American historical writing that flourished from about 1910 to shortly after World War II, see John Higham *et al.*, *History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965), pt. III, Chap. III.

⁵ For the attack of the Marxists, who preferred a class struggle interpretation of the American past, see Louis Hacker, "Sections or Classes," *Nation*, CXXXVII (July 26, 1933). For a parallel assault by old-line progressives who, like the Marxists, found a class conflict view of our history congenial, see Fred A. Shannon, "The Homestead Act and the Labor Surplus," *American Historical Review*, XLI (July 1936), 637-51; Charles A. Beard, "The Frontier in American History," *New Republic*, XCVII (Feb. 1939), 359-62; Carter Goodrich and Sol Davidson, "The Wage-Earner and the Westward Movement," *Political Science Quarterly*, L (June 1935), 161-85, LI (Mar. 1936), 61-116. For a good brief review of the changing fortunes of the Turner thesis, see Gene M. Gressley, "The Turner Thesis: A Problem in Historiography," *Agricultural History*, XXXII (Oct. 1958), 227-49. For the attack of the 1930's, see esp. 232 ff.

As described by Higham, the new history of Louis Hartz, Richard Hofstadter, Samuel Hays, David Potter, and Daniel Boorstin seemed to assert either that there had been no struggle in our past or that the struggle had been generated not by some real but by some imagined injustice. Rather than cataclysmic change, abrupt, angry, cacophonous, American history had been almost sedate. Americans had disagreed with one another, of course, but not irreconcilably or over the basic issues of property and political democracy. The experience of transplanted Europeans with a "new country" of abundant, unexploited resources had been fused with Lockean liberalism, engendering a mood of pragmatic moderation in all but a few American souls. The postwar generation of American historians had concluded, Higham wrote, that continuity, contentment, and "consensus" characterized the history of the nation; all else was either the illusion of the historian or that of his protagonists.⁶

Since 1959 the list of "consensus" historians has lengthened considerably. For the colonial era one might cite Clarence Ver Steeg's *The Formative Years*. For the period of the Confederation we not only have Robert E. Brown's *Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts* and Charles Beard and the Constitution but also Forrest MacDonald's *We the People* and *E Pluribus Unum*. For the early national period there are the books of Paul Goodman and Noble Cunningham. For the Jackson era we have had, since 1959, the work of Lee Benson, Bray Hammond, Walter E. Hugins. For the Civil War period there are David Donald, Eric McKittrick, Stanley Elkins, and Stanley Coben. For the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries we have Robert Wiebe's *Businessmen and Reform*, and, most recently, David J. Rothman's *Politics and Power*.⁷

⁶ Higham, "Cult of the 'American Consensus,'" *passim*. See also Robin Brooks, "Class Distinction, Then and Now," a review of Staughton Lynd's *Anti-Federalism in Dutchess County, New York*, in *Studies on the Left*, IV (Winter 1964), 74-75. Higham does not mention Oscar Handlin who, it is now clear, has been immensely influential, both through his own work and his students', in developing the post-Beardian canon. For a mature expression of Handlin's views, see his volume *The Americans: A New History of the People of the United States* (Boston, 1963).

⁷ The full citations for these works are as follows: Clarence Ver Steeg, *The Formative Years, 1607-1763* (New York, 1964); Robert E. Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1955), and *Charles Beard and the Constitution: A Critical Analysis of "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution"* (Princeton, N. J., 1956); Forrest MacDonald, *We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago, 1958), and *E Pluribus Unum: The Formation of the American Republic, 1776-1790* (Boston, 1965); Paul Goodman, *The Democratic-Republicans of Massachusetts: Politics in a Young Republic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964); Noble Cunningham, *The Jeffersonian Republicans: The Formation of Party Organization, 1789-1801* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1957); Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case* (Princeton, N. J., 1961); Bray Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War* (Princeton, N. J., 1957); Walter E. Hugins, *Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingmen's Movement, 1829-1837* (Stanford, Calif., 1960); David Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1960); Eric McKittrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1960); Stanley Elkins, *Slavery: A*

Such an assemblage of authors immediately suggests the inadequacy of Higham's description. With a larger sample before us, we can now see that while the new postwar historians include consensusites pure and simple, they also include those, who in rejecting the dualisms of their predecessors, prefer to replace them with a pluralistic view of the American past. Instead of a simple dialogue the historical stage presents a complex and tumultuous crowd scene. It is also clearer now that social psychology and the other social sciences have profoundly influenced this complex view of the past. Higham believed in 1959 that the behavioral approach enabled the new generation of historians to obscure conflict in America by "psychologizing" it. Men thought they were exploited and victimized when they really were just emotionally disturbed. While it is true, as Higham noted, that the postwar historians are impressed by the stability of American society and by our broad agreement over fundamentals, we now know that many of them take social conflict quite seriously. But they define conflict more broadly than did the "progressive" historians of the previous generation. Besides the traditional haves versus have-nots in their many separate guises, we now have Catholic versus Protestant, dry versus wet, rural versus urban, white versus black, old versus young, ins versus outs. These are real conflicts, but they are psychologically or socially defined and open to the imputation that they are merely sick phantoms in the mind. We take seriously the man who finds himself in an economic vise; we tend to despise or pity the man who suffers from status anxieties. Somehow *Angst* seems less real than hunger.

It is easy to see why this shift in the analysis of conflict reduces the emotional charge of past historical movements. Not only does it suggest that all the discontented are mere malingerers, but it is also difficult to identify heroes and villains. If nothing else, both the guilty and the injured in a pluralistic society often turn out to be but a small part of some larger group. Businessmen can no longer be condemned as a whole. They disagree among themselves and can scarcely be held responsible for anything collectively. Farmers are no longer just farmers. They are north-eastern truck gardeners, or Wisconsin dairy farmers, or Kansas wheat-growers, or southern cotton planters, and they do not all suffer the same fate at the same time.

Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life (Chicago, 1959); Stanley Coben, "Northeastern Business and Radical Reconstruction: A Re-examination," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVI (June 1959); Robert H. Wiebe, *Businessmen and Reform: A Study of the Progressive Movement* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); and David J. Rothman, *Politics and Power: The United States Senate, 1869-1901* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966). Needless to say, this list is not complete.

These ambiguities inevitably encourage a kind of neutrality and detachment that are congenial to the use of new statistical techniques borrowed from the sister social sciences. No longer intent on proving a case for "the people," historians can subject all the old conclusions to the dispassionate test of social statistics. There is no inherent reason why radicals cannot employ the same tools, but so far, with an occasional exception, the fascination with numbers has been the province of the postwar, "middle generation." Perhaps the young men of the Left fear that the figures will not bear them out. Certainly in American economic history the work of the new "cliometricians" has given comfort to "conservative" interpretations of such diverse issues as the origins of the American Revolution, the plight of the late nineteenth-century farmer, and the culpability of the robber barons.⁸

It would be a serious mistake to insist that there is absolute unanimity in either approach or conclusions among the postwar generation of historians. To some degree they are all "post-Beardians" since they are all trying to escape the Beardian matrix which imprisoned American history in the first four decades of this century. But they go beyond Beard in a number of distinct ways, and the label is at best only moderately useful as a descriptive term. Nevertheless, despite the difficulties of definition, Higham in 1959 clearly detected the beginnings of an important and substantial change in the writing of American history, and it is this change that is now beginning to generate a reaction among the young men of the Left.

It may now seem clearer what there is about the postwar history that antagonizes the new radicals. They are not primarily offended by the rejection of "historical materialism," the keystone of traditional Marxist historiography. A few Marxian "Old Leftists" like Herbert Aptheker, Philip Foner, and Harvey O'Connor are still writing history. But the New Left historians are not the captives of an official ideology.⁹ We must "*Americanize the radical program* by bringing historically native radicalism up to date," writes Harold Cruse in *Studies on the Left*, a major forum of the New Left history.

⁸ On the Revolution, see Robert P. Thomas, "A Quantitative Approach to the Study of the Effects of British Imperial Policy upon Colonial Welfare: Some Preliminary Findings," *Journal of Economic History*, XXV (Dec. 1965), 615-38; on the post-Civil War farmer, see Allan Bogue, *Money at Interest: The Farm Mortgage on the Middle Border* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1955); Leslie E. Decker, *Railroad Lands and Politics: The Taxation of Railroad Land Grants, 1865-1897* (Providence, R. I., 1964); on at least one group of robber barons, see Robert W. Fogel, *The Union Pacific Railroad: A Case Study in Premature Enterprise* (Baltimore, Md., 1960); for an overview of the whole "cliometric" literature, see Douglass North, *Growth and Welfare in the American Past: A New Economic History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1966).

⁹ Indeed, they are sometimes embarrassed by the excesses of doctrinaire party-liners like Aptheker. See, e.g., Joseph A. Ernst, "Historians and the Colonial Era," *Studies on the Left*, I (Winter 1960), 79-84.

We do this by accepting what we need from the "Marxist method" insofar as the method applies to American social history. . . . While we allow that historical laws are universally applicable, these laws operate according to the dictates of different social ingredients in different places. We accept the fact that the Marxian revolution *could have happened* at a certain time given the proper leadership and impetus.¹⁰

When, as in the case of William Appleman Williams, the New Left historians make much of Marx, it is more often the early "soft" Marx, who speaks of "alienation," than the "hard" Marx of *Das Kapital*, with its class struggle and progressive "immiserization of the proletariat."¹¹

Beard is a different case. The New Left has joined an older group of historians to perpetuate the Beardian vision.¹² In direct proportion as he has become a false prophet of the new postwar history, Beard has become the Moses of the New Left.¹³ Williams, a man who actually owes little to Beard—except, perhaps, on recent American foreign policy—feels compelled to announce in his bellicose style, "it . . . seems appropriate, in view of all the bigoted and career building attacks, acts of purification in the form of misrepresentation, and even smart-alec criticism by supposed aristocrats, to acknowledge formally my respect for and debt to Charles Austin Beard."¹⁴ Yet much of the homage is ceremonial. At their best, the New Left historians feel free to diverge from both masters. When they do, the results are often interesting.

It is not, then, uncritical loyalty to a particular master that makes the New Left bridle at the postwar history. It is rather what they perceive as the tone, commitment, and power of the post-Beardian historians that annoys and angers the young radicals. The most obvious of these characteristics is, of course, the imputed political conservatism of their elders. The new history is, so it seems to the young Leftists, history at the service of an elitist and aristocratic definition of society, and the "American Celebration." Until recently, notes Arnold Rogow, the American intellectual's "view of the common man was essentially Jeffersonian." Now the common man is being "muckraked," and the older liberal tradition is being repudiated as the intellectuals adopt the New Conservatism.¹⁵ To Norman Pollack the

¹⁰ Harold Cruse, "Americanizing the Radical Program," *ibid.*, III (Winter 1963), 69.

¹¹ Cf. Eugene Genovese, "William Appleman Williams on Marx and America," *ibid.*, VI (Jan.-Feb. 1966), 76.

¹² As, e.g., C. Vann Woodward, Matthew Josephson, and Jackson T. Main.

¹³ Other gurus of the New Left include Paul Goodman, the social thinker and novelist, Herbert Marcuse, and Barrington Moore, Jr. All these men have helped form the New Left's vision of recent America, but none—except perhaps Moore—seem as yet to have had much effect on the way the New Left writes history.

¹⁴ William Appleman Williams, *The Contours of American History* (Cleveland, 1961), 490.

¹⁵ Arnold A. Rogow, "The Revolt against Social Equality," *Dissent*, IV (Autumn 1957), 369-70. For a complaint from an older Populistic liberal and Beardian, see C. Vann Woodward, "The Populist Heritage and the Intellectuals," *American Scholar*, XXIX (Winter 1959-60), 55-72.

new history represents the "treason of the intellectuals." Frightened by Joseph McCarthy's witch-hunts, they cravenly retreated from the exposed Left to a safe Right.¹⁶

Equally irritating to the New Left, though less widely advertised, are the supposed institutional power and influence of the post-Beardians. Intellectually complacent, often supercilious, they are, we are told, firmly implanted in the prestigious eastern private universities, where they form an academic establishment capable of using its professional power to proscribe dissent and encourage conformity.¹⁷ Indeed, there is among the young radical academicians a sense of persecution that, since it is largely anticipatory, seems excessive. Convinced that they are struggling against a pernicious power elite, they see in their professional lives what they are convinced obtains in the flow of American history itself. The conspiracies against the people by the interests find a parallel in the efforts of the historical establishment to suppress the radical voice.

But perhaps the worst offense of the postwar history is its failure to provide the New Left with a "usable past." The charge like the term is ambiguous. "Usable past" implies in the first place a concern for historical guidelines, an interest that the New Left surely shares with much of mankind. At this point it would be well to recall that the New Left is programmatic and activist; it is the product not of a great book or a great prophet but of the social maladjustments of our day. Many of the young scholars who have joined the recent attack against the historiographic trends of the past decade have been men living and working very much in a radical and dissenting present. As historians and radicals it is natural that they should seek wisdom in the past. Staughton Lynd, a talented New Left historian, has been quite explicit about the need for a usable radical past to provide direction for the new radical community, which otherwise appears doomed, he declares, to rehash problems its predecessors have already settled.¹⁸

But the concept of a usable past also suggests that history may serve as a political weapon. To the young Leftists the most obvious partisan use of history is to domesticate radicalism in America. In all fairness, it must be said that this is largely a counterattack. The Right has always insisted that

¹⁶ Norman Pollack, "Fear of Man: Populism, Authoritarianism and the Historian," *Agricultural History*, XXXIX (Apr. 1965), 59-67.

¹⁷ See the remarks of Richard Drinnon in an interview by Peter Loewenberg in *Studies on the Left*, II (No. 1, 1961), 79 ff. For an attack on the academic "establishment" which transcends the discipline of history, see the prospectus, "The Radicalism of Disclosure," *ibid.*, I (Fall 1959), 2-4.

¹⁸ Staughton Lynd, "Socialism, the Forbidden Word," *ibid.*, III (Summer 1963), 14 ff. At the same time, however, Lynd was agreeing with N. Gordon Levin, Jr., that there was little if any native American radicalism. See Lynd's reply to Levin's letter in *Commentary*, XXXV (Jan. 1963), 74-75. For what Lynd does see as radical in the American past, see below, pp. 1258-59.

radicalism is un-American, a foreign import embraced only by those who have no roots in the native culture or who have lost contact with those roots. But until quite recently the conservative claim has not been academically respectable, for from about 1910 until the late 1940's the giants of the profession devoted their scholarly energies to exhibiting the long and honorable record of insurgency and dissent on the frontier, on the farms, in the mining camps and factory towns. Now, some of the leading scholars of the nation have apparently given the old charge intellectual sanction of an impressive order. There is no native American radicalism, they say—not one that any balanced man would wish to acknowledge. Radicalism has always been an exotic import, ill-suited to American circumstances, and hence deserving of the isolation and failure it has always suffered. The challenge is clearly fundamental. If there has been no true dissent in America; if a general consensus over capitalism, race relations, and expansionism has prevailed in the United States; if such dissent as has existed has been crankish and sour, the product not of a maladjusted society but of maladjusted men—then American history may well be monumentally irrelevant for contemporary radicalism. As scholars and social critics, simultaneously, the young New Left historians of course find this conclusion impossible to accept.

Having dismissed the new postwar history, what do the young men of the Left hope to put in its place? It is not possible to say in a simple, categorical way. The young radicals know what they reject, and in fact their dislikes are often what most satisfactorily defines them.¹⁹ They are not, however, as clear about what they accept. Dissensions within the New Left history are as general and intense as disagreements among the socialists, anarchists, pacifists, existentialists, and Neo-Populists who compose the New Left movement. It is a panorama as complex as the pluralistic history the young radicals would refute.

There is indeed an ambitious attempt at a general synthesis of America's past by a New Left historian of good credentials,²⁰ *The Contours of American History* by Professor William A. Williams of the University of Wisconsin, but unfortunately this interesting book fails as a chart to the

¹⁹ This negative quality of almost all the New Left intellectuals has been noted by Michael Walzer, a young Leftist historian of English Puritanism. (See Walzer, "The Young Radicals: A Symposium," *Dissent*, IX [Spring 1962], 129 ff.)

²⁰ What constitutes "good credentials" for the New Left is exceedingly hard to say. Members of the New Left do not carry party cards; nor do they always acknowledge their affiliations. In selecting my New Left historians I have used a combination of personal knowledge, self-identification, internal evidence, and a sort of historical dead reckoning. The system, I am certain, is fallible. Some of those I have included among the Left will, perhaps, object to being so labeled. On the other hand others, surely, will be chagrined at being left out. Nevertheless I do not believe my imperfect definitions vitiate my conclusions.

emerging radical history. The major theme of *The Contours* is the persistent tension in America between the two world views of commonwealth and individualism. The first, identified with "mercantilism," is the very womb out of which the American nation emerged. As used by Williams, "mercantilism" must not be confused with the selfish, retrograde economic doctrine of the standard textbook discussions. It means a benevolent paternalism displayed by an enlightened class of gentlemen—the "gentry"—who placed the interest of the whole community above that of any single group including themselves. While not without its serious limitations, most notably its recourse to foreign expansion to solve domestic problems, mercantilism represents the benign side of the American tradition. Opposing it, and virtually without redeeming qualities, is "laissez-nous faire," and, what is its essential synonym, "individualism." To Williams this world view is socially corrosive, fostering competition rather than cooperation, anomy rather than community, profits rather than justice.

This may seem to be a predictable Leftist dualism and may suggest at first glance the basis for a reconstructed radical history. Actually it gives aid and comfort to the enemy. Williams offers little to the New Left. It is quite clear from *The Contours* that few Americans ever questioned the sacrosanct nature of private property or ever could see much beyond more property or more geographic expansion as the solution for internal problems. Elements of American society did indeed differ in the depth of their social insight and the degree of their humane sympathies, but except for the small and impotent groups of socialists at the end of the nineteenth century, they all suffered from the same fatal weakness of social imagination. In a word, though Williams can scarcely intend it, we are back at consensus!²¹

In fact *The Contours* proves a constant embarrassment to the younger radical scholars. Williams not only accepts the broad theme of an American consensus; he also accepts a surprising number of the specific judgments of the post-Beardian history. He agrees with Brown and MacDonald that support for the Revolution and the Constitution transcended class lines.²² He accepts the thesis of Hammond and Hofstadter that the Jacksonians were aggressive capitalist enterprisers.²³ He agrees that the abolitionists

²¹ This implicit acceptance of consensus in *Contours* has been noticed by Higham, among others. See Higham's review of the book in *Studies on the Left*, II (No. 2, 1961), 73-76. Michael Wreszin, another young radical historian, observes the same phenomenon in Richard Drinnon's biography of Emma Goldman (*Rebel in Paradise: A Biography of Emma Goldman* [Chicago, 1961]). Drinnon's saving grace, Wreszin notes, is that unlike the conservative historians, while noting the consensus, he deplores it. (See Wreszin, "Heresy in Paradise: A Partisan for Emma," *Studies on the Left*, IV [Winter 1964], 80.)

²² Williams, *Contours*, 105 ff., 138 ff.

²³ *Ibid.*, 222 ff. Indeed, Jackson's victory in 1828 is viewed as something of a national disaster.

were often difficult and unreasonable men who failed to understand the complexities of race adjustment.²⁴ He acknowledges the dark side of Populism, although he is critical of what he considers the supercilious tone of its recent detractors.²⁵ To Williams, Franklin Roosevelt is a man who cherished power for its own sake; Hoover, a true progressive in the mercantilist tradition.²⁶ The book, moreover, is saturated with old-fashioned philosophical idealism. Ideas, not interests, are what count in history, for mercantilism, at least, is no mere rationalization of individual or class advantage. Derived from Biblical moralism, it is tough and autonomous with the power to blunt and tame the acquisitive instincts.²⁷ This is scarcely the stuff out of which to construct a new radical history, and with regret several of the young Leftist historians have conceded as much.²⁸

If we stopped at this point, it would be difficult to see in what way it is possible to consider Williams a radical historian at all. His credentials derive, I think, from two major themes of *The Contours*. The first is his radical indictment of individualism and his extravagant praise of the proto-collectivism of the "gentry." In the absence of a viable socialist tradition the "mercantilism" of the gentry must satisfy Williams' yearning to discover virtue in the American past. The second is Williams' treatment of American foreign policy. Here the young Leftists find strong support for their conviction of America's total depravity. From the very outset, according to Williams, the United States has been an expansionist nation, preying on its weaker neighbors, whether the precivilized Indian tribes or the weaker national states and decrepit empires on its borders. This expansionism is a strangely persuasive mirror image of Turner's frontier thesis. Rather than a succession of new opportunities, each American frontier was a new evasion. It was not democracy that renewed itself in each new "West"; it was capitalism, and American foreign policy was merely the instrument of this evasive westward thrust.²⁹

But neither mercantilism nor expansionism provides a historical framework for the New Left equal to class struggle for the old. In the end *The Contours* is too personal and idiosyncratic. Williams is an angry dissenter

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 250-55. He even defends the Old South from abolitionist attack! (*Ibid.*, 281-82).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 333-38.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 440, 445.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 32 ff.

²⁸ See, e.g., Staughton Lynd's review of Williams' *Contours* in *Science and Society*, XXVII (Spring 1963), 227 ff.

²⁹ This point, implied in *Contours*, is made explicitly in Williams' latest book, *The Great Evasion: An Essay on the Contemporary Relevance of Karl Marx and on the Wisdom of Admitting the Heretic into the Dialogue about America's Future* (Chicago, 1964), esp. the introduction.

who, despite his announced faith in a cooperative society, is beholden to no man for his historical vision, or, one is sometimes tempted to say, for his historical facts. But still the radical scholars listen to Williams. He may supply little they can use for understanding America's domestic affairs, but he most emphatically speaks to them on the history of American foreign policy. *The Contours* and Williams' specific works in diplomatic history⁸⁰ have had a powerful impact on a group of young diplomatic historians, many of whom have worked with him or under him at the University of Wisconsin.

The most successful of these younger scholars is Walter LaFeber,⁸¹ whose book, *The New Empire*, won the Albert J. Beveridge Award in 1962.⁸² LaFeber is a sophisticated and urbane historian. Yet he is willing to make his radical philosophical stand quite explicit. In a 1962 book review he praises the tradition of Beard and Arthur B. Darling in American diplomatic history and assails those historians who "since 1945 . . . have been preoccupied with knifing Beard with one hand and using the other hand to pen caricatures of a unique unblemished Republic which became a world empire with little conscious human intervention."⁸³ The thesis of *The New Empire* is that America's venture into imperialism in the 1890's was neither a historical accident nor a new departure. It was the culmination of a process dating at least to the 1850's or 1860's, the roots of which were primarily economic. Post-Civil War American imperialism sprang from the need of manufacturers for raw materials and markets. It was not absent-mindedness that led to the war with Spain and the annexation of Hawaii, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico; it was the demands of businessmen.

LaFeber does not approve of American expansionism, but he is not a crude polemicist. His imperialist businessmen and policy makers are "responsible, conscientious men who accepted the economic and social realities of their day . . . and . . . were unafraid to strike out on new and uncharted paths in order to create what they sincerely hoped would be a better nation

⁸⁰ E.g., William Appleman Williams, *American-Russian Relations, 1781-1947* (New York, 1952), *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (Cleveland, 1959), *The United States, Cuba and Castro* (New York, 1962).

⁸¹ LaFeber was actually a student of Professor Fred Harvey Harrington at Wisconsin, although he acknowledges that he is deeply indebted to Williams for instruction. (See Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* [Ithaca, N. Y., 1963], 428.)

⁸² That it should win this prestigious award casts some doubt either on the hostility of the establishment toward the New Left or on their academic influence.

⁸³ Walter LaFeber, "The Conscious Creation of a 'World Wide Empire,'" a review of Richard Warner Van Alstyne's *The Rising American Empire*, in *Studies on the Left*, II (No. 3, 1962), 103 ff.

and a better world."⁸⁴ Several other members of the Wisconsin school of diplomatic history are both less temperate and less convincing than LaFeber. John W. Rollins, in an essay on the anti-imperialists and American foreign policy in the twentieth century, reaches the tortured conclusion that even most of those who balked at overt American colonialism in the years since the Spanish-American War have been expansionists and imperialists. They may not have endorsed American occupation and control, but they have endorsed American economic penetration, and this is the same thing. Free trade, foreign investment, Point Four aid—all, presumably, have been tools of American hegemony.⁸⁵ Lloyd Gardner examines the foreign policy of the New Deal and concludes that following the disastrous economic setback of 1937-1938, "the New Deal forsook viable domestic remedies and readied itself for the pursuit of . . . world frontiers . . . as its solution to the crisis of the 1930's." In the end Gardner comes very close to attributing America's entrance into World War II, once cheered by the Left as the defense of democracy and freedom, to the reluctance of the Axis Powers to accept American demands for "liberal trade and the Open Door."⁸⁶ New Left revisionism could not be better designed to antagonize the generation that waged the crusade against fascism!

There is, in the New Left diplomatic history, an interesting rehabilitation, explicit or implied, of isolationism. Williams himself seems to be its source. By denying the serious practice of isolation by the United States he makes the few sincere advocates of minding our own business into rare, heroic souls.⁸⁷ Beard's obscure 1934 attack on American intervention in European affairs, *The Open Door at Home*, has become an object of veneration among the Wisconsin school.⁸⁸ They give isolationist Progressives like William Borah credit for rare prescience in foretelling the dangers of the "garrison state, the weight of military costs, the penetration of American economic power into almost every sphere upon the globe, and the loss of liberty at home and abroad."⁸⁹

⁸⁴ LaFeber, *New Empire*, ix.

⁸⁵ John W. Rollins, "The Anti-Imperialists and Twentieth Century American Foreign Policy," *Studies on the Left*, III (No. 1, 1962), 9 ff. This paper was the subject of a symposium and is followed by comments by Harold Baron and Thomas J. McCormick, who seem to function as a cheering section rather than as critics.

⁸⁶ It is obvious that part of the New Left attack on Roosevelt's foreign policy derives from Charles Beard's influential work, *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941: A Study in Appearances and Realities* (New York, 1948). Gardner refuses, however, to accept the most extreme of Beard's charges, that Roosevelt engineered United States entrance into World War II for party purposes. (See Lloyd Gardner, "From New Deal to New Frontier, 1937-1941," *Studies on the Left*, I [Fall 1959], 29 ff.). In Gardner's recent book, *Economic Aspects of New Deal Diplomacy* (Madison, Wis., 1964), the polemical tone is still more muted.

⁸⁷ Williams, *Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, esp. Chap. iv.

⁸⁸ See, e.g., Gardner, "From New Deal to New Frontier," 30.

⁸⁹ Orde S. Pinckney, "William E. Borah: Critic of American Foreign Policy," *Studies on the Left*, I (No. 3, 1960), 48 ff., esp. 61.

The message in all this is clear. America's recent aggressive and provocative foreign policy is not the response of the moment; our reaction to world problems after 1945 was merely the latest term of an American tradition of aggrandizement that commenced with John Smith. From first to last, cupidity has been the governing principle of our relations with strangers, and we must not expect more of our acquisitive, capitalist society.

In its strictures on America's earlier foreign affairs the New Left is obviously projecting onto history its present cold war fears and frustrations. The pattern of present-mindedness persists in its view of America's domestic past. Just as they would transform the country's relations to the non-Western world, the young radicals are committed to reorienting American society itself, and nothing fascinates them more than their radical predecessors and the movements they inspired and led.⁴⁰

As we have seen, the radical attempt to recover America's "progressive" past seems to serve a number of purposes simultaneously. It satisfies a natural curiosity about radical antecedents and represents an understandable quest for direction. But more important, and less disinterested, the New Left's concern with the nation's reformist past is an attempt to establish its own legitimacy.

This search for a historical sanction is the main concern of Pollack, although at times it might appear that his real purpose is to dethrone the leading representatives of the "establishment." Leaving aside this strong acerbic aspect of Pollack's work, we find that his main point is that there has indeed been a viable radical tradition native to America, a tradition associated with agrarian insurgency, which reached its apogee during the Populist revolt. Far from fleeing the industrial realities of the day, as has been suggested by Oscar Handlin, Hofstadter, and others, the Populists realistically diagnosed the problems of emerging industrialism and realistically prescribed for them. Neither rural xenophobes nor ignorant paranoids but perceptive radical humanitarians, they produced a critique of capitalist society still valid today. Indeed their analysis of American industrial capitalism closely paralleled Marx's dissection of early European industrial society, which suggests to Pollack the "extremely exciting prospect" that the "Populist experience might well challenge a basic proposition in historical writing—the uniqueness of America." True, contemporary American Marx-

⁴⁰ Only this intense preoccupation will explain the recent publication of Sidney Lens's *Radicalism in America* (New York, 1966). This book is an unimaginative narration of liberal-radical activities in America by an editor of the New Left journal *Liberation*. It might have been written by Vernon Parrington in the 1920's, though it is endorsed by Lynd and is clearly intended to teach the young Left something of their predecessors.

ists opposed the Populists, but only because the Marxists were excessively sectarian and poorly attuned to the needs of the American environment.⁴¹

Pollack's defense of the Populists from some of their more intemperate critics, largely sociologists and political scientists, has been useful. He has, I think, at least made us realize that Populism had a humane and progressive side as well as a retrograde, nativist one. He has not, however, made many converts to his major thesis—the viability of the Populist tradition—even among the New Left. Despite his impassioned pleading, Populism appears too *petit bourgeois* and too intellectually ambiguous to serve as part of our radical past.⁴² His chief allies appear to be men identified with the old liberal Left who have retained their sympathy for insurgent rural America.⁴³ More congenial as ancestors for the New Leftists than the provincial dissenters of the 1890's are the certified urban radicals, the Socialists and anarchists. Williams, after—in *The Contours*—dismissing the Socialists of this era as impotent, later converts them into seers “who made between 1890 and 1917 the most relevant and mature adaptation to the end of the frontier.”⁴⁴ James Weinstein, editor of *Studies on the Left*, has made that journal virtually into an instrument for pulling Socialism into the mainstream of American history.

In this endeavor Weinstein is battling the prevailing view that Socialism failed in the United States because of its own inner inadequacies. On the contrary, he asserts, American Socialism did not fall; it was knocked down. After riding a great popular wave during World War I, Socialism was smashed by the patriotic suppressions perpetrated by the Wilson administra-

⁴¹ Pollack's major statement of his position will be found in *The Populist Response to Industrial America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), but see also the following articles: “Hofstadter on Populism: A Critique of ‘The Age of Reform,’” *Journal of Southern History*, XXVI (Nov. 1960), 478–500, “The Myth of Populist Anti-Semitism,” *American Historical Review*, LXVIII (Oct. 1962), 76–80, “Handlin on Anti-Semitism: A Critique of ‘American Views of the Jew,’” *Journal of American History*, LI (Dec. 1964), 391–403, and “Fear of Man.” The words quoted are from *Populist Response*, 82–83.

⁴² Pollack has not been totally rejected by the New Left, but it seems to me that, if only by their silence, they suggest that they find his work unconvincing. For an outright attack on Pollack by a member of the Left, see Ann Lane's review of *Populist Response* in *Science and Society*, XXVIII (Summer 1964), 326 ff. It is interesting that the plausible forerunners of the Populists, the Jeffersonians and Jacksonians, have been virtually ignored by the New Left, Williams again excepted. The only suggestion of a new radical position on either of these movements that I have found is contained in two reviews of Benson's *Concept of Jacksonian Democracy*. In both cases the reviewers disapproved of Benson's attempt to place Jacksonian Democracy within the broad consensus framework. (See Lynd's review in *Commentary*, XXXIII [Apr. 1962], 366–68; Michael Lebowitz, “The Significance of Claptrap in American History,” *Studies on the Left*, III [Winter 1963], 79 ff.)

⁴³ Writers like Walter T. K. Nugent, Robert F. Durden, Paul Holbo, and C. Vann Woodward, who have recently championed the agrarian insurgency of the 1890's, are in the last analysis to be seen rather as men of rural background defending a rural Neo-Populist tradition against an urban attack than as members of the New Left seeking to legitimate radicalism in America. (See Irwin Unger, “Critique of Norman Pollack,” *Agricultural History*, XXXIX [Apr. 1965], 17–22.)

⁴⁴ In a symposium on Socialism published in *New Politics*, I (Spring 1962), 40.

tion.⁴⁵ Socialism is America's "hidden heritage," which has been maligned and abused as much by the historians as by the Attorney General. The historians "have provided little that is usable to the newly emerging American left." "But not all generations," he concludes, in a manifesto, "have an equal stake in obscuring the past. Hopefully the new historians of American radicalism will be more disposed to learn from it, and less inclined to bend it, however subconsciously, to their more narrow and immediate purpose."⁴⁶

Weinstein's concern is with the mainstream Socialism of Eugene Debs. But part of the New Left prefers anarchism to Socialism and has sought to recover an antiauthoritarian radical past for the United States. Richard Drinnon, a self-declared radical, has written a sympathetic biography of anarchist Emma Goldman that turns that eccentric but truly interesting woman not only into a "courageous, compassionate, intelligent human being" but into a prophetess of dangerous totalitarian tendencies within the Left.⁴⁷ Henry David Thoreau is another radical who appeals to the anarchist Left. When Lynd recently questioned Thoreau's pacifist and anarchist credentials, the resulting furor amply confirmed his claim that the author of *Civil Disobedience* had "become the patron saint of the new radicals and of all unadjusted Americans."⁴⁸

The young men of the Left find it possible to identify with the political failures and outcasts. Urban middle-class reform, on the other hand, earns their contempt. Gabriel Kolko considers the progressive movement a fraud. The mass of early twentieth-century legislation ostensibly designed to regulate business in the interest of the common good was really engineered by businessmen themselves, anxious to prevent destructive competition.⁴⁹ The combination of glittering promise and empty performance in progressivism in the end headed off "the radical potential of mass grievances and aspirations of genuine progressivism," or, in other words, of true social recon-

⁴⁵ See James Weinstein, "Anti-War Sentiment and the Socialist Party, 1917-1918," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXIV (June 1959), *passim*, and "Socialism's Hidden Heritage: Scholarship Reinforces Political Mythology," *Studies on the Left*, III (Fall 1963), *passim*; see also Weinstein's exchange with Gerald Friedberg, *ibid.*, IV (Summer 1964), 79-97.

⁴⁶ Weinstein, "Socialism's Hidden Heritage," 108. Weinstein is not an unbalanced doctrinaire. In defending American Socialism against Friedberg's charge of inner failure he concedes that "a tradition of political democracy, relative social mobility, and a generally increasing standard of living made possible by the expansion of American capitalism from the end of the Civil War to the middle 1920's" kept Socialism in America from becoming "a majority political movement." (See the exchange with Friedberg [p. 90], cited in note 45, above.)

⁴⁷ Drinnon, *Rebel in Paradise*, vii *et passim*.

⁴⁸ Staughton Lynd, "Henry Thoreau: The Admirable Radical," *Liberation*, VII (Feb. 1963), 21 ff.; for the response to Lynd's article, see *ibid.*, VIII (Apr. 1963), 22 ff.

⁴⁹ In this insistence on the competitive nature of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century business enterprise, Kolko is at serious odds with the old Left and the traditional Marxist thesis of the growing monopolization of the American economy. He also disagrees, of course, with the Populist-progressive view of economic trends during the period.

struction.⁵⁰ Martin J. Sklar tells us that Progressivism was a movement led by and consisting of large corporate interests and political and intellectual leaders affirming the large corporate industrial capital system, and convinced of the necessity of institutionalizing reforms, legal and otherwise, to accommodate the nation's law and habits and the people's thinking, to the new corporate business structure and its requirements, domestic and foreign.⁵¹

While Sklar, unlike Kolko, concedes that what emerged was reform and not mere sham, it is as difficult to recognize in his Progressivism as in Kolko's anything of the humanitarianism, the self-criticism, and the social imagination that historians have generally found in the liberal political movements of the early twentieth century.

The New Left treatment of the New Deal so far has been skimpy. But it is fairly clear, from some interesting fragments, what it will look like when it fully emerges. In a sharply critical review of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s, *The Age of Roosevelt*, Jacob Cohen declares the "New Deal marks the last act . . . by which American politics accommodated itself to the problems of economic justice raised by the system of countervailing powers." He denies to Roosevelt and his associates the honorable label of "pragmatists." Pragmatism possesses a vision of society out of which true social experimentalism can emerge. The New Deal was goalless and aimless, without either moral or practical purposes.⁵² "In the long run what *did* the New Deal do?" asks Marc Schleifer.

Are there other, more flourishing offspring of the corporate and progressive income tax than Madison Avenue expense-account culture, and the Pentagon? With the exception of Jimmy Hoffa and a few remnant leftist unions, what significance and militant honor is there now in a "strong" trade union movement? Who can better remember Pearl Harbor than the hundreds of thousands of dead Chinese, Koreans, Vietnamese, Laotians, Filipinos, etc., we have killed since the end of the Second World War?⁵³

The New Left's harsh judgment of twentieth-century reform is not, I suggest, the inevitable conclusion imposed by the facts. It is dictated, in the first place, by ideological predispositions. Young Left historians like Kolko cannot endorse any political movement that did not aim at a cooperative

⁵⁰ Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916* (New York, 1963), *passim*, esp. 285. The same theme in a narrower compass may be found in Kolko's volume on railroad legislation during the progressive period. (See *id.*, *Railroads and Regulation, 1877-1916* [Princeton, N.J., 1965].)

⁵¹ Martin J. Sklar, "Woodrow Wilson and the Political Economy of Modern United States Liberalism," *Studies on the Left*, I (No. 3, 1960), 17 ff., esp. 40.

⁵² Jacob Cohen, "Schlesinger and the New Deal," *Dissent*, VIII (Autumn 1961), 461 ff. It is interesting to compare this long review of *The Age of Roosevelt* with another by an orthodox Marxist. The latter, written under the pseudonym "George Brand," is far more sympathetic. (See George Brand, "Toward a History of the New Deal," *Monthly Review*, XII [May 1960], 28 ff.)

⁵³ Marc Schleifer, "A Socialist Plea for Black Nationalism," *ibid.*, XV (Sept. 1963), 225 ff.

society. Progressivism also gets bad marks, one suspects, because it was so eminently respectable. Kolko characteristically attacks the muckrakers as men "with commonplace talents and middle class values."⁵⁴ The assault on the New Deal, on the other hand, is a more complex matter. For some of the New Leftists it is an adolescent blow for independence. The New Deal was the political faith of their parents in a quite literal way. In rejecting it they are rejecting their fathers and their fathers' faith.⁵⁵ For others, as Schleifer's polemic suggests, the New Deal is the immediate source of the liberal welfare state, and they despise it as much as they do the flaccid, self-satisfied society that they hold is its direct descendant.

Each of these reform movements poses a problem of identification for the New Left. Whether they pass muster is not self-evident. To each must first be put a series of questions: Was it truly radical? Was it proletarian? What were its relations to the existing establishment? Each of the young men is asking himself: would I have supported it? For past reform movements there is, then, as yet no prescribed New Left canon of historical virtue, and the young Leftists are at this point groping for appropriate attitudes and responses. There is one exception to this uncertainty. There is no doubt how the young radicals would have responded to the movement for racial equality in America, and there is no ambiguity in their attitudes toward the historical champions of the Negro.

Without a doubt the struggle for Negro equality during the last century and a half has received more attention from the New Left than any other single "progressive" movement of our past. There is no need to belabor the present-mindedness of this concern. It flows from the intense immersion of the Left today in the problems of civil rights. What could be more obvious to even the most superficial student of history than that the battles of Little Rock, Selma, and Birmingham are the lineal descendants of those fought by the abolitionists and later by the Radical Republicans? To the New Left the label "New Abolitionists" for modern civil rights militants is more than a metaphor.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Kolko, *Triumph of Conservatism*, 161.

⁵⁵ What else can we make of the following: "The more I came to think of it the more I came to hate my brainwashed childhood's beloved memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Everybody's liberal Jewish middle-class parents will cry like mine if they ever read this. ('After all, didn't he save the Jews and take us out of the depression?') Because I am a Socialist, and not a liberal, I know the answer." (Schleifer, "Socialist Plea," 225-26.)

⁵⁶ Howard Zinn, *SNCC: The New Abolitionists* (Boston, 1964); see also Lynd's assertion that "the search for an American radical tradition should begin with the Abolitionists," since only they "punctured with the contempt it deserves, the white liberal hypocrisy that America is and has always been a democratic country without a feudal past. . . ." (Letter in *Commentary*, XXXV [Jan. 1963], 74.)

In some sense, of course, the New Left history of abolitionism writes itself. There is no question about when to cheer and when to hiss; the problem is in identifying the historiographic, not the historical, heroes and villains. Up to this point, as we have seen, the New Left historians have been able to write history as rebuttal—rebuttal of some position of their professional elders. With the history of the American Negro, and the struggle over his lot and future, difficulties arise. The trouble is that the academic establishment already occupies the high ground. Even in the bad old days of the 1940's and 1950's the historiography of the race question in America was becoming radicalized. Paradoxically, at the very moment American historians were allegedly turning to the Right, they had adopted an egalitarian view of the Negro, and to a lesser extent were becoming more sympathetic to his friends. It was not Williams or Lynd who rehabilitated the abolitionists; it was Dwight Dumond and Gilbert Hobbs Barnes. It was not W. E. B. Du Bois or James Allen alone who were re-evaluating the accomplishments of black Reconstruction; Francis B. Simkins, Robert Woody, and Vernon Wharton were doing it equally well.⁵⁷ As far back as 1949 Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who epitomizes for the New Left the academic as well as the political establishment, was insisting that the Civil War, however deplorable and destructive, did justify itself by destroying slavery.⁵⁸

The New Left has compensated for this lack of a historiographic enemy, I believe, by singling out one of the few prominent middle generation historians who appears to be critical of the abolitionists. There may be legitimate grounds on which to quarrel with David Donald's work, but the Left, I believe, chiefly dislikes his reluctance to accept the abolitionists at their own estimate. When, in 1956, in a composite social portrait of the abolitionists, and later in his *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War*, Donald suggested that antislavery men were not exempt from the ego drives, the neurotic compulsions, the personal failings, and the capacity for self-deception that afflict other men, he called down on his head the wrath of the neoabolitionists. Louis Ruchames charges Donald with "insensitivity

⁵⁷ The works referred to are: Dwight L. Dumond, *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1939); Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, *The Anti-Slavery Impulse, 1830-1844* (New York, 1933); W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880* (New York, 1935); James Allen, *Reconstruction, Battle for Democracy, 1865-1876* (New York, 1937); Francis B. Simkins and Robert Woody, *South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1932); Vernon Wharton, *The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1947). It would of course be a mistake to equate these older "liberals" with the New Left radicals. Their sympathies for the Negro and his friends did not run as deep, nor were they as unequivocal, as those of the young Leftists of today. Still, the advent of the Whartons and the Dumonds in the 1930's and 1940's represents a distinctly liberal shift in the historical treatment of race in America.

⁵⁸ Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "The Causes of the Civil War: A Note on Historical Sentimentalism," *Partisan Review*, XVI (Oct. 1949), 969-81.

to the evils of slavery." His biography of Sumner is "the subversion of the character of a founding father of American civil equality. . . ." ⁵⁹ Fawn Brodie accuses Donald of performing a deft "surgical operation" on Sumner, not for the purpose of analyzing the man but to malign and discredit the cause he fought for. ⁶⁰ Aileen Kraditor detects in Donald's essay, "Toward a Reconsideration of Abolitionists," as well as in Hofstadter's portrait of Wendell Phillips in *The American Political Tradition*, a "contempt for reform movements in general." ⁶¹

It is not enough, I submit, for the New Left to make sentimental gestures. It is too bad that in their defense of the abolitionists they have not tackled the hard question Donald raises: why did so few out of so many Americans respond to the evil of slavery in such a way as to risk wealth, reputation, and even personal safety? A truly radical answer might be that America was so thoroughly and universally corrupt in its racial attitudes that only men who were virtually at war with their environment could really appreciate the evil of slavery and take an active and risky part in its destruction. Indeed, at least in part, this seems to be the implication of one New Left author, Leon Litwack, who notes that racist bigotry in ante bellum America pervaded every sector of society, including abolitionism itself. ⁶² Instead of such a bold assault on American values, however, the New Left seldom does more than reiterate the evil of slavery—a fact no one seriously disputes—as sufficient explanation for the abolitionist impulse. In their anxiety to protect the civil rights movement, they have failed to face the obvious historical problem.

The abolitionists are a New Left "hero class." ⁶³ To Pollack, at least, the

⁵⁹ Louis Ruchames, "The Pulitzer Prize Treatment of Charles Sumner," *Massachusetts Review*, II (Summer 1961), 761, 749.

⁶⁰ Fawn Brodie, "Who Defends the Abolitionist?" in *The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists*, ed. Martin Duberman (Princeton, N.J., 1965), 52-67. This essay has been reprinted in *Dissent*, XII (Summer 1965), 348-59. The Duberman volume is a mine of New Left opinion on the antislavery movement. See particularly the essays by Lynd, Howard Zinn, and Duberman himself, in addition to Brodie's article. The essay by Silvan Tomkins, "The Psychology of Commitment: The Constructive Role of Violence and Suffering for the Individual and for His Society," suggests that the New Left has not been entirely willing to abandon social psychology to the older generation. The attempt to utilize psychology to reveal new things about the abolitionists, while at the same time avoiding the pitfall of behavioralism, is not successful, however. Tomkins merely clothes in psychological jargon the position of the Left that the evil of slavery was enough by itself to explain the abolitionist reaction to it.

⁶¹ See Aileen Kraditor's review article, "The Abolitionist Rehabilitated," *Studies on the Left*, V (Spring 1965), 101. Actually the most "conservative" of Donald's writings is his essay, "An Excess of Democracy," reprinted in the paperback version of *Lincoln Reconsidered: Essays on the Civil War Era* (2d ed., New York, 1956), 208-35. This piece has not yet been noticed by the New Left, however.

⁶² Leon Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860* (Chicago, 1961).

⁶³ The term is Rogow's in "Revolt against Social Equality," 370.

Populists are another. Strangely, the wage earners of America do not seem to constitute a third. As a group, the "common people" receive little attention from the young radicals. Kolko and Michael Harrington, both young men of the Left, have "rediscovered" poverty in the United States after the liberals declared it extinct.⁶⁴ But although the continued presence of the poor in an ostensibly rich nation suggests still larger contrasts of wealth and condition in the past, neither work is, properly speaking, historical.

More satisfactory is Stephan Thernstrom's *Poverty and Progress*, a work that suggests how truly useful it can be to examine American mythology with the skeptical eye of the Left. Basically Thernstrom seeks to discover whether nineteenth-century America was really a land of opportunity for the laboring man. Unlike many of the new radicals, who, with Mills, confuse computers with conservatism, he is not afraid to use statistics or the insights of social psychology, and the resulting marriage of radical skepticism and post-Beardian technique produces a lively offspring.

In his study of Newburyport in the mid-nineteenth century, Thernstrom puts the notion of America as a working-class paradise to the test. Whatever may have been true of the contemporary West, wages for common labor in the Massachusetts town between 1850 and 1880 were not high, he says, and the ubiquity of child and female labor demonstrates the inability of workingmen to support their families unaided. The community was not classless. Industrialism heightened social antagonism and aroused serious fears among the middle class, which sought to smother social unrest under the rhetoric of "the self-made man." The function, or at least the result, of this mythologizing was to turn class frustration into class guilt and reduce the danger of social upheaval by directing working-class discontent inward against the discontented themselves.⁶⁵

Thus far it is easy to recognize the New Left tone. But the rest of the study is a first-rate piece of social analysis that transcends any special ideology. Was the myth of the self-made man valid, Thernstrom asks. In part. Ingeniously squeezing convincing conclusions out of the manuscript census returns, Thernstrom demonstrates that while few unskilled wage earners, native or immigrant, left the blue-collar class, their sons often did move up to semiskilled status, and, more interesting, it was possible for a working-class family, by exploiting every able-bodied member, and by "ruthless under consumption" to acquire some property, usually the family home.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Gabriel Kolko, *Wealth and Power in America: An Analysis of Social Class and Income Distribution* (New York, 1962); Michael Harrington, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (New York, 1964).

⁶⁵ Stephan Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), Chaps. I-III.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 80-137.

In a word, mobility did exist in America, or at least in Newburyport, but it was limited and did not preclude class antagonisms and much human misery.

Thernstrom's book clearly opens up impressive possibilities for writing working-class history. Yet he has few followers or imitators among the New Left. The fact demands an explanation, for in the 1930's and 1940's, radical historians wrote passionate, engaged studies of the labor movement.⁶⁷ The answer, of course, is that the radical intellectuals no longer regard the laboring man in the same approving way. To the old Left the workingman was an object of both solicitude and hope. Time has made a mockery of both these sentiments. Industrial unionism has triumphed, but it is clear to the Left that it has only succeeded in creating another self-centered privileged class. As a social being the American wage earner has succumbed to the mindless distractions of consumerism; as a political being he and his leaders are among the chief supporters of the "Warfare State." The disillusion is profound, and, among some of the New Leftists, the working class has been replaced by the radical students and intellectuals themselves as the anticipated agents of progressive change.

If the New Left refuses to worship the wage earner, it more unexpectedly refuses to curse the businessman. Kolko, at least obliquely, attacks the "revisionist" business historians for their uncritical appraisal of the robber barons,⁶⁸ and, in his studies of the progressive era and of railroad regulation, he pictures businessmen as operating covertly off stage in a way scarcely designed to win our approval.⁶⁹ Allen Solganick explicitly calls his recent article in *Science and Society* a "rebuttal" of the entrepreneurial school of business history.⁷⁰ But these two essays do not amount to much of an indictment, and we must place alongside such mild strictures of businessmen and their academic champions the rather favorable press provided by scholars like Williams, LaFeber, and Lynd.

While the New Left may not exalt workers at the expense of businessmen, surely, one assumes, they must reject a major premise of the new post-war history: the relative classlessness of America and the absence here of serious class conflict. No one really insists that revolution was endemic in the United States, but in at least two instances, surely, in the 1770's and

⁶⁷ E.g., Philip Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* (2 vols., New York, 1947-65); Leo Huberman, *The Labor Spy Racket* (New York, 1937).

⁶⁸ Gabriel Kolko, "The Premises of Business Revisionism," *Business History Review*, XXXIII (Autumn 1959), 335 ff.

⁶⁹ See esp. Kolko's *Railroads and Regulation*, *passim*.

⁷⁰ Allen Solganick, "The Robber Baron Concept and Its Revisionists," *Science and Society*, XXIX (Summer 1965), 257-69.

again in the 1860's, Americans killed one another on American soil for reasons that appeared to them fundamental. Until recently most American historians—both Marxists and liberal progressives—were prepared to agree that on these two occasions something like a class conflict did occur in the United States. Then came the challenge. To the post-World War II historians the American Revolution was not a social cataclysm; it was a nationalist struggle for independence. Its sequel, the Constitution, was not a Thermidorian reaction but a popular document supported by all classes. The Civil War was not a struggle between industrial capitalism and agrarianism. It was generated by the failure of the political system, or the growth of rival sectional ideologies and mythologies, or the weakness of institutional bonds in America, or the mistakes and misdeeds of leaders and followers. There is indeed conflict in all this, but it is the conflict of the post-Beardian history: it is pluralistic rather than dualistic, psychic rather than material.

Now the challengers have themselves been challenged. Staughton Lynd of Yale University, chief New Left historian of the Revolution and the Confederation period, accepts a modified version of the class conflict motif. In an interesting brief study of Federalism in Dutchess County, New York, in the 1780's, Lynd concludes that the Beardian political dichotomy between Federalist magnates and Antifederalist yeomen is generally valid. The struggle over the Constitution, in the Hudson Valley at least, does have many of the elements of a dualistic class struggle. On the other hand he acknowledges serious flaws in the Beard-Becker interpretation. The adoption struggle was not one between former Tory Federalists and former patriot Antifederalists but between large magnates and landlords on one side and the yeomanry led by the lesser gentry on the other.⁷¹ In an article in the Marxist journal *Science and Society*, Lynd gives us a still more muted Beardianism. If the New York experience is any guide, he tells us, the Constitution in its genesis was neither an antidemocratic weapon of an elite, nor a timeless, neutral distillation of political wisdom. Admittedly the Federalist leaders in New York were social conservatives. Yet they were also "deeply public-spirited men, critical of any tendency in each other to put private concerns before devotion to country and firmly committed to republican government." As for the party rank and file, they were often the city artisans who feared the foreign manufactures that the weak government under the Articles of Confederation could not exclude. Together

⁷¹ Staughton Lynd, *Anti-Federalism in Dutchess County, New York* (Chicago, 1962), *passim*. A more emphatic assertion of the theme of class struggle may be found in Lynd's article, "Who Should Rule at Home? Dutchess County, New York, in the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XVIII (July 1961), esp. 330-32.

these groups, the one fearful of the leveling spirit that had arisen during the war among the yeomanry and their leaders, the other anxious to protect its livelihood, succeeded in getting adopted a document that "established the most democratic government in any major nation of the world at that day."⁷² This may be Beardian, but it is Beard in a highly sophisticated version and without the intrusive polemical tone.

Lynd's work on the Confederation period like Thernstrom's in social history reveals some of the possibilities of the New Left history. When used with imagination and flexibility it can tell us important things about complex historical events. In any case the questions the Left asks are still apt to be the interesting ones. Unfortunately that second great national crisis, the Civil War, has not received an equally perceptive treatment, although the work of Beard, Howard K. Beale, William B. Hesseltine, Du Bois, and others suggests the plausibility of a class conflict analysis.

The relative poverty of results arises, I think, from an intellectual and emotional dilemma that confronts the New Left historians when they contemplate the Civil War. On the one hand the war was a heroic battle for freedom, as the successful abolition of slavery attests. Was it also, as Beard and the Marxists would insist, a sectionalized struggle of classes with the North representing middle-class industrialism and the South aristocratic feudalism? If the latter, the New Left, with their jaundiced view of middle-class capitalist America, can at best be ambivalent about Union victory. If the former, where is class struggle? If both, how does one account for the selfish ruling class performing an act of such colossal generosity as emancipating the slaves? The old Left handled the problem in either of two ways. For Beard it scarcely existed; *The Rise of American Civilization* reveals him as relatively insensitive to the evils of slavery and harshly critical of the abolitionists.⁷³ There is, then, no crusade for freedom to embarrass him in his belief that the war was at heart an act of aggression by capitalists against agrarians.⁷⁴ A Marxist like James Allen, a man obviously alive to the moral issue of slavery, solves the problem by supposing the Radical Republicans, the agents of emancipation, to be also the political wing of a

⁷² *Id.*, "Capitalism, Democracy and the United States Constitution: The Case of New York," *Science and Society*, XXVII (Fall 1963), 385-413.

⁷³ At least for the period before the rise of the Cotton Kingdom, Beard treats slavery as a benevolent institution, while he attacks the abolitionists for the "depths of their abuse and scurrility." As for the Radical Republicans, the particular postwar friends of the Negro, they are largely driven by a simple craving for power. (See Charles and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* [2 vols., New York, 1933], I, 655, 698; II, 116.)

⁷⁴ Socialists like Irving Howe misread Beard, I think, when they claim him for the North in the Civil War. Unlike the Marxists, Beard never approved of the victory for industrial America, remaining sympathetic to the end to the agrarian society that the war presumably overthrew.

progressive industrial capitalist class. The war that freed the slaves also established the social preconditions for the eventual revolution. Both events, in a word, were historically necessary and historically progressive.⁷⁵

Neither of these solutions would seem possible for the New Left. One way to solve the difficulty is by acknowledging a sort of ambiguity in human affairs, which, in the last analysis, is fundamentally uncongenial to the New Left style. Irving Howe, who represents a bridge between the old and the New Left, notes that the war contained "a double truth." The conflict, he writes in a review of Edmund Wilson's *Patriotic Gore*, "did mark the victory of modern capitalism and did let loose those tendencies toward a centralized state which Wilson deplors, but also the Civil War brought to an end the system by which one man could own another and therefore . . . it represents a major turning in the moral development of the United States."⁷⁶ Similarly Howard Zinn, attempting to absolve the abolitionists from the grave charge of starting a bloody conflict, believes that, while the war was fought over slavery, it was not the result of the antislavery agitation. Paralleling the antipathy between abolitionist and slaveholder was a more potent conflict between "antitariff, antibank, anticapitalist [and] anti-nationalist" southern agrarians on the one side and the "natural political leaders and controllers of the national economy" on the other. It was the second group of antagonists who caused the war, for only they possessed sufficient power. But once the war had started, these powerless abolitionists transformed it into an irresistible attack on slavery!⁷⁷

The other escape from the dilemma is to ignore, like Beard, the whole moral side of the great conflict. This is the course of Eugene Genovese of Sir George Williams University, one of the few confirmed Marxists among the young radical historians. Genovese redraws the economic lines between North and South and restores the struggle of material interests to the center of the stage. Slavery, at least by implication, caused the war, not because it aroused the moral indignation of the Western world, but because it isolated the South from the progressive economic currents of the day. Wedded to its slave system the South became increasingly feudal and backward. Ultimately "the South's slave civilization could not . . . coexist with an increasingly hostile, powerful and aggressive Northern Capitalism."⁷⁸

The New Left counterattack on the historiographic trends of the last twenty years is still in its early stages. We see at present only the tip of the

⁷⁵ Allen, *Reconstruction*, 17-28.

⁷⁶ Irving Howe, "Edmund Wilson and the Sea Slugs," *Dissent*, X (Winter 1963), 70 ff.

⁷⁷ Howard Zinn, "The Tactics of Agitation," in *Antislavery Vanguard*, ed. Duberman, 445.

⁷⁸ Eugene Genovese, "The Slave South: An Interpretation," *Science and Society*, XXV (Dec. 1961), 320 ff. I do not mean to say that Genovese is a crude economic determinist: quite the

iceberg. Beneath the surface still lies the main mass of young radical scholars just now completing their training at the major cosmopolitan graduate schools. In the next few years these young men will be joining in the attempt to reconstruct a coherent Leftist view of the American past,⁷⁹ and in a period when the American intelligentsia has become fascinated by the radical student movement, these young historians will receive, I predict, an unusual amount of attention and display.⁸⁰ If for no other reason, then, than their impact on the literate public, they will have to be reckoned with by their professional elders. But they must also be listened to for the health of the historical profession. No discipline should be without a dialogue, least of all one that represents a difficult and problematical marriage of the humanities and the social sciences. Unanimity is fine in science; unanimity over the nature of man's past suggests either an official line or a disturbing poverty of imagination. Neither circumstance can be applauded by an honest scholar no matter what his ideological allegiance.

But prudential motives aside, does the New Left history deserve the attention of the senior men? I think it does. True, there has yet been no young radical scholar of arresting style or impressive technique. But, of course, great historians, unlike great mathematicians, are made, not born. For a group composed almost entirely of men and women in their thirties, the young radicals have done work that deserves respect. They cannot compete in craftsmanship with the men they have chosen to oppose, but surely

contrary. In arguing, as he does, that slavery was an economic blight on the South, he introduces, quite properly, I believe, considerations of social values, the South's self-image, and other factors not usually encountered in a strict Marxist interpretation. For an extended treatment of his view on slavery, see his book, *The Political Economy of Slavery* (New York, 1965). Another example of a relatively "hard line" class conflict analysis of the Civil War is the chapter, "The American Civil War: The Last Capitalist Revolution," in Barrington Moore, Jr.'s, recent book, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston, 1966), 111-55. Moore's estimate of the war, "reached after much uncertainty," is that the struggle "was the last revolutionary offensive on the part of what one may legitimately call urban or bourgeois capitalism." (See page 112.) Moore is not, of course, of the same generation as the New Leftists, but as noted above (note 13) the young radicals turn to him for inspiration.

⁷⁹ By now it is clear that this is becoming a conscious and organized goal of the Students for a Democratic Society, the largest of the New Left groups. The SDS has established within the last year the Radical Education Project, which has assumed as one of its tasks the writing of "radical history," for the purpose, as one REP letter puts it, of equipping "outrage with precision." The REP has already published its first Occasional Paper on American History, "Towards a Democratic History," by Professor Jesse Lemisch of the University of Chicago. This is both a brief review of what has been done and a call to further effort. For additional details, see "American Radical History: A Progress Report," *New Left Notes*, Jan. 13, 1967, 2. Mr. John Roberts of NYU called the REP and its plans to my attention.

⁸⁰ This fascination has already been exhibited in the extraordinary attention given Christopher Lasch's book, *The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type* (New York, 1965). This work, a series of lively and perceptive vignettes of various cultural radicals, is held together by an opaque and confusing thesis that actually defies all categories of Left or Right. Despite the ambiguities, Lasch has been lionized by the intellectual community, less I believe for his very real merits than for the fact that he writes in a literate way about two subjects irresistible to the intellectuals: the Left and themselves.

we ought to extend to them the same courtesy of judging them against their peers that we extend to the more conventional younger scholars.

Ultimately, of course, their reception must depend not on their craft but on their content. Do they have anything to say that is worth listening to for its own sake? At their best I believe they do. As a historian personally convinced that Americans encountered a narrower range of cultural and political experience than did Europeans, I do not take seriously the reassertion of class war of some of the more militant radical scholars. But the work of Thernstrom, LaFeber, and even Williams is a useful antidote to the self-congratulatory note that may be found among some of the post-World War II historians. America may not exhibit as grim a record of exploitation and brutality as Romanov Russia or Bourbon Spain or Regency England, but it had its agonies and its injustices. More important, it had its evasions and its "unfinished revolutions." American "exceptionalism" did not include total exemption from the ills that societies are heir to; it most emphatically did not exclude failure.

But there is also a debit side of the ledger. The New Left has frequently confused intellectual disagreement with the battle of generations and has often failed to play the scholarly game by the most elementary rules of fair play. The young radicals are often bad tempered. In their civic concerns they are angry dissenters from the nation's current foreign and domestic policies, and they sometimes allow the tone and rhetoric of the picket line and the handbill to invade their professional work. The historical "establishment" is not the political establishment in Washington, and the young men of the Left must not treat scholarship as an opportunity for a political harangue.

But beyond these matters of taste there are weaknesses in the emerging class conflict history that threaten to stultify the whole New Left historical enterprise. The young radicals' rejection of the historical currents since 1945 has all too often implied a denial not only of "consensus" conclusions but also of the social sciences and the new statistical methodology. Admittedly both of these new methods can be abused, but by rejecting these analytical tools the young radical historians are, in effect, disarming themselves and perhaps, ultimately, are consigning their efforts to sterility. Their response is all the more surprising when we recall the old Left's respect for science and for "scientific" history.

But most disturbing of all is the New Left's exaggerated present-mindedness. It suggests a contempt for pure history, history that has not enlisted in the good fight. The young radicals' efforts are generally governed not by the natural dialogue of the discipline but by the concerns of the outside

cultural and political world. Clio at their behest has donned a uniform and does battle for social virtue. It is true that a number of the middle generation have themselves been influenced by a conservative political bias; more common among them, as we have seen, is a political neutrality which, however inadequate for citizenship, is surely useful for scholarship.

It would be a pity if their social consciousness uncritically committed the emerging generation of American scholars to any prescribed reading of the American past. It would mean the loss of much youthful talent for history. It would also be a loss for the American political Left. If history has any programmatic value, surely it must be history that is allowed to speak for itself. Let the New Left ask its own questions of the past, but let the past then say its piece. America may well be "exceptional." Knowing it may be ultimately more useful for the Left than denying it. And in the end there is no need to confuse the truths of the past with the needs of the present and future. The complexities and perplexities of the next few decades may well justify the cooperative commonwealth without the need to play tricks on the dead.

The Jacobean Diplomatic Service

MAURICE LEE, JR.*

"Legatus,"¹ wrote Sir Henry Wotton in what is quite possibly the only pun in English that was first written in Latin, "est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentiendum Reipublicae causa." This rather cynical epigram did not amuse King James I, not because he had no sense of humor, but because it was quoted in the book of a religious controversialist in order to show that Protestants were as equivocating as Jesuits, and Wotton's career suffered accordingly.² Wotton's difficulties, however, were not all owing to his wit; he was not a particularly effective ambassador. In this he did not resemble most of James's professional diplomatists, a group of overworked and underpaid men who lived comfortless, penurious, tedious, occasionally dangerous lives in their country's service and who often received meager enough rewards at the end.

It is frequently overlooked that as a group the Jacobean ambassadors were thoroughly professional, more so than those of some subsequent periods.³ Most of them received their training either from one of the Secretaries of State or, more usually, by serving in a subordinate capacity to some senior ambassador, and they made a career of government service. When Lord Edward Wotton, Henry's older half brother, went on a special mission to France in 1610 he expressed his pleasure to the resident ambassador in France, Sir Thomas Edmondes, that they would be working together, since Edmondes was "bred as it were in the same school with me under Sir Fra. Walsingham."⁴ A sampling of some fifteen or so professional diplomatists of the first decade and a half of James's reign who are noted in *The Dictionary of National Biography* shows that most of them came from landed families of no great importance. There were exceptions: the

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¹ This essay has grown out of the research for a projected study of English foreign policy in the years 1603-1618; the examples are taken almost entirely from those years. For a general treatment of many of the matters touched on here, see Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Boston, 1955), esp. Chaps. xxxi-xxv.

² Isaac Wake to Dudley Carleton, Nov. 25-Dec. 5, 1612, Public Record Office, State Papers [hereafter cited as PRO, SP], 99/11, fol. 125.

³ See, e.g., the comments on the ambassadors of the Restoration period in P. S. Lachs, *The Diplomatic Corps under Charles II and James II* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1965), 50, 52.

⁴ British Museum [hereafter cited as BM], Stowe MS. 171, fol. 316.

Wottons, Sir Charles Cornwallis, and Sir Thomas Parry came from "official" families and were virtually hereditary government servants. Sir Thomas Roe and Sir Paul Pindar, who came from mercantile backgrounds, became diplomatists because of their connections with the great trading companies. Pindar was consul at Aleppo and then ambassador to Turkey, thanks to the Levant Company, which paid the salaries of the diplomatic staff in the Ottoman Empire. Roe began his distinguished career as the agent of the East India Company at the court of the Great Mogul and succeeded Pindar as ambassador to Turkey. Dudley Carleton's career was more typical in its origin; he came from a minor Oxfordshire landed family and served his diplomatic apprenticeship as secretary to Parry while the latter was ambassador to France. For a time Carleton was suspected of a connection with some of the people involved in the Gunpowder Plot, and this delayed his rise, but eventually, thanks in part to the support of Sir Ralph Winwood, he succeeded Sir Henry Wotton at Venice in 1610. Thence he went to The Hague and in the next reign became a peer and Secretary of State. Winwood was less typical in that his origins were more humble—his father was evidently a tenant on an estate owned by Magdalen College, Oxford, and was described on the university register as "plebius"—and in that he began as secretary to an Essex man, Sir Henry Neville, during the latter's brief embassy in France. He was not sufficiently important to be involved in the ruin of the Essex faction, however, and was able successfully to transfer his allegiance to Robert Cecil, whom, indeed, he was eventually to succeed as Secretary of State.

Not all Jacobean diplomats served this sort of secretarial apprenticeship in an English embassy before receiving a major appointment. Sir Stephen Lesieur, for instance, a Frenchman, was secretary to the French ambassador in England in the 1580's. He became a naturalized citizen; from about 1598 on Cecil employed him chiefly in Germany, usually on special missions, rather than as a resident. And John Digby, who had perhaps the best diplomatic brain of the lot, served no apprenticeship at all. After the failure of the Gunpowder Plot, Lord Harington, who was in charge of the household of Princess Elizabeth and had prevented her abduction by the plotters, sent Digby, a man of twenty-five, to the King to assure him that his daughter was safe. James took a fancy to Digby, and his future was assured. He began his diplomatic career in the important post of ambassador to Spain. In the roll of James's ambassadors, however, Digby was the exception. Most of them had had some training, and some much training, before they received a major post. It was the Cecilian system.

An ambassadorship was an important and dignified position, but it

did not carry the prestige it does today; nor was it an end in itself. It was hoped that it would be a steppingstone to a more desirable, and more lucrative, post at home. In February 1606 Winwood from The Hague confided to Edmondess, his colleague at Brussels, that he would like to retire but that he could not afford to do so just then; thus he would have to hang on and angle for something better. "For who would live exiled from his country in a place of continual care and toil without . . . present profit or hope of future preferment?"⁶ Winwood, however, was an unusually conscientious man, at least by his own account. In 1604 he asked Cecil for expense money so that he might follow the States-General to Flanders. His predecessor, he remarked, did not do this sort of thing, "whereby he provided well for his profit and ease, but his example was no warrant for my contentment in the execution of my duty,"⁶

Ambassadors often felt it necessary to travel with the court to which they were accredited, although they did not like it: it was tiring, expensive, and not very productive. When James was planning his journey to Scotland late in 1616, the diplomatic corps in London was unhappy about the prospect of going to that remote and barbarous area; its members deluged their governments with requests as to how to reply if the King invited them to accompany him.⁷ English ambassadors enjoyed traveling no better. Digby, when Philip III was proposing to visit Portugal, wrote that as a result

we poor ambassadors that reside in this Court are like to become very miserable; for if we go along with the king we shall be ruined with the charge and incommunities of the journey; if we stay behind we shall *predicare hic in desertis* and I should almost do the king as good service if I lay in Nottingham as I shall do him here in Madrid.⁸

As long as Robert Cecil lived he kept a tight grip on his diplomatic agents, in spite of the immense administrative load he carried. From time to time there were rumors that he might appoint some subordinate secretaries to relieve him of some of these burdens.⁹ Cecil was not willing, how-

⁶ BM Stowe MS. 168, fols. 345-46.

⁶ PRO, SP, 84/64, fol. 186. For the sake of convenience, Robert Cecil will be referred to as Cecil throughout this essay, rather than as, first Cranborne, then Salisbury.

⁷ Giovanni Lionello to the Doge and Senate of Venice, Nov. 28-Dec. 8, 1616, *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1615-1617*, ed. A. B. Hinds (London, 1908), 373.

⁸ Digby to Sir John Holles, Nov. 12, 1612, in Historical Manuscripts Commission [hereafter cited as HMC], *Calendar of the Manuscripts of . . . the Duke of Portland*, ed. F. H. Blackburn Daniell *et al.* (10 vols., London, 1892-1931), IX, 102.

⁹ E.g., Sir Thomas Edmondess to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sept. 30, 1606, in Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners in the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, and James I* (2d ed., 3 vols., London, 1838), III, 313-14. Edmondess, who was anxious for such a post himself, thought the idea a very good one, in the interest of administrative efficiency.

ever, to create potential rivals for himself in the uncertain and unbusiness-like atmosphere of James's court, and so he kept the threads of negotiation firmly in his hands. "Experience teacheth us," he wrote to Carleton after the latter had been in Venice about a year, "that all states rather trust their own ministers, than those that speak for others," and so, presumably, a foreign government would be more apt to believe its ambassador's report of a conversation with Cecil than a suggestion from an English ambassador. He went on to assure Carleton, however, that there would be no discrepancy between the instructions he sent to Venice and what he told the Venetian ambassador in London.¹⁰

Cecil preferred that his ambassadors not be on too friendly terms with the governments to which they were accredited: "Inimicus rather than Amicus to the state where he liveth," wrote his henchman Levinus Munck.¹¹ The ambassador's chief function, in Cecil's view, was to keep him supplied with information—"to advertise and not to advise," as Sir George Carew put it¹²—which meant a long dispatch at least once a week. They were also supposed to write to each other in order to relieve London of the burden of keeping each ambassador informed of what was going on in other foreign courts.¹³ The prospect of all this correspondence rather horrified Carleton, who in the summer of 1610, in the expectation of taking over from Edmondes at Brussels, had asked Edmondes for a look at his files. "I must tell you that my contentment in reading your dispatches hath been mixed with some grief, when I observe your course of weekly writing, and think that the same diligence may be expected of a new negotiator. But I hope the quietness of the times will serve for excuse of some idleness."¹⁴ Shortly after Carleton's arrival in his first post, however, Cecil explicitly instructed him to write every week; the King expected it. Carleton need not have worried, for he never found it difficult to fill up his pages.

¹⁰ Cecil to Carleton, Aug. 20, 1611, PRO, SP, 99/8, fol. 16.

¹¹ BM, Cottonian Manuscripts, Vespasian [hereafter cited as Cott. MSS. Vesp.] C ix, fol. 674. For this reason ambassadors sometimes were used who were positively distasteful to the governments to which they were sent. (See, e.g., Marc Antonio Correr to the Doge and Senate, Nov. 30–Dec. 10, 1609, in *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1607–1610*, ed. H. F. Brown [London, 1904], 398; Lake to Lesieur, Mar. 30, 1613, PRO, SP, 80/2, fols. 272–75.)

¹² Carew to Cecil, Oct. 8, 1608, *ibid.*, 78/54, fol. 179. Carew was then ambassador in France. Ambassadors occasionally had to act without instructions, as Carew himself did in 1607 in asking the French government to seize the fugitive Earl of Tyrone. Cecil praised him for his initiative. (*Ibid.*, 78/53, fol. 351.)

¹³ Edmondes to Cecil, May 25, 1605, *ibid.*, 77/7, fol. 170. On August 26–September 5, 1608, Wotton complained to Edmondes that the latter's fortnightly letters were useless, since the Italians in Flanders and those Flemings with Italian connections wrote more often. He asked Edmondes to write every week. (BM, Stowe MS. 170, fol. 155.)

¹⁴ Carleton to Edmondes, July 13, 1610, in Thomas Birch, *Court and Times of James I* (2 vols., London, 1849), I, 120–21. This last remark, two months after the assassination of Henry IV, does little credit to Carleton's perspicacity. As it turned out, Carleton was sent to Venice rather than Brussels.

At one point he apologized to Cecil for sending gossip in his dispatches. Cecil replied:

For that excuse which you insinuate of writing trivial things, I have good testimony that his Majesty doth take them, as they are advertised, to be written for his satisfaction, and would, I assure you, like your serious part sometimes the worse if your dispatches had not sometimes such mixtures.¹⁵

James liked funny stories, but not criticism of himself. Winwood, after he became Secretary of State, had occasion to warn William Trumbull, the resident in Brussels, about this. In letters designed for James, Trumbull was not to mention "any disgraceful or contemptible speeches they use against him," since this upset the King. Trumbull was nevertheless to tell Winwood about them.¹⁶ King-watching, in James's court, was a fine art.

So tight was Cecil's grip on his diplomatic subordinates that even the King's wishes had to be made officially known through him. Early in 1612 Winwood was supposed to journey from The Hague to Wesel to negotiate the proposed league with the princes of the Protestant Union. His London man of business wrote him:

Mr. [George] Calvert told me, he had expressly demanded of the King his pleasure, whether he would retard . . . your journey any longer, or alter any thing of your commission? Whereunto his Majesty made answer, that he was content you should go when you were called, and with the instructions that you already have: but withall Mr. Calvert said, he must not send you this advertisement as an instruction, for that only belongs to my Lord.¹⁷

After the death of "our great Apollo," as Cecil was sometimes maliciously called,¹⁸ the system became notably less efficient. A fear of leaks developed immediately, especially on the part of foreign princelings like the Duc de Bouillon, whose subterranean maneuverings could hardly stand much exposure.¹⁹ James's decision to be his own Secretary of State did not work well; ambassadors soon began to complain that they were not being kept informed. Digby was particularly vociferous; the Spanish ambassador, he said, had reported what had passed in the Privy Council, with the result that the Spanish government was better informed on English policy than he was. And so, finally, in December 1612, the King in-

¹⁵ Cecil to Carleton, Jan. 3, 1611, PRO, SP, 99/7, fols. 1-2; Cecil to Carleton, Oct. 17, 1611, *ibid.*, 99/8, fol. 187.

¹⁶ HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, ed. E. K. Purnell and A. B. Hinds (4 vols., London, 1924-40), IV, 475-76.

¹⁷ John More to Winwood, Feb. 17, 1612, in Ralph Winwood, *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I*, ed. Edmund Sawyer (3 vols., London, 1725), III, 338.

¹⁸ E.g., Jean Beaulieu to Trumbull, Oct. 26, 1609, in *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, ed. Purnell and Hinds, II, 172.

¹⁹ Edmondcs to Rochester, June 20, 1612, BM, Stowe MS. 172, fol. 304.

structed Sir Thomas Lake, the Latin Secretary, to correspond with ambassadors and keep them informed.²⁰ The complaints continued, however. Pindar wrote from Turkey in April 1613, many months after Cecil's death, that since that moment he had received no instructions.²¹ Another difficulty James caused by doing the Secretary of State's work was that he was inconsistent. In 1613 England was deep in negotiation with France for a marriage between Prince Charles and Louis XIII's sister Christine. Edmondcs, the ambassador in France, complained to James that the King had betrayed him; James sent him one set of instructions and then, cozened by the "artificial gloss" the French ambassador in London put on the negotiation, agreed to conditions more favorable to France than Edmondcs' instructions permitted.²²

The King was responsible for the determination of the main lines of foreign policy and necessarily spent much time in negotiations with foreign ambassadors. The theological bent of James's mind caused him to raise issues that occasionally created considerable difficulties for his diplomatic agents. His habit of sending copies of his polemical tracts to Catholic governments is well known. This greatly embarrassed them: they either had to refuse to receive the book, thereby insulting James, or accept it and run the risk of papal wrath. Small wonder that Henry IV of France remarked in exasperation of one of James's books that he wished it had not been written.²³ An even better example of the kind of difficulty James could cause is the minor but entertaining affair of Conrad Vorstius.

Vorstius, a German theologian of radical persuasion, had been designated by the authorities of the province of Holland as the successor of the famous Jacobus Arminius in the chair of divinity at the University of Leiden. James had read some of Vorstius' works, notably a book called *Tractatus Theologicus de Deo sive de natura et attributis Dei*, and he was horrified. On August 31, 1611, he wrote to Winwood at The Hague, instructing him to protest against the appointment of a man who had published such "monstrous blasphemy and horrible atheism." To give substance to the protest, James supplied Winwood with a "catalogue of his damnable positions."²⁴ Cecil was not happy at James's sudden zeal, and he instructed Winwood to use more moderate language than the King's in

²⁰ Wake to Carleton, Dec. 17-27, 1612, PRO, SP, 99/11, fols. 178-79.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 97/7, fol. 35; see also Edmondcs to Trumbull, Feb. 25, 1614, *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, ed. Purnell and Hinds, III, 319.

²² Edmondcs to James, June 25, 1613, PRO, SP, 78/61, fols. 185-86.

²³ Carew to Cecil, June 15, 1609, *ibid.*, 78/55, fols. 105-108.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 84/68, fol. 119. James's theological opinions of Vorstius are spelled out in his pamphlet, *His Majesty's Declaration against Vorstius*, published in London early in 1612 at the height of the controversy.

raising the question, and not to deliver James's protestation at all unless the Dutch proved recalcitrant.²⁵

It was hardly a propitious time to become involved with the Dutch on such a matter: too many other pressing questions needed settlement. An installment of the Dutch debt was due, and the leading Dutch politician, Jan van Olden Barneveldt, whom the English regarded with suspicion and dislike as being pro-French, was being evasive about it. England was about to enter into a formal league with the princes of the Protestant Union and was anxious that the Dutch join too. There was friction in the East Indies, which would eventually lead to the abortive conferences of 1613 and 1615. Above all, there was the immensely delicate matter of the Cleves-Jülich succession, which, if it could not be settled by agreement among the three principal claimants, all still Protestant, might well lead to an explosion in the Empire that both England and the United Provinces wished to prevent. United action on their part was certainly necessary if an acceptable compromise were to emerge. James's attitude toward Vorstius, which smacked suspiciously of interference in Dutch internal affairs, was hardly calculated to make Barneveldt cooperative in these other questions. Winwood nevertheless delivered his protest, couching it in the most diplomatic language he could: it was James's zeal for the Reformed religion, "the wellspring from whence flows the good affection he bears your state," which had led him to make this representation, just as in the past he had complained of the schismatic opinions of Arminius.²⁶ Barneveldt remarked that Vorstius could not be condemned without a hearing; Winwood replied that Vorstius' own writings condemned him and that to allow him to be heard was to cast doubt on James's judgment.²⁷ This was a dangerous reply, because it made an issue of the King's position as the leading theologian of the Protestant world.

Winwood's handling of the Vorstius question was not very skillful. Partially this was because he came to allow his dislike of Vorstius' views to affect his judgment. At the beginning he made light of the matter. In October he wrote to Trumbull in Brussels that Vorstius was a learned man whose book expressed some "capricious and fantastical opinions."²⁸ But by December Vorstius was "the most remarkable atheist which our age hath borne."²⁹ The stalling tactics of the Dutch further exasperated Winwood;

²⁵ Cecil to Winwood, Sept. 5, 1611, PRO, SP, 84/68, fols. 122-24.

²⁶ Winwood's address to the States-General, Sept. 11-21, 1611, *ibid.*, 103/36, fols. 188-90; the French version is in Winwood, *Memorials*, ed. Sawyer, III, 293-95. Winwood to Cecil, Sept. 22, 1611, PRO, SP, 84/68, fols. 132-37.

²⁷ Winwood to Cecil, Oct. 12, 1611, *ibid.*, fols. 155-57.

²⁸ Winwood, *Memorials*, ed. Sawyer, III, 296.

²⁹ Winwood to Trumbull, Dec. 12, 1611, *ibid.*, 310-11. Winwood was not the only

they engaged in their usual game of referring matters back and forth between the States-General and the provincial estates, in this case the estates of Holland, which had jurisdiction over the University of Leiden. Winwood was finally goaded into a tactical error: on December 9, 1611, he declared to the States-General that its inaction, and that of the estates of Holland, constituted a breach of Anglo-Dutch friendship.⁸⁰ Twelve days later he saw something far more sinister in Dutch behavior—their deliberate affront to James was designed to weaken the orthodox Protestant party in the Netherlands and thus pave the way for the toleration of Roman Catholicism, a condition on which Spain was insisting as the price of converting the twelve-year truce into a permanent peace.⁸¹

James's apparent first reaction to Winwood's zeal was favorable,⁸² but then, under Cecil's sobering influence, he had second thoughts, as he so often did. If necessary Winwood would be the scapegoat for James's theological enthusiasm. Cecil informed Winwood that the King felt that he had gone much too far, but he had not been repudiated. Instead James had told Noel de Caron, the Dutch representative in London, that what Winwood had really meant was that if no action were taken against Vorstius in the February meeting of the States-General, then England would regard such inaction as a breach of the amity. Cecil's letter betrayed his impatience at this whole affair, caught as he was between the tactlessness of his agent and the stubbornness of his master. He was far more interested in when England could expect to see the installment of twenty thousand pounds on the debt that the Dutch now owed.⁸³

Winwood's defense of his misstep was rather lame: he talked of the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1585 and its clause on the maintenance of religion, which, he said, the appointment of Vorstius violated, and he claimed that he had not spoken about the Anglo-Dutch amity, but rather about the violence that Vorstius' appointment offered to James's susceptibilities. He continued to bemoan the religious laxity of the Dutch.⁸⁴ James, meanwhile, was at work on a pamphlet against this blasphemous atheist. The King

Englishman in the Netherlands with this low opinion of Vorstius. The Puritan-minded Sir John Throckmorton, the commander of the English garrison at Flushing, used even more violent language. See his letters from September 1611 to May 1612, in HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley*, ed. C. L. Kingsford *et al.* (6 vols., London, 1925-66), IV, 287 ff.; V, 1 ff.

⁸⁰ Winwood to Cecil, Dec. 10, 1611, PRO, SP, 84/68, fols. 176-85; see also Winwood, *Memorials*, ed. Sawyer, III, 309-10.

⁸¹ Winwood to Cecil, Dec. 21, 1611, PRO, SP, 84/68, fols. 192-94. Winwood still believed this after the event. (Winwood to Trumbull, Apr. 13, 1612, Winwood, *Memorials*, ed. Sawyer, III, 357.)

⁸² More to Winwood, Jan. 1, 1612, *ibid.*, 318-20.

⁸³ Cecil to Winwood, Dec. 29, 1611, *ibid.*, 316-18.

⁸⁴ Winwood to Cecil, Jan. 11, 1612, PRO, SP, 84/68, fols. 216-19; Winwood to Trumbull, Feb. 26, 1612, *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, ed. Purnell and Hinds, III, 248-49.

firmly believed that Spain, and perhaps the Jesuits, were supporting Vorstius, so that they could argue that, if the Dutch tolerated Vorstius, they ought to be willing to tolerate Catholics.³⁵ The tract was ready for publication by the beginning of February. Winwood duly presented a copy to the States-General; if they had refused to receive it, he was prepared to appeal to Dutch opinion by distributing it in quantity to the clergy.³⁶ The royal attack upon Vorstius' opinions was vehement, but the conclusion, addressed to the Dutch government, was surprisingly mild, because, so the insiders said, James had received private assurances that Vorstius would be removed.³⁷ And so, indeed, he was. Prince Maurice intervened in support of the English demand. In March the estates of Holland, having heard Vorstius, forced him to withdraw from Leiden and to answer the charges made in the books already written, or to be written, against him. He was to have one and a half years to compose his reply. James wanted him banished from the United Provinces altogether, but this the Dutch government refused to do.³⁸ Winwood was pleased enough; his own indiscretion had not damaged his career. "I think we shall have rest, at least for some months, from any more trouble with this atheistical wretch, who here in Holland is adored as an idol."³⁹ Vorstius never occupied his chair, and the whole matter was eventually forgotten.

The Vorstius affair has no significance in itself; what it does reveal is that in James's day it was possible, because of the King's particular cast of mind, for a theological side issue of this kind momentarily to take up a disproportionate amount of the time and energy of the English diplomatic service. This affair did not improve Anglo-Dutch relations, and it entertained the Spaniards, who hoped to make capital of it.⁴⁰ James's concern with this heterodox theologian brought none of the important problems England faced one whit nearer solution.

³⁵ Antonio Foscarini to the Doge and Senate, Mar. 10-20, 1612, in *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1610-1613*, ed. H. F. S. Brown (London, 1905), 320-21. Foscarini seems to have shared the King's opinion.

³⁶ Winwood to Cecil, Feb. 11, 20, 1612, PRO, SP, 84/68, fols. 240-42, 244-46.

³⁷ More to Trumbull, Feb. 14, 1612, *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, ed. Purnell and Hinds, III, 239-40.

³⁸ James to Winwood, Feb. 18, 1612, Winwood, *Memorials*, ed. Sawyer, III, 339; Winwood to Cecil, Mar. 18, 19, 1612, PRO, SP, 84/68, fols. 254-55, 260-62; Throckmorton to Trumbull, Apr. 17, 1612, *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, ed. Purnell and Hinds, III, 277. In his letter James instructed Winwood not only to thank Maurice for his help, but also to ask him whether he would be able to accept a Garter without annoying the States-General.

³⁹ Winwood to Edmondess, Mar. 17, 1612, BM, Stowe MS. 172, fols. 210-12. There is a brief account of the Vorstius affair in the introduction (pp. xxxiv-xxxvii) of *Manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley*, V, ed. Shaw; see also the footnote on pages 35-36 of that volume.

⁴⁰ Digby to Trumbull, Apr. 18, 1612, *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, ed. Purnell and Hinds, III, 278.

Peripheral matters of quite a different sort sometimes occupied the energies of James's diplomatists. The exchange of gifts between royal personages could often be a matter of some significance in making for greater cordiality. When Trumbull showed the Archduchess Isabella a picture of a cormorant, she became curious about the bird. Trumbull urged Sir Walter Cope, the chamberlain of the Exchequer, to have the King send one to the Archduke.⁴¹ Ambassadors were not only bearers of gifts; they were also purchasing agents for their betters at home, and some, like Carleton, sometimes bought art objects as a speculative venture. Early in 1606 Cecil was completing the purchase of some tapestries that were to be shipped from Antwerp. He did not want to pay for them until he had received them, but on being told that the merchants would not part with them without prepayment in Flanders, he issued instructions to his diplomatic underlings there to arrange it.⁴²

An ambassador, of course, did not function alone. He had an embassy staff, some of whom he brought with him from England or, perhaps, inherited from his predecessor; others were natives of the country, hired for specific purposes. Both sorts occasionally caused difficulty or embarrassment. The chaplain of Cornwallis, the ambassador in Spain, for instance, became a convert to Catholicism. In Venice Carleton hired one Giacomo Castelvetro to teach Italian to his household; the Church authorities had him arrested. Carleton got the man released, on the ground that he was a member of the embassy staff, but Carleton's Italian lessons were interrupted nonetheless, since Castelvetro was released only on condition that he go into exile.⁴³ There was also the matter of consuls, who were particularly important in Spain, where merchants were apt to run afoul of the local authorities. After Digby's arrival in Spain, Francis Cottington (chargé d'affaires in the period following Cornwallis' departure) became consul at Seville and obtained a sort of supervisory authority over the other consuls, normally resident merchants. This arrangement rather worried Digby; he feared that it would weaken his authority over the consuls.⁴⁴ The merchants who made use of the consul's services were supposed to pay his salary; often they were reluctant to do so, and it was necessary to impose a levy on English goods traded in the port in question to make up the salary.⁴⁵ Hugh Lee at Lisbon, for instance, was to receive one ducat per

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, 312-13.

⁴² Francis Middleton to Trumbull, Feb. 27, 1606, *ibid.*, 434-35.

⁴³ *State Papers, Venetian, 1610-1613*, ed. Brown, 205-206, 208-11.

⁴⁴ Digby to Cecil, Jan. 19, 1612, PRO, SP, 94/19, fols. 11-14. Cottington's appointment was also apt to cut into Digby's income. (See John Chamberlain to Carleton, Dec. 31, 1611, in *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N. E. McClure [2 vols., Philadelphia, 1939], I, 326.)

⁴⁵ See, e.g., PRO, SP, 89/3, fol. 78. The Scots made use of these consuls' services, too, and

ship plus 4 per cent of all goods English merchants brought there.⁴⁶

Ambassadors had to worry not only about their subordinates but also about their fellow ambassadors. In the seventeenth century there were constant and interminable quarrels over precedence. The attitude of James's government was far less punctilious and more sensible on this question than that of some others, possibly because it witnessed at firsthand one of the longest and most vehement of these contests, that between the representatives of Venice and the archdukes. James created the office of master of ceremonies in 1603, in imitation of "France and other places,"⁴⁷ in order to deal in a more systematic fashion with such problems. Sir John Finett, who held the office under Charles I, wrote a book whose title sufficiently indicates the dimensions of the job: *Finetti Philoxenis: som choice Observations of Sir John Finett . . . touching the Reception and Precedence, the Treatment and Audience, the Puntillios and Contests of Forren Ambassadors in England*.

As for English representatives abroad, they followed the line Cecil laid down in a letter to Edmondes in July 1610:

wheresoever you find the occasion such, as you cannot forbear to demand to be present, without mark of dishonor or weakness, you do press your right therein, which if they shall not so compose, by forbearing your competitor as well as yourself, or by giving you your due, (wherein you must content yourself with no less than with no inequality), in those cases you may not be wanting to yourself, nor to the cause, by setting still. Otherwise I find his Majesty will as well content himself to receive no wrong with quietness as to gain an advantage in that particular by your affected contestation. And where you may seem to intimate your hope to carry it by strong hand, his Majesty doth not desire to gain his precedence by his ambassador's sword.⁴⁸

As a result of this relatively pacific attitude toward precedence, English ambassadors often stayed away from ceremonial occasions, especially at Catholic courts where the papal nuncio was to be present. James's representative could not admit the precedence claimed by and accorded to the nuncio as the representative of the Vicar of Christ.⁴⁹

Since the ambassador's job was "to advertise and not to advise," he had to pay much attention to the problems of providing intelligence and of see-

in October 1611 Cecil wrote to the Scottish Privy Council to get them to pay their share. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, ed. M. A. E. Green (London, 1858), 83.

⁴⁶ HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry (Montagu House)*, ed. R. E. G. Kirk *et al.* (3 vols., London, 1909-26), I, 102; see *ibid.*, 180-81, for the rules laid down for the conduct of the Lisbon consulate in 1617.

⁴⁷ John Stow, *Annales, or a Generall Chronicle of England* (London, 1631), 824.

⁴⁸ BM, Stowe MS. 171, fols. 272-73.

⁴⁹ Edmondes, for instance, did not attend the celebration of the Franco-Spanish marriage alliances on this account. (Edmondes to Winwood, Mar. 26, 1612, Winwood, *Memorials*, ed. Sawyer, III, 350.)

ing to it that the letters he exchanged with the government in London reached their destination safely—problems that English ambassadors shared with those of every other government. Intelligence cost money, of course; by the end of Elizabeth's reign ambassadors were supposed to get fixed allowances for this purpose.⁵⁰ They were not large, and the ambassadors grumbled that their opposite numbers in England, particularly the Spanish ambassadors, had vast sums at their disposal. It was not easy to persuade the English government to pay potential informants in advance, which occasionally brought protests from men who were shocked by the notion that they should provide some service before they saw any money.⁵¹ Perhaps the most successful piece of English espionage in this period was Digby's obtaining the list of those Englishmen receiving Spanish pensions, a coup so important that Digby thought it worth while to carry the list back to England personally. Before Digby went to Spain he knew that Spanish underlings were bribable and Spanish business methods slipshod, but he was at first pessimistic about the possibility of building up an intelligence network, since there was no pro-English faction in Spain, nor any religious sympathizers there.⁵² Within two years, however, Digby had found it possible to develop his network. In April 1613 he reported in some detail to the King. It was impossible to corrupt a councilor, but he had bought an official of the Council of State whose function was similar to that of a clerk of the English Privy Council. He would be expensive—perhaps a thousand crowns a year—but he was worth it, in Digby's view, because he might be Secretary of State someday. Digby also bought some subordinate officers of the Councils of War and of the Indies, who were paid by the job. A yearly fee would be necessary for agents in the seaports, of whom there would have to be several; five hundred pounds a year should take care of the lot. Like everyone else after Cecil's death, Digby worried about leaks. Spanish officials were watchful and were well served in England; a leak would be fatal to the intelligence structure Digby was building.⁵³

The interception of letters was one of the most obvious types of intelligence leakage, and this was a constant worry. The ordinary posts were

⁵⁰ Lawrence Stone, *An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino* (Oxford, Eng., 1956), 233.

⁵¹ E.g., Barnes to Cecil, June 16–26, 1606, PRO, SP, 77/8, fol. 121.

⁵² Digby to James, June 18, 1611, *ibid.*, 94/18, fols. 111–12. In 1610 Francis Cottington, in charge of the English embassy between the departure of Cornwallis and Digby's arrival, bribed a clerk to provide him with information about the fate of one Nevill Davis, an English merchant in Seville who had been ordered banished as a spy. To cover his source of information, he told Secretary Andrés de Prada that he had seen the document on Davis lying around Prada's office and had read it while everyone was busy. Prada protested that this was an ungentlemanly thing to do; Cottington replied that it was much less honest to conceal the decision on Davis. (Cottington to Cecil, Feb. 16, 1610, *ibid.*, 94/17, fol. 41.)

⁵³ Digby to James, Apr. 25, 1613, *ibid.*, 94/19, fols. 327–38.

unreliable; post-office officials held up and tampered with letters. This produced occasional outbursts of moral indignation. On February 15, 1607, Edmondes wrote Cornwallis that he gathered, from Cornwallis' last letter, that he had received nothing from him since the end of September. Edmondes sent a list of the dates on which he had subsequently written to Cornwallis, so that the latter could tax the Spanish postmaster with it. He disingenuously remarked:

I make no doubt but our fugitives are of all others the most busy practicing with the said officer for the intercepting of our letters, which if it be not redressed, it will become us to complain thereof in England where contrariwise there is so much respect carried to their Ambassadors' packets, as albeit it is known that they go continually freighted with the Jesuits' letters, yet they do pass untouched and with all free liberty.⁵⁴

Spain seems to have been the most difficult area to deal with; Cornwallis continually complained about the irregularity of delivery.⁵⁵ From the beginning Cecil worried about the Spanish post. When diplomatic relations were restored, he asked Parry, then ambassador in Paris, for his advice. The sea route was slow and uncertain. Sending letters via Paris was all right, but might attract unwelcome attention if done too often. Cecil wanted to know if there was a reliable merchant who could carry letters. How did the Spanish ambassador send his? Parry replied that foreign messengers were corruptible and advised the use of ciphers, bogus addresses, and frequent changes of courier as forms of protection. The Spanish ambassador did not use the French posts, said Parry; he used Spain's courier service to the Low Countries. Since the Spanish ambassador occasionally sent Parry packets to be delivered to England, Parry thought that, for routine matters, he might be asked to reciprocate. Parry mentioned a couple of merchants who might be trusted, but he was diffident about it.⁵⁶ Merchants were indeed used, but they were not always satisfactory. Carleton in Venice complained that his letters "are ever sent me torn and in many pieces" because merchants carried them.⁵⁷

Ambassadors found it hard enough to get money for intelligence out of the English Exchequer; collecting their pay and their ordinary expense money, both of which were usually far in arrears, was far more difficult. Letters to their superiors at home, to their friends, and to each other are

⁵⁴ *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, ed. Purnell and Hinds, II, 452-53.

⁵⁵ E.g., Cornwallis to Cecil, Jan. 13, 1608, BM, Cott. MSS. Vesp. Cx, fols. 280-81.

⁵⁶ Cecil to Parry, June 20, 1605, PRO, SP, 78/52, fol. 150; Parry to Cecil, July 5, 1605, *ibid.*, fols. 162-63.

⁵⁷ Carleton to Pindar, Sept. 6, 1613, PRO, SP, 99/13, fol. 219. On the questions of intelligence and correspondence, see Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 240-50. There are also some interesting observations and information scattered through the pages of C. H. Carter, *The Secret Diplomacy of the Habsburgs, 1598-1625* (New York, 1964).

full of complaints on this score. They almost always received the same answer: there was no money in the Treasury to pay them. The situation was chronic. Commenting on Carew's failure to arrive in France to assume his post in 1605, Carleton commented ironically to Chamberlain, "The excuse is stranger than all the rest, that there is no money in the Exchequer to set him forward."⁵⁸ As early as October 1603 Lord Treasurer Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorset, noted that "there is no money in the Exchequer, no, not to defray the king's household charges,"⁵⁹ which is one more piece of evidence that James inherited a difficult financial situation from his parsimonious predecessor. In November 1604 Winwood, who was aggrieved at Cecil's slashing of his requests for expense money, wrote to Edmondes: "I am ready to starve here for want of means, that having a man now three months soliciting for my provision can yet receive no answer of hope."⁶⁰ Edmondes was duly sympathetic; he wondered "that you have the patience to endure such an exile to so small purpose."⁶¹

Edmondes himself felt the pinch rapidly enough when he became an ambassador. He accepted the appointment with some trepidation as to its financial implications,⁶² and his fears were more than justified. In December 1612 he finally took the heroic measure of writing directly to the King, asking for an increase in his per diem allowance. The cost of living in Paris was high, he wrote, and extraordinary expenses had piled up lately—the cost of mourning for Prince Henry, for example. Digby in Spain received a higher daily allowance, he complained, and the Spanish government paid the rent on Digby's house; Edmondes' house cost him two hundred pounds a year. He needed an immediate payment of five or six hundred pounds. Edmondes went further: he persuaded the Duc de Bouillon to write to the King on his behalf.⁶³ In 1618 the Danish government offered Carleton, then at The Hague, a pension if he would supply it with information. Carleton reported this offer and his refusal of it to Secretary Lake. James was so liberal, he told the Danish agent, that he had no need for a pension. "I will beseech your honour to endeavour to make this word of mine good," he went on, "and . . . so to order . . . that in this place of quick

⁵⁸ PRO, SP, 78/2, fol. 342.

⁵⁹ Munck to Winwood, Oct. 4, 1603, *Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry*, ed. Kirk, I, 44.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 42, 49–50; BM, Stowe MS. 167, fol. 364.

⁶¹ More to Winwood, Dec. 20, 1604, *Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry*, ed. Kirk, I, 50.

⁶² Edmondes to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Dec. 28, 1604, Lodge, *Illustrations*, III, 255.

⁶³ PRO, SP, 78/60, fol. 234. Each ambassador was eventually allotted one hundred pounds for his mourning expenses. (Wake to Carleton, Dec. 31, 1612–Jan. 10, 1613, *ibid.*, 99/11, fols. 208–209.) BM, Stowe MS. 173, fols. 264–65. Edmondes got the five hundred pounds. (*Ibid.*, fol. 262.)

expense for the table, I may receive *panem quotidianum*, my provision of diet being held up in the Exchequer to my infinite prejudice; a great part of that, which I should eat at my board for his majesty's honour, being eaten out in interest to the merchants."⁶⁴ Carleton even resorted to asking his friends to bribe an Exchequer official to get his allowance paid regularly. A year later he was seeking the right to nominate to a barony, a very lucrative perquisite indeed; it was the only feasible way to collect his arrears.⁶⁵

Though its shortage of cash was genuine enough, the government did what it could for its servants, but not always sympathetically. In December 1610 Cecil refused to approve one of Winwood's bills. There was no money available, but even if there were, he would not approve this account. Winwood, he said, "is no poor man, he can stay well enough."⁶⁶ Cecil was not normally so irritable as this; the failure of the Great Contract doubtless had something to do with his state of mind. Financial stringency sometimes had unfortunate effects on the conduct of English policy. Embassies were occasionally left vacant—at one time it looked as if the only ambassador actually at his post would be the man in Constantinople, whose salary the government did not pay.⁶⁷ Digby, in Spain, had to borrow one thousand pounds from the future Count Gondomar before the latter left to take up his post in England; the bills of exchange he gave Gondomar were cashed only with some difficulty.⁶⁸ This was embarrassing, but what was rather worse was the humiliation of Cornwallis, who was constrained to accept a present of three thousand crowns from the Spanish government in order to make ends meet, which effectively took the sting out of the numerous complaints he had to make on behalf of the English merchant community.⁶⁹ English ambassadors were always sighing for the allegedly fabulous salaries and allowances of King Philip's envoys. The Spanish ambassador to England was to receive twenty thousand crowns to pay his debts and ten thousand more to furnish himself with equipment, wrote

⁶⁴ *Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton, Knt., during his Embassy in Holland*, ed. Philip Yorke (3d ed., London, 1780), 246-47; see also Carleton to Thomas Locke, Sept. 29, 1618, *State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, ed. Green, 578.

⁶⁵ Edward Sherburne to Carleton, Jan. 4, 1618, *ibid.*, 511; Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford, Eng., 1965), 107.

⁶⁶ Winwood, *Memorials*, ed. Sawyer, III, 235.

⁶⁷ Piero Contarini to the Doge and Senate, Apr. 16-26, 1618, *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1617-1619*, ed. A. B. Hinds (London, 1909), 204; see also Correr to the Doge and Senate, Jan. 25-Feb. 4, 1611, *State Papers, Venetian, 1610-1613*, ed. Brown, 112.

⁶⁸ More to Winwood, Aug. 7, 1613, *Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry*, ed. Kirk, I, 141-42; Chamberlain to Carleton, Sept. 9, 1613, *Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. McClure, I, 474.

⁶⁹ Francesco Priuli to the Doge and Senate, May 3-13, 1606, *State Papers, Venetian, 1603-1607*, ed. H. F. Brown (London, 1900), 347.

Cornwallis to Edmondes in 1605; "God send us some taste of the like."⁷⁰

The constant complaints of the ambassadors did some good; the per diem did rise slightly. In 1604 Parry, in France, got 70s.8d.; Edmondes received £4 during his stay there.⁷¹ Wotton and Carleton in Venice only got five marks (£3 6s.8d.).⁷² The Spanish embassy was worth more: in 1605 Cecil raised the rate there to £6. He informed Cornwallis that this was not to be taken as a precedent or to apply elsewhere, but Digby received the same amount.⁷³ The rate of £6 was usually reserved for special ceremonial embassies, like that of Edward Wotton to France in 1610,⁷⁴ most of which were exceedingly expensive. Less exalted officials were given much less. Trumbull, left behind as resident in Brussels after the departure of Edmondes, received only £1, and Edmondes had to work hard to get him that much.⁷⁵ Ambassadors always wanted the per diem to start as far in advance as possible. Lesieur, for instance, while he was in Florence in 1608, had complained of losing thirteen in the hundred by having to borrow locally. He asked that his daily allowance begin six months before his departure and be paid four months in advance when he was posted to the imperial court in 1612.⁷⁶

The government also customarily paid traveling expenses. It cost Carleton £550 to transport himself and his family to Venice in 1610. In the following year Digby put in a bill for £970 for his travel to Madrid. He attempted to justify this request by pointing out that it was only one-third of what Alonso di Velasco, the Spanish ambassador to England, had asked of his government.⁷⁷ The Spanish example was useful. The amount Digby asked was very large, nonetheless. It was, in fact, large enough to cause other ambassadors to stress the modesty of their own costs—the £686 Lesieur requested, for instance, to travel to Vienna.⁷⁸ When Digby returned to England in 1614 he asked for £900 more.⁷⁹ Special ceremonial embassies

⁷⁰ BM, Stowe MS. 168, fol. 50.

⁷¹ PRO, SP, 78/51, fols. 65-67; *ibid.*, Domestic, LXXXII, No. 125.

⁷² PRO, SP, 99/2, fol. 216, 99/5, fol. 152; *Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton*, ed. Yorke, 299.

⁷³ PRO, SP, 94/12, fols. 97-98.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 78/56, fol. 349.

⁷⁵ Edmondes to Trumbull, Sept. 14, 1609, *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, ed. Purnell and Hinds, II, 127-29, 138. Some years later his allowance was doubled. (Chamberlain to Carleton, Feb. 21, 1618, *Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. McClure, II, 142-43.)

⁷⁶ PRO, SP, 98/2, fol. 178, 80/2, fol. 215.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 99/6, fol. 152, 94/18, fols. 99, 105.

⁷⁸ Lesieur to James, Jan. 6, 1613, *ibid.*, 80/2, fol. 236. Lesieur produced an itemized account: £30 for coaches from his house in Hampstead to wait on James at various places such as Woodstock and Hampton Court; £230 for transportation for himself and a company of twenty-four from London to Frankfurt; £176 from Frankfurt to Ulm; £180 from Ulm to Vienna by water; £5 from the Vienna docks to his lodging; £65 in fees to the imperial officials.

⁷⁹ Chamberlain to Carleton, July 21, 1614, *Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. McClure, I, 550-52. Chamberlain commented that he would be well paid if he got £600.

cost considerably more. Some, like that of Lord Hay to France in 1616, were so expensive that there was much opposition to sending him at all. Hay's embassy, and some others, had to be financed by the sale of peerages.⁸⁰ While Hay lived luxuriously and behaved extravagantly, the ordinary ambassador had to struggle penuriously. It is not surprising that the latter was frequently resentful of those who, in his opinion, were better off than himself. Edmondes wrote waspishly to Trumbull in 1609:

Sir Ralph Winwood in his last letter bemoaned himself that after so many years' service abroad he should be forced to begin his service anew in England. Other men who have served double his time abroad and at home have not attained to the least degree of his happiness. By [John] Dickenson's confession his [Winwood's] journeys to Embden were worth £600, and I reckon that since his coming to Holland he hath made above £6,000, and yet doth not think his high merit sufficiently acknowledged. Yet I who have laboured in the vineyard as faithfully dare not represent my necessities. Though his happiness hath been greater than mine, yet my honest merit shall ever deserve to be as well justified as his shall be.⁸¹

The expenses of its agents abroad were not the only drain on the meager resources of the English government. In February 1613 James learned that the French were about to send a special envoy to condole with him on the death of Prince Henry and to offer congratulations on the marriage of Princess Elizabeth. The King wrote to Edmondes to prevent any such thing: it was unnecessary since the French had a resident ambassador there, and the envoy would be expensive to entertain.⁸² Costs were high in England, too. "The Court of England is excessively expensive," wrote the Venetian ambassador in 1617, "and the cost of everything is so great that it is certainly unexampled elsewhere in Europe."⁸³

Men angled for ambassadorships and then stayed in their financially unrewarding posts, in some measure out of a sense of duty, but also in the hope of being richly recompensed when their tour of duty was over, possibly by the government to which they had been accredited, certainly by their master.⁸⁴ As Sir John Bennet rather sententiously wrote to Carleton in 1616, the King might pay his ambassadors slackly, but he made it up to

⁸⁰ Gregorio Barbarigo to the Doge and Senate, May 3-13, 1616, *State Papers, Venetian, 1615-1617*, ed. Hinds, 197; Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, 107.

⁸¹ *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, ed. Purnell and Hinds, II, 100-101. Dickenson was one of Winwood's embassy staff.

⁸² BM, Stowe MS. 173, fol. 275.

⁸³ *State Papers, Venetian, 1615-1617*, ed. Hinds, 470.

⁸⁴ Sometimes ambassadors expected much. Wotton after his first departure from Venice was aggrieved because the Venetian government had not rewarded his nephew as generously as it did the son of the French ambassador. (Correr and Foscarini to the Doge and Senate, May 2-12, 1611, *State Papers, Venetian, 1610-1613*, ed. Brown, 145-46.)

them when they returned home.⁸⁵ As long as Cecil lived, the road to the top lay through diligent service which earned a promotion, and all of his stable of diplomatists knew it. When Edmondes, who had been at Brussels, accepted the Paris embassy in 1609, Carleton told him he was wise to do so. His ready consent "to this offer of our great lord (who will not, as you know, have his favors rejected)" was the surest way to a rich reward.⁸⁶ Edmondes was not so sure; he had been hoping for a post at home, possibly a secretaryship of state, in the reshuffle that he believed would follow the death of Lord Treasurer Dorset in 1608.⁸⁷ The secretaryship was the principal goal of the truly ambitious; Winwood, who was eventually to be Cecil's successor, after King James and his favorite Rochester had had their fling at the day-to-day drudgery of the office, tried to console himself when he thought his competitor Edmondes had the inside track. All he wanted was "without trouble, toil, or vexation of spirit to procure honestly and quietly without noise or bruit a competent state of livelihood for my wife and children."⁸⁸ Winwood was practicing stoic resignation here: his ambition was not so modest as this. After Cecil's death the reward a man received depended much less on his service than on his connections. Someone with little influence, like Trumbull, if he asked for a reward, would lay himself open to the sort of snub he received from Rochester, who wrote that those who lacked extraordinary merit could not expect to receive great favors.⁸⁹ This, from Rochester, must have caused much sardonic laughter. Poor Trumbull never did receive much reward: he ultimately became a clerk of the council and mustermaster general.

Others did rather better. Of the diplomatists already mentioned, Digby became an earl, Carleton a viscount, Cottington a baron, and all three had important domestic political careers. Winwood and Carleton became Secretaries of State, Parry Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, Carew Master of the Court of Wards (in the year of his death), an office Cottington was also to hold. Edmondes and Cornwallis received household offices, Pindar, as befitted his commercial connections, the alum farm. Sir Thomas Roe, one of the ablest of the lot, after many years of waiting, became Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. Lesieur got nothing but a small pension. Perhaps

⁸⁵ *State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, ed. Green, 417. Two years earlier Chamberlain reported to Carleton the rumor that Sir Robert Drury had offered two thousand pounds for Carleton's post. Chamberlain was surprised: there was nothing to be made out of it, he said, when the government was twelve thousand pounds in debt to its ambassadors. (*Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. McClure, I, 548.)

⁸⁶ Carleton to Edmondes, June 8, 1609, BM, Stowe MS. 171, fols. 83-84.

⁸⁷ Edmondes to Trumbull, May 11, 1608, *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, ed. Purnell and Hinds, II, 56-57.

⁸⁸ Winwood to Carleton, Nov. 24, 1613, PRO, SP, 84/69, fols. 112-13.

⁸⁹ Rochester to Trumbull, Sept. 10, 1613, *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, ed. Purnell and Hinds, IV, 195.

the oddest reward of all, and yet a singularly fitting one, fell to the epigrammatic Wotton: he became provost of Eton.

In the first year of James's reign a translation of Jean Hotman's *The Ambassador* appeared in London. "Ambassadors," wrote Hotman,

should have knowledge of many things, especially of philosophy, moral and politic, and before all other, Roman Civil Law; and, moreover, a knowledge of histories will greatly help him, which besides the pleasure of it will increase in him wisdom and judgment in the affairs of his charges, and will make him not to be astonished at anything.⁹⁰

If not all of James's good men lying abroad lived up to this counsel of perfection, they were nevertheless a competent group of professionals, an intelligent and acerbic set of men who complained about everything from arrears of pay to bad health, from the cost of living to the wretched climate, but who for the most part did their job efficiently and well. It was an age of talented diplomatists; if no Englishman displayed the kind of ability that has made the peerless Gondomar the ideal seventeenth-century ambassador in the eyes of posterity, many of them compare favorably enough with most of their continental counterparts. A number of the successes of Jacobean foreign policy were owing to them, and some of the failures too. Most historians have weighed that policy in the balance and found it wanting. If this be a just judgment, then the responsibility lies much more with the government in London than with its professional agents in the field.

⁹⁰ Quoted in G. B. Harrison, *A Jacobean Journal, Being a Record of those Things Most Talked of during the Years 1603-1606* (London, 1941), 37.

The Transformation of the Garden: Ideal and Society in Austrian Literature

CARL E. SCHORSKE*

"It is hard to grapple with an existing social order, but harder still to have to posit one that does not exist."¹ These words of Hugo von Hofmannsthal carry the ring of the twentieth century, when the European mind lost its capacity to project satisfying utopias. Earlier, in the wake of the French Revolution, most writers would have inverted Hofmannsthal's judgment. They found it harder to grapple with the existing social order than to draft the lineaments of an ideal one.

As long as the artist knew what his values were, and knew these to have sanction and support from his society, if not pervasive power in it, social reality could serve as the anvil against which he created his literary artifacts. When historical expectations were belied by events, however, or when the artists' values, bereft of social support, became abstract, Hofmannsthal's difficulty in "positing a social order that does not exist" acquired primacy over the more traditional problem of wrestling with the existing society. Inevitably, the role of the artist became redefined: he had not merely to articulate the relationship of traditionally accepted values to social reality, but to express truths for a mankind despairing of social order as such. The stages in the emergence of this function of literature in relation to the social order provide my theme; the culture of liberal Austria, its setting.

Wherever European artists made the difficult attempt to grapple with an existing order, as they so often did in the nineteenth century, social realism emerged as a dominant literary mode. A secure image of society's nature and movement, of its strengths and vulnerabilities, was the necessary prerequisite to wrestling with it in the pursuit of happiness and dignity. Depending on the critical stance of the author, his hero might be locked in deadly struggle with his society, like Stendhal's Julien Sorel, or shaped and imprisoned by it, like Émile Zola's Nana; in either case social realism implied an integration of character and milieu. Concern for the human condition illumi-

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¹Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "Buch der Freunde," *Aufzeichnungen, Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben*, ed. Herbert Steiner (Frankfurt am Main, 1959), 59. Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine.

nated the state of society; careful delineation of the social milieu explicated the state of humanity. The interpenetration of character and scene, of individual and contemporary environment, is, as Erich Auerbach so concretely demonstrated, the hallmark of realism. The more specific and far-reaching the author's emphasis upon social structure, the more appropriate the term "social realism" becomes. In the nineteenth century, this tendency in the novel, as in Zola, finally approximated the character of pure sociological inquest.

Compared to other countries of high literary productivity, Austria in the nineteenth century remained singularly unaffected by the social realist movement. Most of the authors who can be classified in this school remain virtually unknown outside Austria itself. Both the power of the baroque tradition of fantasy and the failure of the Austrian middle class to develop independence of the aristocracy weakened the development of social realism. Yet Austrian literature found other media to refract the problem of relating cultural values to a social structure in transition. The image of the garden was one such medium. Since ancient days the garden has served Western man as a mirror of paradise to measure his temporal state. As it appears at crucial points in Austrian literature, it helps us to mark stages in the developing relationship of culture and social structure, utopia and reality. Within its narrow confines, the garden captures and reflects the changing outlook of Austria's cultivated middle class as the ancient Empire approached disintegration.

In 1857 Adalbert Stifter published his novel *Der Nachsommer* (Indian Summer). Generally regarded as the masterpiece of Austrian realism, it was conceived as an answer to the sociopolitical problems of his age. Yet these problems are never openly stated in the book; nor is the historical movement of society described except in the most allusive and remote fashion. Stifter offered no symptomatology of society's ills; he went directly to the cure. The cure is *Bildung*, the training of the character in a holistic sense. *Der Nachsommer* is a utopian *Bildungsroman* built of realistic elements.

Born in 1806, Stifter acquired his values and outlook in the quiet years before the storm of 1848. For him, a relatively unpolitical Biedermeier liberal, *ein Mann des Masses und der Freiheit*,² the Revolution proved a decisive experience, a crisis of confidence in the nature of man. Like so many of his contemporaries, Stifter at first greeted the Revolution, then recoiled in horror at the collapse of order. Conceiving of politics as a branch of ethics, he understood the destruction of order not as the result of historical or social

² *Stifters Werke*, ed. I. E. Walter (2 vols., Salzburg, n.d.), II, 905.

"forces" but as the consequence of human passions unleashed. In classical Kantian fashion, Stifter regarded order, control of passion, as indispensable and integral to freedom in both the individual and the state:

. . . [G]enuine freedom demands the most self-control, the constraint of one's desires. . . . The foremost and only enemies of freedom therefore are all those people who are possessed by powerful desires and urges [*Begierden und Neigungen*], which they wish to gratify by any means. . . .³

Stifter's political analyses are indistinguishable in form and content from moral homilies. As he disdained romantic poets who unleashed strong human emotions, so he feared political radicals:

Distrust your hotspurs, who promise to overwhelm you with immeasurable freedom and eternal gifts of gold; they are mostly men corrupted by the power of their emotions, who are driven by their emotions to win a wide field of action and great gratification [for themselves]; and when they have won them, they will fall still lower and drag down all who trusted them.⁴

Political chaos was the product of personal passion; its remedy must be personal self-discipline. Only moral individuals could sustain free institutions, Stifter maintained. Because men had not acquired the moral maturity to be capable of freedom, the Revolution destroyed the very freedom it aimed to realize. Stifter thus drew the lessons from the revolutionary experience in the traditional language of German humanism, of Friedrich Schiller and of Wilhelm von Humboldt. Although "the ideal of freedom [was] destroyed for a long time to come" by the Revolution, Stifter did not despair: "Whoever is morally free can be politically free and always is so; not all the powers of the earth can make the others free. There is but one power which can do so: *Bildung*."⁵

Bildung was no empty phrase with Stifter. As citizen and as artist, he devoted himself after 1848 to spreading it among his fellow men in order to prepare them intellectually and morally for freedom. Where before the Revolution Stifter had served as private tutor to wealthy families (including Metternich's), after it he turned to public education. He participated actively in the great reform of the school system, in 1848 and 1849 as a contributor to public discussion and policy planning, thereafter as a school inspector. His commitment to education, though liberal, also bore the stamp of the Benedictine tradition in which he had been schooled: Stifter strove for a unity of mind and heart, of knowledge and practice, of reason and grace. His old-fashioned, politically conservative humanism produced paradoxically demo-

³ Stifter, "Über das Freiheitsproblem," *ibid.*, 921, 923.

⁴ *Adalbert Stifters Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Gustav Wilhelm et al. (24 vols., Prague and Reichenberg, 1904-39), XVI, 58-59; cited in Eric Albert Blackall, *Adalbert Stifter* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), 254.

⁵ Letter to Gustav Heckenast, Mar. 6, 1849, *Stifters Sämtliche Werke*, XVII, 321.

cratic consequences in his educational theory. For him the major pedagogic task of the state—indeed its most vital function in any sphere—was the education of the masses. Stifter perceived and criticized the growing tendency of modern society, fostered by the intellectuals themselves, to divide men into *die Wissenden* and *die Nichtwissenden*. Education should weld together, not separate, mankind. His very fears of the masses led him to the democratic conclusion that the elementary school had more immediate importance than either secondary school or university. In elementary education the folk could and should be trained morally as well as intellectually. The personally fulfilled life and the socially useful life grew out of the same stalk. "What we need is character," Stifter wrote a friend in June 1848. "I believe that rock-solid truthfulness . . . and rock-solid thoroughness . . . would have stronger and longer effectiveness today than learnedness and knowledge."⁶ Education must accordingly foster not merely the life of the mind but a comprehensive development of character.

Surely the virtue of learning was not as important as the learning of virtue. *Bildung*, a term increasingly denoting that acquired high culture which accorded a mark of social substance if not of social grace to its possessor, still meant to Stifter a richer complex of attributes composing the well-formed and integrated personality.

To illustrate and propagate his concept of *Bildung*, compounded of Benedictine world piety, German humanism, and Biedermeier conventionality, Stifter gave to the world his novel *Der Nachsommer*. As his dedication to a career in public education had grown out of his political concern, so his commitment as an artist represented an extension of his educational concern. Stifter left no doubt of his didactic intention in *Der Nachsommer*:

I have probably made the work on account of the rottenness [*Schlechtigkeit*] which in general and with a few exceptions prevails in the political conditions of the world, in its moral life and in the literary arts. I wanted to contrapose a great, simple, ethical force [*sittliche Kraft*] against the wretched degeneration [of the times].⁷

In his negative intention—to fight "the wretched degeneration" of his times—Stifter was at one with his great French contemporary, Gustave Flaubert. The latter published his bitter *Bildungsroman*, *L'éducation sentimentale*, in 1869, only twelve years after *Der Nachsommer*. To the modern reader, however, a century of social history would seem to lie between the two works. Flaubert's strategy in his warfare against social reality is to reveal not only the chaotic, unstable movement of society, but also to show how it corrodes all idealistic resistance. The "education" of Frédéric Moreau is an

⁶ *Ibid.*, 292; cited in Blackall, *Stifter*, 249.

⁷ *Stifters Sämliche Werke*, XIX, 93.

education in disenchantment: the intelligent perception destroys what the heart owns, and the experienced understanding ratifies the futility of all ideals. Flaubert's "realism" indicts society by depicting it directly and concealing from the reader his own normative ideals. Stifter's strategy is the opposite: he indicts the chaos of contemporary reality not by describing it but by ignoring it. Out of recognizably real social materials he constructs a well-ordered milieu in which an immanent ideality is slowly made plain to the hero. By a careful, generous training of habit, head, and heart, Stifter's hero grows into a life of fulfillment. In Stifter's fictional society, as in his *gebildeter Mensch*, intelligence and sentiment, truth and goodness are synthesized, not mutually exclusive as in Flaubert's.

The realistic novel revolves around the integration of character and milieu. The opening of Flaubert's *L'éducation sentimentale* adumbrates that integration for the hapless child of illusion, Moreau. A Seine River steamer about to depart belches "great whirlwinds of smoke" as people rush aboard, jostling each other "in breathless haste." Traffic is obstructed by cargo and cables strewn in every direction. "The sailors answered nobody." As the steamer casts off, the chaotic, mobile, commercial society it represents will sweep Moreau up too: "A Promising Pupil," the first chapter title calls him. His moorings cut, he will attach himself to the world of illusory love, specious art, and corrupt politics that will drag him down. On the clanging, hissing steamer he confronts all these aspects of the world for the first time, appropriately enough in motion, in transit. In only a few brisk opening pages Flaubert shows the malleable, romantic Frédéric already being embraced and molded by the strong and slippery tentacles of the modern French milieu.⁸

To posit a "great, simple, ethical force" against the times, Stifter integrated hero and milieu no less than Flaubert. The opening chapter of *Der Nachsommer* could have borne the same title as Flaubert's, "A Promising Pupil," for in it the hero, Heinrich Drendorf, describes his positive responses to his early education. Stifter allowed the title to reflect instead the primacy of the milieu, and called the chapter, "The Household." As in Flaubert's novel, the economic environment serves as basic clue to the social and spiritual conditions that will form the hero. The clangorous, vaporous river steamer of Flaubert, symbol of mobile, speculative, capitalist society, has a contrasting analogue in Stifter's novel: the ménage of the elder Drendorf. In this household, old-style commercial enterprise and an upright family life are felicitously united under the sober justice of the father-master. The atmosphere is the very opposite of Flaubert's riverboat: solidity, stability, se-

⁸ Gustave Flaubert, *Sentimental Education*, tr. Brentano (New York, 1957), 1-14.

renity, and orderliness. The social and physical milieu serves Stifter's hero as vestibule to the good life, and his reader as a kind of concrete *preparatio evangelii*.

Heinrich Drendorf begins his story with the lapidary sentence, "my father was a merchant." Domicile and shop were under the same roof. The employees ate at the master's table as members of an enlarged family. The ethic of fatherhood governed the elder Drendorf's behavior as entrepreneur. The obverse was equally true: Drendorf's early capitalist ethic informed his exercise of paternal authority. He managed his family and his household, one might say, like a business, in an era when probity, thrift, simplicity, and strict personal accountability were the principal economic virtues. Every person had his appointed duties in the household. Time and space were precisely subdivided and organized in such a fashion that every segment fulfilled a specified function. Heinrich's mother, a warm and good-natured soul who would have allowed her children a more spontaneous life, enforced "out of fear of father" the appointed tasks laid down by the master of the household. The well-ordered environment was the key to the well-ordered soul, and together they composed the well-ordered world.

Heinrich's father summarized his view of life in the principle: "Everything and every person can be but one thing; this, however, he [or it] must be to the full." On the basis of this principle of specialization, there was inculcated into the children the spirit of "strict exactitude" which became the basis of a character formation leading to a life of personal fulfillment. Greatness in this view lay not in the exceptional or outstanding but in the regular and perfected.

Self-discipline and self-reliance were the principal virtues the father inculcated in his son. Classical bourgeois virtues, transmitted in a Biedermeier setting, they constituted for Stifter the characterological core of *Bildung*. They were the very virtues that Robinson Crusoe, by ignoring the sound advice of his father, had had to acquire, as he said, through "a life of misery."⁹

Drendorf, through filial devotion and willingness to make his father's values his own, did not merely enter his father's station; rather, he prepared himself for a more comprehensive self-fulfillment and a wider culture. Indeed Stifter wished to show that there was a better life than that of the upright bourgeois of the old school: a life of science, art, and higher culture. Heinrich was trained and encouraged to transcend his father, but to do so by building on his paternal inheritance rather than rejecting it.

Der Nachsommer stands at a crossroads in the relationship between gen-

⁹ Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (Everyman ed., London, 1906), 2.

erations within the Austrian bourgeoisie of the nineteenth century. Are the sons to enter the patrimony of the fathers or to create a new world of their own? The very existence of such a question implies a social crisis. Not until the 1880's did it become a burning issue, and, when it did, the nature and function of higher culture were also thrown into question. Stifter was the first to pose the problem, albeit gently. He could delineate a convincing solution in a perspective wherein utopian and realistic elements could still be satisfactorily unified.

In the life of the Drendorfs social mobility was still identified with intellectual growth, and *Bildung* was an extension of bourgeois virtue. Drendorf the elder, though clearly without formal education, manifested strong intellectual interests. He acquired culture in the same spirit and manner as he acquired property, and the author respects him for it. Thus Drendorf kept his books in a case the glass doors of which were hung with green cloth, lest the exposure of the gilt-decorated bindings suggest vain display. When his fortunes allowed him to purchase a more cheerful home in the suburbs, Heinrich's father became less reticent in manifesting his commitment to higher culture. Not only did he install a large library (the green curtains seem to have been forgotten when the family left "the old, gloomy city house"), but he set aside a separate room to house his paintings. Indulging his nineteenth-century taste for the private museum, he set up an easel in a well-lit position, upon which each painting could be placed in order to be studied, read. One is reminded of St. Augustine's maxim: "To use, not to enjoy": Heinrich's father valued art not as a source of pleasure but as an instructional medium, closely bound to science, teaching one of light and shadow, rest and motion. At the same time he prized his paintings as a sound investment. "He said that he bought only old ones which had a certain value, which one could always realize if one were ever compelled to sell. . . ." ¹⁰

In his self-assured integration of moral, cultural, and economic values, Heinrich's father might have served his creator as the very model of the cultural Philistine. Stifter did not see him thus. Unlike his immediate successors, Stifter maintained an unbroken faith in the preindustrial bourgeois value complex, and he wished to make clear how modest were the social foundations of the good life. Where intellectuals of the next generation would see puritanical repressiveness, Stifter saw *Sittlichkeit und Ernst*, like a moralist of the eighteenth century. Where they would see *petit bourgeois* narrowness, he found civic uprightness; where they complacency, he solidity; where they pallor and weakness, he clarity and purity.

¹⁰ *Stifters Sämtliche Werke*, VI, 9.

Only once did Stifter allow a rift to appear between the Drendorf household and the bourgeois society in which it was anchored. The issue concerned, significantly, the relationship of culture and society, *Bildung* and *Besitz*. Heinrich, who had flourished under the excellent tutors provided by his father, asked permission to become a scientist. In assenting, Heinrich's father evoked sharp criticism from "many people." They argued that he should have dedicated his son to "an estate . . . useful to civil society," so that he might "one day end his days with the consciousness of having fulfilled his obligations." Heinrich's father withstood this pressure not by justifying the utility of science but by asserting the principle that human beings existed for their own sake, and not for society's. He buttressed this radical individualism with his confidence that each man would serve society best if he followed the inner urge that God placed in him as a guide to his true vocation. This incident made it clear that, in the pursuit of pure science, Heinrich had to leave the society of his birth and transcend the culture of his father. In supporting his request, the elder Drendorf exemplified paternal generosity to the point where his bourgeois independence became independence of the prevailing bourgeois code.¹¹

Stifter invests the episode with little tension in the telling (his limpid prose always flows as smoothly as the lives he holds to view), but its significance is nonetheless great. Maturity would bring Heinrich no necessary break from his father, but neither did his initiation into manhood imply entry into the father's vocation. The father trained Heinrich for financial independence, and a fortuitous inheritance solidified the economic foundation of his vocational independence. Only filial piety remained to tie son to father. As a *rentier* and a scientific intellectual, Heinrich was ready to pass out of the older commercial milieu and enter the utopia of the mid-century Austrian middle class.

"Even as a boy," Heinrich tells us, "I was a great friend of the reality of things." His growth as a scientist ran from the exact observation of the details of "things" to the comprehensive description of nature. Scientific research as Stifter described it was essentially classificatory. The spirit of fastidious orderliness dominating the Drendorf household reappeared, without explicit notice by the author, in Heinrich's approach to nature. He collected botanical or mineral specimens, described each "with strict exactitude" according to its nature, and "progressed to ever more composite [*zusammengesetzteren*]" and ordered descriptions."¹² The *petit bourgeois* zeal for ac-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 10-14. For an actual instance of a similar relationship between father and son in the choice of a scientific vocation, see the geologist Eduard Suess, *Erinnerungen* (Leipzig, 1916), 115, 139.

¹² *Stifters Sämliche Werke*, VI, 23-24.

quisition and precise ordering was thus elevated to the intellectual sphere and applied to the understanding of nature. "Through the collection of many small facts in the most varied places," Heinrich could broaden himself out "into the great and sublime whole."¹³ God's house of nature appears almost as an ideal magnification of the modest, well-ordered Drendorf household.

Science took Heinrich out of his limited urban environment into a wider realm. The second phase of his *Bildungsweg*, begun as wandering physiographer, brought him into the countryside where he first came to sense the beauties of God's vast creation. While he studied nature's inner structure as scientist, he awoke to art through watching nature's outer form.

His independent existence as a naturalist prepared Heinrich for the third and most important phase of his education: the unification of "nature" and "culture" in the perfected life of a country gentleman. To a description of this life and its setting in a model rural estate most of *Der Nachsommer* is devoted. Indeed, the estate, the *Rosenhaus*, is the central symbol of Stifter's social ideal, a Paradise Regained.

Heinrich discovered the *Rosenhaus* when he was seeking refuge from a threatening storm. (In accordance with Stifter's method of expurgating the chaotic from life, the storm never broke.) He saw the house gleaming high on a hill under the black clouds and made his way to it like a romantic wanderer approaching an enchanted castle. The house was covered with roses. They "seem to have spoken the word to each other to burst into bloom at the selfsame time, in order to swathe the house in a cloak of the most charming hues and in a cloud of the sweetest scents."¹⁴ Neither Stifter nor his meticulously intellectual hero allows us to linger long in the spell of this beauty. Romantic illusion is not punctured, but explained. Swiftly and coolly, Heinrich penetrates the magical effect, revealing it to be a triumph of human industry, of artful horticulture. The floral web was carefully plaited of rose trees, trained to varying heights, and trimmed so that no gap might appear in the solid bank of blooms. By scientific husbandry the innocent forces of nature are organized to create a setting of beauty for the flowering of the human spirit.

The *Rosenhaus* and its ideal life reveal much concerning the sociological properties and intellectual content of *Bildung* in mid-nineteenth-century Austria. Sociologically, the *Rosenhaus* represented the life of a higher social stratum than that to which Heinrich was born. Its owner, Freiherr von

¹³ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 44.

Risach, who became Heinrich's mentor and surrogate father, was a cultivated nobleman, yet no aristocrat of the blood. Born of a poor peasant family, Risach had risen by the most usual route for the Austrian commoner to acquire eminence, one that continued to accord high social status until the end of the monarchy: the civil service.¹⁵ Despite a career that had brought him not only a patent of nobility but the friendship of his sovereign, Risach had turned his back on politics and power. Purchasing an estate in the country, he retreated to contemplation and practical activity on his own circumscribed domain, enriching his understanding and imparting to those who would learn his formula for a perfected and harmonious existence. The ideal of Risach and the *Rosenhaus* was that of a nobleman of the spirit, a seigneur beyond any *libido dominandi*, who could enhance the traditional rural aristocrat's life with the scientific, ethical, and aesthetic culture of the bourgeoisie.

Risach conducted his utopian estate on principles combining the practical prudence of Daniel Defoe with the classic sublimity of Johann Winckelmann. He integrated nature and culture into a single continuum. The *Rosenhaus* garden, central symbol of this integration, was designed not merely for aesthetic effect. Unlike the gardens of the country houses of city people, "where one cultivates unfruitful shrubs or at best bushes bearing only ornamental fruit," Risach's garden mingled flowers with vegetables to produce "feelings of domesticity and usefulness."¹⁶ Nature was perfected by science into art: purged of weeds and insects, the *Rosenhaus* garden bloomed "clean and clear." Risach's estate was thus no parturient paradise for a pleasure-seeking *homo ludens*. *Nature naturante* was curbed and perfected in accordance with God's intention that Adam fulfill a task in the Garden of Eden: "to dress and to keep it." Utility and beauty result from man's self-conscious effort to activate nature's bounty.

As he cultivated his garden to elicit the more edifying beauties of nature, so the master of the *Rosenhaus* designed his house as a setting for the flowering of the human spirit. The *Rosenhaus* made possible an ordered, expurgated life and a harmonious disposition of the feelings. Where its garden exemplified nature transfigured by culture, its interior revealed a culture vitalized by nature. Into the building's design and *décor*, nature's sustaining presence was physically incorporated. Indeed Risach achieved an almost Japanese interpenetration of indoors and outdoors. Great sliding windows

¹⁵ Hugo von Hofmannsthal cited Sonnenfels under Maria Theresa and Baron Kübeck under Francis I as statesmen of the social type that Stifter had in mind. (See "Stifters 'Nachsommer,'" in Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Selected Essays*, ed. Mary Gilbert [Oxford, Eng., 1955], 58-59.)

¹⁶ *Stifters Sämtliche Werke*, VI, 58-59.

brought in the cheerful view of birds and flowers. Silk screens allowed pure air to circulate in the sitting room "as in a quiet forest." Huge skylights in the ceiling above the stair well introduced the variety of nature's lights to glorify a Grecian statue. Risach employed native woods and marbles (only the richest, of course) to achieve an atmosphere of what Winckelmann would have called "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur."

A second noteworthy characteristic of the culture of the *Rosenhaus* was the commitment of its master to the past. To furnish the *Rosenhaus*, Risach maintained a workshop for reclaiming old furniture and art objects from the ravages of time. Risach's devotion to restoration and recovery transcended by far his love of creation or discovery. The ideal life could not risk spontaneity; it had to feed the feelings on the works of the dead. For Risach time was rather a foe that might sweep one away than a force that would carry one forward, as the progressives believed. Hence Risach devoted himself to keeping the past alive in both its practical and ideal aspect. The line between arts and crafts, artistry and artisanship scarcely existed. In old use objects Risach recognized "the charm of the past and of the vanished bloom." He sought to recapture it: we "snatch [old utensils and furnishings] from decay, put them back together, clean them, polish them, and try to restore them to domestic use."¹⁷ Risach accorded the same treatment to works of fine art (as did Stifter himself), restoring Greek sculpture or Gothic ecclesiastical art, removing the overlay of later ages—especially of the frivolous *Zopfzeit*, the eighteenth century—to purify the works that could edify the spirit. In the garden Risach pruned away the sickly plant to make way for the healthy. In the house and in culture he showed the same passion for maintenance, but, significantly, none for new growth.

Thanks to its master's piety toward the moral-aesthetic achievement of a vanished past, the *Rosenhaus* partook of the character of a museum. In this character, the nature and function of *Bildung* for the educated middle classes in the mid-century come to focus. Partly consciously, partly unwittingly, Stifter here disclosed the social content and the problematical character of his utopian ideal. As private museum the *Rosenhaus* reveals three features: the transposition of *petit bourgeois* parsimoniousness into aesthetic fastidiousness; the substitution of art for religion as the source of the highest meaning in life; and the tendency of social mobility and cultural acquirement to destroy the democratic ideal of a single, universal, ethical culture.

The first of these features shows itself in Risach's passion for maintaining the *Rosenhaus* and its internal contents. Though he was a wealthy *rentier*, his custodial zeal was of the same stuff as the insistent orderliness of the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 99.

elder Drendorf. Risach personally supervised the restoration of furniture in the shop. Lest one scratch his parquet floors, one had to don felt slippers. Never might a book be left out of its case. The classical purity of the *Rosenhaus* thus shows itself to be but an elevated form of *petit bourgeois* cleanliness. Differences in *Bildung* aside, the aesthete's *Reinheit* betrays its affiliation to the *Hausfrau's* compulsive *Reinlichkeit*. What waste and functionlessness were to the merchant Drendorf, the abuse of beautiful things and the loss of the treasures of the past were to the new aristocrat Risach. Property and *objets d'art*, both painstakingly acquired, deserved to be protected against the inroads of human carelessness and the erosions of time. The man of property who acquired aesthetic culture became not a creator but a curator.

The *Rosenhaus* was a work of art, an ideal setting to dramatize the art of life. Heinrich could appreciate its nature because his educational journey had equipped him with a moral foundation and an intellectual-scientific outlook that seasoned him for entry into the complete life of the spirit that found its ultimate expression in art. Only gradually did he come to appreciate that in the *Rosenhaus* every element, though discrete and self-justified, contributed to a single harmonious whole. Heinrich reached the end of his learning process only when he finally felt and understood the impact of Risach's prize possession: a life-size Greek statue. The statue symbolizes the unifying, sublimating, and disciplining function of art that the *Rosenhaus* represents. Even its dangerous subject, the naked female form, expresses repose, *Ruhe*: "that many-sided composure of all parts into one whole, . . . that ordering vision . . . [which prevails] no matter how strongly feelings or actions may rage within."¹⁸ Man's aesthetic power unites him to the creativity of God; it lets him perceive even in movement and passion that measure and order which so enchant us. Art expresses the highest stage of *Bildung*, for it presents the world not only to the mind, but to the soul, as religion had done. The man of science could understand the rational structure of the world of things, yes; but only the man of art could apprehend it as formed feeling. When Heinrich finally achieved the state in which he could appreciate God's universe aesthetically, he was ready to enter the world of adult love. His father had disciplined his feelings with correct ethical norms of behavior; Risach had cultivated and sublimated them in art. Here, too, art took on a burden once performed by religion: the canalizing of the passions and the refinement of feelings. Coming to love—and marriage—by the route of art, Heinrich never had to endure the pains and disorders of passion.

Risach had turned to the horticultural and aesthetic pursuits of the *Rosenhaus* in order to build a life of order. Only at the close of the novel do

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, VII, 94.

we learn that behind Risach's ideal life in the *Rosenhaus* lay an earlier one of disorder and sorrow. Storms of amorous passion had brought him close to disaster, and his attempt to order the political world through civil service had yielded only frustration. The ordered ideality of Risach's *Rosenhaus* was a deliberate work of art, its ideal culture reminding one of the dictum of Stifter's more sophisticated contemporary, Charles Baudelaire, that "art is the best thing of all for veiling the terrors of the pit."¹⁹

The content of Risach's culture, as well as the relation its pursuit had to his earlier direct experience of life, could truly be called *Nachsommer*. For it consisted of elements from the past, all of which were losing their vitality even as Stifter built his utopian culture of them: the simple bourgeois Biedermeier ethic, the self-contained, rural-aristocratic economic entity, the purified Hellenic and medieval ideals of art, and the concept of the family as the primary social unit. Stifter presented Risach's Indian summer as though it were Heinrich Drendorf's spring. History did not honor the claim. Stifter's *Bildungsideal*, based on social withdrawal and a cultural orientation toward the past, would rapidly reveal its incapacity to serve even as a utopian vision for late nineteenth-century society.

The ultimate viability of Stifter's utopian ideal, however, is no fair standard by which to judge his success. Let us rather ask whether Stifter had achieved his own aim: to "contrapose a great, simple, ethical force against the wretched degeneration" of the times. If we concentrate on the hero's progress in *Bildung*—successively in morals, science, and art—then surely Stifter provided a model for personal fulfillment in a cultivated and refined life of ethical perfection. But if we turn to the relation of this *Bildungsweg* to the social structure, the power of the "simple, ethical force" becomes enfeebled, nay, deeply problematical. Heinrich's road to ideality implied, on the one hand, social mobility; on the other, social withdrawal. Heinrich does not so much become a model for modern urban society as rise beyond it, socially and culturally. He climbs, however innocently, from a Viennese bourgeois background into an aristocratic way of life. If he succeeded in maintaining his ties with his father, it was because he carried his bourgeois morality into the higher social stratum that he entered. Risach, his substitute father, incarnated the principle of social withdrawal, which a truly pure, higher culture seemed to imply for Stifter despite his own intention. For Risach left behind a society where politics and passion ruled. If he achieved, in the ordered realm of his ideal country seat, the unity of ethics, science, and art, he devoted all three to the cultivation of his own garden.

¹⁹ Charles Baudelaire, "Short Poems in Prose," in *The Essence of Laughter*, ed. Peter Quennel (New York, 1956), 147.

Moreover, the social prerequisites that the realist Stifter showed to be necessary to his utopia drastically limited its accessibility as model. The Arcadia of the *Rosenhaus* was open, as Stifter made clear in innumerable passages, only to the man of independent wealth. *Bildung* is grounded in *Besitz*. Thanks to fortunate inheritances and prudential habits, Heinrich could mount the social ladder from his father's workaday world into Risach's pseudoaristocratic heaven, where leisure was the necessary prerequisite of the good life, and work was but an instrument of self-perfection. The good life itself, consisting of learned culture, suited only an elite, the elite of *die Wissenden*, whose separation from *die Nichtwissenden* Stifter had so feared and deplored.

Stifter did not merely posit a utopia that unwittingly implied a widening gap between educated and uneducated. His social realism broke through his utopian intent to reveal the crack in his golden bowl. By his own account, the cost of progress in higher culture was deeper cleavage in the social structure. As we proceed from the simple and upright Drendorf household to the refined atmosphere of the *Rosenhaus*, the relationship between master and men deteriorates. In the elder Drendorf's old bourgeois household, the ethic of labor and duty governed both employer and worker; both served each other in an integrated familial and economic unit. In the more exalted milieu of the *Rosenhaus*, the master, through no fault of his own, learned to distrust most of his men, held them in intellectual contempt, and regarded any effort at social integration as hopeless. At the Drendorfs', the employees had taken their meals with the family; in the *Rosenhaus*, the master dined alone or with his social equals. Risach had once had his staff at meals, for he believed that it would benefit them morally and make them love their service more. But he had given up the custom, as "the gulf between the so-called cultivated and the uncultivated [had grown] ever wider." Once the "natural" relation between master and servant had gone, Risach concluded that the attempt to restore it would only make the workers lose their freedom.²⁰ Whatever his regrets, Risach held most of the people who worked for him in low esteem. He regarded his gardeners as incapable of learning how to water the plants in relation to the weather and controlled their work by direct orders and the threat of discharge if they should disobey. His stern patriarchal rule over his furniture restorers and his high craft standards occasioned a high turnover in Risach's labor force.²¹ The handicraft methods of the past seemed uncongenial to the worker of the present, and Stifter portrayed the worker as generally impervious to the moral and technical culture

²⁰ *Stifters Sämliche Werke*, VI, 143-44.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 129-31, 103-104.

Risach required for his restorative work. Thus Stifter showed that the social structure grew more radically stratified and less integrated as *die Wissenden* progressed in the realization of their cultural ideal.

Heinrich's *Bildungsweg* equipped him with the character, patrimony, and culture to lead a fruitful personal life. It did not, however, provide what Stifter had set out to offer his society: a usable utopian model to set against the age. *Der Nachsommer*, reasserting the unity of art, science, and ethics, turned all three inward toward self-cultivation. It left the scene of contemporary social action for an idealized rural-aristocratic past. Stifter projected an ideal of life that implied a social withdrawal and a cultural elitism ultimately incompatible with his redemptive intent. To the degree that his highly cultivated, composed, and sublimated personality ideal became embodied in an actual social type in the next generation, its adherents proved unable to engage in social action. The man of high culture lost the psychological stability, the ethical responsibility, and the sense for the interdependence of all things that Stifter sought to rescue from a vanishing past to restore order in an uncongenial present. The powerful social reality, which Stifter had found so hard to grapple with, would one day penetrate the fastnesses of the *Rosenhaus* and undermine the culture ideal he had sketched with such admirable security of line.

The historical fortunes of the high middle class of Austria in the mid-century were strangely compounded of unearned successes and undeserved failures. After the defeats of 1848, the Austro-German burghers slowly developed their strength in the economic and intellectual spheres, but they owed their rise to political power in 1860 and 1867 less to their intrinsic strength than to the defeat of the absolutist regime at the hands of Italians and Prussians. Neither fully supplanting the aristocracy as a ruling class nor successfully fusing with it, the upper middle class found itself threatened in the 1880's by new mass movements from below before it had secured its position against those above. Liberalism had proved strong enough to dissolve an old social order, but not strong enough to integrate into a new one the forces it had released. Even by the most elastic interpretation, Liberal rule in the Habsburg monarchy lasted only a single generation, a scant thirty years.

As it entered this brief period of ascendancy, the educated middle class espoused a cultural ideal resembling that of Stifter, though with rather greater confidence in the progress of mankind. The reconstruction of the city of Vienna after 1860 reflected the dominant values. The Liberal city fathers cinctured the old inner city, whose churches and *palais* expressed the aristocratic-religious order, with a band of architectural symbols of their

secular counterculture. Parliament building and *Rathaus* proclaimed the victory of law over arbitrary power. A series of edifices expressed the *Bildungsideal* of Liberal Austria: university, museum, theater, and, grandest of all, the opera. The culture once confined to the palace had poured into the market place, accessible to all. Art ceased to serve only as an expression of aristocratic grandeur or ecclesiastical pomp; it became the ornament, the communal property, of an enlightened citizenry. The splendiferous structures (*Prachtbauten*) of the Ringstrasse bore massive witness to the fact that Austria had replaced despotism and religion with constitutional politics and secular culture.

The high value placed on *Bildung* in the public ethos of Liberal Austria penetrated deeply into the private sphere. Scientific and historical cultivation were valued for their social utility as the key to progress. But art held a position almost equal in importance to that of rational knowledge. The reason for the high place of art in the scale of bourgeois values was obscure even to its devotees. Art was closely bound up with social status, especially in Austria, where the representational arts—music, theater, and architecture—were central to the tradition of a Catholic aristocracy. If entry into the aristocracy of the genealogical table was barred to most, the aristocracy of the spirit was open to the eager, the able, and the willing. Museums and theaters could bring to all the culture that would redeem the *novi homines* from their lowly origins. Learned culture could serve, as it had for Stifter's Heinrich, not only as an avenue to personal development, but as a bridge from a low style of life to a high life of style. The democratization of culture, viewed sociologically, meant the aristocratization of the middle classes. That art should perform so central a social function had the most far-reaching consequences for its own development.

The economic growth of Austria created the basis for an increasing number of families to pursue an aristocratic style of life. Wealthy burghers or successful bureaucrats, many of whom acquired patents of nobility like Stifter's Freiherr von Risach, established urban or suburban variants of the *Rosenhaus*, museum-like villas that became centers of a lively social life. Not only gracious manners but also intellectual substance were cultivated in the salons and soirees of the new elite. Increasingly, from the Age of Grillparzer to the Age of Hofmannsthal, poets, professors, and performing artists were valued guests, in fact, prize catches of the hosts and hostesses. The gap in values between bourgeois and artist, so marked in the Empire of Napoleon III, was but faintly adumbrated in that of Francis Joseph. Men of affairs—political and economic—not only mixed freely with intellectuals and artists, but single families were productive of both types.

Thus the Exners were now bureaucrats, now professors; the Todescos and Gomperz' produced bankers, artists, and scholars. Intermarriage provided the new wealth with high cultural status and the intelligentsia with firm economic support. (When the philosopher Franz Brentano, a bearded man of imposing stature, courted the wealthy Jewess Ida Lieben, some cultivated wag observed that "a Byzantine Christ . . . was in search of his gold background."²²) The integration of *Bildung und Besitz* thus became a surprisingly concrete social reality in the brief era of Liberal ascendancy. Action and contemplation, politics and economics, science and art—all were united in the value system of a social stratum secure in its own present and confident in the future of the humanity it championed. In the new plan of the city, in the life of the salon, in the ethos of the family—everywhere the hopeful integrating creed of a rationalistic Liberalism found concrete expression.

Most important for our concern, art occupied a place of increasing centrality in this culture. The ambiguity of its function in the middle-class ethos has already been alluded to. In Stifter, art had served as vehicle of metaphysical truth and refiner of personal passion. In the more common, garden variety liberal culture, art was seen as expressing ideals for the society and bringing grace to the individual. Soon these two functions of art—the social and the individual—were to separate in the face of fundamental political and social changes, but not before a deep sense of the value of art had been instilled in a whole generation of upper bourgeois children.

The fathers who created the brave new world of sober rectitude and economic success in the mid-century longed for the graces that would ornament their lives.

When Adam delved and Eve span
Who was then the gentleman?

The question had ironic relevance for the *arrivé* in general, but especially for the bourgeoisie of Vienna, a capital where visible grace, a personal style of sensuous charm, a theatrical and musical culture were the well-established marks of social distinction. Where performances at *Burgtheater* or opera provided the subjects of polite conversation, those topics of discourse which in Britain would be offered by the political reviews, we can hardly wonder that the fathers introduced their children to aesthetic culture early in life. Beginning roughly in the 1860's, two generations of well-to-do children were reared in the museums, theaters, and concert halls of the new Ringstrasse. They acquired aesthetic culture not, as their fathers did, as an ornament to life or as a badge of status, but as the air they breathed.

Where the fathers had been educated like Stifter's Heinrich Drendorf for

²² Dora Stockert-Meynert, *Theodor Meynert und seine Zeit* (Vienna, 1930), 150.

a vocation, the sons were reared to absorb high culture for its own sake. The two children of the Wertheimsteins, one of Vienna's wealthiest intellectual society families, were privately tutored to be artists, and the "artistic natures" of these melancholy neurotics was the subject of general appreciation.²³ The great psychiatrist Theodor Meynert encouraged his son to a career in painting, his daughter tells us, "as if all those talents and inclinations which, passed on for generations, germinated in [the] father . . . now broke through energetically in the son."²⁴ The great pathologist Carl von Rokitansky had his paternal dreams of glory fulfilled when he could boast of his four sons that they were divided in their careers between singing and medicine: "Two howl and two heal."²⁵

The devotion to the arts implanted in the young Austrian in the home found re-enforcement in the peer group at the Gymnasium and the university. Literary circles and aesthetic friendships formed in the school years frequently determined the life orientations of their members.²⁶ Such influences only added to the development by 1890 of a high bourgeoisie unique in Europe for its aesthetic cultivation, personal refinement, and psychological sensitivity. What had been acquired in Stifter's time as "learned" culture became living spiritual substance for the next generation. Aestheticism, which elsewhere in Europe took the form of a protest against bourgeois civilization, became in Austria an expression of that civilization, an affirmation of an attitude toward life in which neither ethical nor social ideals played a significant part.

Ferdinand von Saar (1833-1906), perhaps the nearest Austrian approximation to the social realist as known in England, France, or Russia, bore witness as critic and artist to the changing relationship of art to society over half a century. Born of a bureaucratic family, he early joined the circle of the Wertheimsteins, serving their salon as one of its most treasured court poets. Sharing the views of the liberal elite of the 1860's, Saar employed art as a vehicle for the perfection of society and the realization of human dignity:

Yea, art! Spread your powerful rosy wings;
Brightly span the whole wide world!
Help to banish the crude and the vulgar,
Win us freedom and human dignity
Which still lie prisoned deep in night and fear!
Then *all* will raise a *single* song of praise! |²⁷

²³ Felicie Ewart, *Zwei Frauenbildnisse* (Vienna, [1907]), *passim*.

²⁴ Stockert-Meynert, *Theodor Meynert*, 99.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 50-51.

²⁶ See, e.g., Georg von Franckenstein, *Diplomat of Destiny* (New York, 1940), 14-17; Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday* (London, 1943), 39-55.

²⁷ "Die Kunst," unpublished early work, in *Ferdinand von Saars Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Jacob Minor (12 vols. in 4, Leipzig, [1909]), III, 49.

In support of the Liberals' fight against the Austrian concordat, Saar composed a dramatic trilogy extolling Henry IV's historic struggle against the papacy. He celebrated in verse Count Anton Schmerling's crusade for constitutional government and sang the praises of many a leader in liberal political and intellectual life.²⁸

The anticipated transformation of the world, in which art would play its part, failed to materialize. Instead Saar witnessed in shocked astonishment the spread of ruthless social climbing on the one hand, and of social misery on the other. Saar never became a socialist, but he participated in a developing consciousness of the need for social reform that marked the Austrian scene in the 1880's. In song and story Saar recorded the misery of the workers' lot, at first with the moral lesson that individual generosity could alleviate misery (*The Stone Breakers*, a short story of 1873), later with the pessimistic sense that the problem was too large to solve. In a poem entitled "The New Suburb" he recorded the appearance of jerry-built workers' quarters, complete with rickety children. The spectacle transformed Saar's growing social pessimism into total resignation:

Consoling myself that I am old,
I take shuddering comfort
In the thought:
After me, the deluge!²⁹

Saar drew small comfort from the spread of aesthetic education when art was losing its ideal functions. Where in his own youth, "the world consisted of Philistines, today it consists of nothing but aesthetes." In a poem, "Enkelkinder," of 1886, Saar derides the way in which all children are made into artists:

When parents, in solicitous search,
Detect in their child the smallest spark
Of talent, however unpromising,
It is nourished and nurtured with pride.
Higher schools and academies
Can hardly contain the hosts of disciples;
Honors, prizes, and traveling fellowships
Guide them to all the shrines of art

Jal breite, Kunst, die mächtigen Rosenschwingen
Hellrauschend über diese Erde aus!—
Und hilf Gemeinheit—Roheit zu bezwingen!—
Die Freiheit und den Menschenwert erringen,
Der jetzt noch schmachtet tief in Nacht und Graus!
Dass alle Stimmen dir—ein Loblied singen! ! !

²⁸ Jacob Minor, "Ferdinand von Saar als politischer Dichter," *Österreichische Rundschau*, XXXII (July-Sept. 1912), 185-203.

²⁹ Undated and unpublished in Saar's lifetime. *Saars Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Minor, III, 26-27; see also "Proles," *ibid.*, II, 145.

Where the burgeoning Raphaels,
 Buonarottis and Winckelmanns,
 Male and female, wander in hordes:
 Painting, sculpting, writing volumes.⁸⁰

To what end is this schooling in art? Only to serve social climbing, answers Saar: for "honor and profit."⁸¹

Social climbing, Saar showed in three realistic novelettes, collected under the title *Schicksale*, could bring ruin to the climber or his victims. He explored with particular skill the psychological problems of shifting interclass relations. "Lieutenant Burda" deals with an officer of bourgeois origin falling in love with an aristocratic girl and developing a crippling illusion that his suit is succeeding. "Seligmann Hirsch" shows how a rich but crude Jew is rejected by his cultivated *rentier* son. "Die Troglodytin" shows how the socially induced rejection of a poor rural girl's honest love casts her back into the moral swamp of her *Lumpen*-proletarian origins. Saar deals freely with *all* social strata in pursuing the moral and psychological consequences of social mobility.⁸² His realism casts into question a fundamental postulate of the liberal creed, that of the integral connection between personal advancement and social progress, a connection fundamental to Stifter's realistic, utopian model.

Under the changed social circumstances of the 1880's, where art had been compromised as an instrument of status, and the growth of wealth had only deepened the cleavage between the classes and the masses, Saar lost his hope of the 1850's that art's "powerful rosy wings" would help humanity "to banish the crude" and to win "freedom and human dignity." Society, ceasing to be a scene of moral triumph in which art would play a worthy part, became instead a field of psychological frustration and ethical despair. Art could either record gloomy truths or provide a temple of beauty as a refuge from reality. Saar stood before the alternatives, aware of both, convinced of neither. His heart remained in the world of Stifter, where art could join with science and ethics in a progressive and redemptive function. His head led him to record the trauma of the modern social scene.

In 1891 Saar expressed his dilemma, and that of the declining liberal-idealist tradition, in his poem "Kontraste."⁸³ The scene is central to the message: an elegant city street in midsummer, "all its houses deserted and empty, where in the winter wealth is enthroned." Under the broiling noonday sun, a street gang is at work repairing the pavement while the fortunate residents

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 169, 168.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁸² Ferdinand von Saar, *Schicksale* (Kassel, [1889]) [republished in *Saars Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Minor, IX].

⁸³ *Ibid.*, II, 175-76.

relax in the country. Only those "driven by need" labor on such a day. Like Gustave Courbet's stone breakers, the workers are faceless, heavy, crude. Dripping sweat, their senses dulled, they sit down at last to eat their coarse midday bread. Suddenly, when the weariest have fallen asleep on the hard stones, a chorus of women breaks into glorious song. High above the street an opera school is rehearsing Beethoven's setting of Schiller's "Ode to Joy." "Be embraced, ye millions": the hope-filled, revolutionary verse rings out "in fiery unison," but it cannot reach the exhausted sleepers below. *Alle Menschen werden Brüder*; the singers strive for aesthetic perfection. Today is rehearsal, tomorrow again, until the artists will win their reward: applause! Their redeeming message is not for the people of the street for whom it was written, but for the concert audience.

Saar put his lesson crudely but forcefully: the world of art, though still singing of the brotherhood of man, had lost touch with social reality. The masses were too depressed to pay heed to art, while the upper classes confined art to their own enjoyment. All communication between classes was broken. Oppressed by the increasing irrelevance of literature to the problems of the social structure, Saar lamented the death of an aesthetic ideal in an elegy to Stifter: "I revere the memory of the poet who opened an Eden for me—an Eden alas, which I've lost."⁸⁴ Like Stifter before him, Saar died by his own hand.

In the 1890's Saar's hypercultivated *Enkelkinder* came of age and brought back the garden as a central image of the good life. Theirs was a final variant of the *Rosenhaus*: once more art served as the crown of a perfected humanity; once more the aristocratic tradition served the bourgeois as inspiration for an elevated mode of existence. For the new generation, however, Stifter's unification of art and science, of culture and nature as aspects of an ordered cosmos had lost all vitality. Where Stifter devised his utopia as a model for a society to be perfected, the new artists created a garden to which the elect could withdraw in retreat from an uncongenial reality. For Stifter, art was a crown to be earned by moral purity and bourgeois probity, a reward of effort. For his spiritual grandchildren, art was a legacy to be enjoyed: noble simplicity gave place to elegant composure, *Vornehmheit*. Ethics yielded its primacy to aesthetics, law to grace, the knowledge of the world to the knowledge of one's feelings. A hedonistic self-perfection became the center of aspiration, and Stifter's "Garden of Virtue" became transformed into a "Garden of Narcissus."

By origin or, more rarely, by adoption, the artists who built this new gar-

⁸⁴ "Stifter-Elegie," *ibid.*, III, 77.

den belonged to the well-to-do upper middle class or to the lower nobility into which so many talented bourgeois had risen. Since the 1860's the situation of that class had greatly changed. In the 1890's the economic position of this stratum was more enviable than ever: it was a prosperous class, part *rentier*, part professional or bureaucratic. But its political position had ceased to correspond to its economic eminence. The Liberals had conjured up new forces and new claimants to political participation: Slavic nationalists, Socialists, Pan-German anti-Semites, Christian Social anti-Semites. They neither integrated these new movements into the legal order nor could they satisfy their demands. The conflicting groups may have had a different heaven, but they shared the same hell: the rule of the Austro-German Liberal middle class. In the 1890's, utilizing now the ballot box, now parliamentary obstruction, now mass demonstrations and street brawls, the anti-Liberal movements paralyzed the state and extruded the Liberals from the positions of power they had acquired only three decades before.

The position of the Liberal *haute bourgeoisie* thus became paradoxical indeed. Even as its wealth increased, its political power fell away. Its pre-eminence in the professional and cultural life of the Empire remained basically unchallenged while it became politically impotent. Thus the Viennese upper middle class became one which, even more than the Emperor it so loyally served, reigned though it could not rule. A sense of superiority and a sense of impotence became oddly commingled. The products of the new aesthetic movement reflect the ambiguous compound formed of these elements.

The aesthetic movement was, of course, no Austrian creation, and its Austrian protagonists, both in poetry and in painting, drew inspiration from their Western European predecessors, French, English, and Belgian. The Austrians readily captured the languorous sensibility of a Charles Baudelaire or a Paul Bourget,³⁵ but they achieved neither the searing, self-lacerating sensuality of the French decadents nor their vision of the cruel beauty of the urban scene. The English Pre-Raphaelites inspired the *art nouveau* movement (under the name of "Secession") in *fin de siècle* Austria, but neither their pseudomedieval spirituality nor their strong social reformist impulse penetrated to their Austrian disciples.³⁶ In brief, the Austrian aesthetes were neither as alienated from their society as their French soul mates nor as engaged in it as their English ones. They lacked the bitter antibourgeois spirit of the first and the warm melioristic thrust of the second.

³⁵ Geneviève Bianqui, *La poésie autrichienne de Hofmannsthal à Rilke* (Paris, 1926), 8-17.

³⁶ The architect and designer Joseph Hofmann, who was a staunch admirer of William Morris in his youth, told me that he read Morris' writings on the social question with interest, but that he and his companions regarded such problems as "for the politicians to solve," not the concern of artists.

Neither *déagé* nor *engagé*, the Austrian aesthetes were alienated not *from* their class, but *with* it from a society that defeated its expectations and rejected its values. Accordingly, Young Austria's garden of beauty was a retreat of the *beati possidentes*, a garden strangely suspended between reality and utopia. It expressed both the self-delight of the aesthetically cultivated and the self-doubt of the socially functionless.

Two lifelong friends—Leopold von Andrian zu Werburg and Hugo von Hofmannsthal—may serve us as representatives of the new aestheticism. Not only do they embody in their writings the values and spiritual problems of the young generation of the 1890's; they are socially representative as well. By lineage and assent, they belonged to that Viennese elite which continued to reign after it had ceased to rule. Both could qualify as grandchildren of the leading characters of Stifter's novel; both were as though born and raised in the *Rosenhaus*.

From politics to science to art: such was the evolution of three generations of Andrian-Werburgs in the nineteenth century. The poet's grandfather Viktor had, like Risach, been a high state official. A political leader of the Liberal aristocracy in the 1840's, he had championed the revitalization of Austrian politics through emulation of England. His influential pamphlets, issued under the title *Österreich und dessen Zukunft*,⁸⁷ urged the nobility of Austria to join with the urban middle classes to provide the bureaucratic monarchy with a foundation in representative government. Viktor's son Ferdinand, father of the poet, turned from the practical politics of his father to the scientific study of man in society. He became one of Austria's outstanding anthropologists, an ideal type of the liberal nobleman-scholar. As president of the Vienna Anthropological Society, Ferdinand contributed substantially to sustaining general scientific and humanistic *Bildung* in an era of increasing specialization. Like so many intellectuals of the mid-century, Ferdinand reached out for the graces of art to complement the truths of science. The sturdy, gentile aristocrat married the daughter of the Jewish composer Giacomo Meyerbeer. Though ill-matched, the couple could agree to nurture the aesthetic gifts of their son Leopold, who was born in 1874. They committed him at the age of thirteen to the tutorial care of Dr. Oskar Walzel, later a renowned literary scholar. It was at Walzel's home in Vienna that Leopold met the young poet Hofmannsthal, destined to be his aesthetic soul mate and lifelong friend.⁸⁸

Hofmannsthal's social lineage was only slightly less distinguished than

⁸⁷ Leopold von Andrian zu Werburg, *Österreich und dessen Zukunft* (2 pts., 1843-47); see also the discussion of Andrian in Karl Eder, *Der Liberalismus in Altösterreich* (Vienna, 1955), 95-98; Georg Franz, *Liberalismus* (Munich, 1955), 32-33.

⁸⁸ *Leopold Andrian und die Blätter für die Kunst*, ed. Walter H. Perl (Hamburg, 1960), 11-12.

Andrian's. His great-grandfather Isaak Löw was, like Heinrich Drendorf's father, a successful merchant. Though a Jew, Isaak's services to the state won him the title Edler von Hofmannsthal, in 1835. Thereafter his descendants rapidly completed the *cursus honorum* leading to the most cultured stratum of Austrian society in the *fin de siècle*. Isaak's son abandoned the faith of his fathers to marry an Italian Catholic. His son in turn attended the university, acquired a law degree, and rose to the position of director in a major Austrian bank.⁸⁰ Hermann Broch has shown how the value that this banker placed upon aesthetic culture affected the nature of his son's outlook as poet.⁴⁰ Hugo's father did not, like Mozart's, focus upon his son's vocation or career. What was important was that he be a man of culture. *Bildung* itself had changed its stress since Stifter's day. It meant not so much a characterological education as an aesthetic one. Thus the poet's father did all he could, through exposure to theater, museums, and so forth, to develop his son's aesthetic learning and poetic powers. Not professional proficiency but pleasure in appreciation, not active engagement but passive enrichment: such were the aims of education in the high Viennese circles in which the Andrians and Hofmannsthals had their being. The scions of both houses, one suspects, would have identified the art of life with the life of art even if neither had had strong creative urges. Such aesthetic culture, drained of the metaphysical and social functions assigned it by Stifter and Saar, became the spiritual hallmark of the small but exalted milieu to which Hofmannsthal and Andrian belonged.

The two young poets moved in the charmed circles where higher literati and lower aristocrats converged. They met in the Café Griensteidl with the elite of the literary world of the 1890's: Arthur Schnitzler, Peter Altenberg, Hermann Bahr, and other writers of Young Vienna. Andrian introduced Hofmannsthal to another circle, the nucleus of which had apparently been formed in the *Schottengymnasium* among young members of the well-to-do, aristocratic intelligentsia. The members of this circle were destined for assured places in Francisco-Josephan society. One was a naval officer; two were budding diplomats; another a future conductor; still another a future art patron.⁴¹ All were linked by a strong sense of caste, as much social as cultural. The ideal of the English gentleman as synthesis of grace and action strongly attracted them. They took pride in their riding,

⁸⁰ *Hugo von Hofmannsthal*, ed. Helmut A. Fiechtner (Bern, 1963), 5-6.

⁴⁰ Hermann Broch, "Hofmannsthal und seine Zeit," in *Essays*, ed. Hannah Arendt (2 vols., Zurich, 1955), I, 111-13.

⁴¹ See Franckenstein, *Diplomat of Destiny*, 14-17, 113-16; Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Briefe, 1890-1901, 1900-1909* (2 vols., Berlin, 1935; Vienna, 1937), I, 59-60, 208, 212-13, 291, 293; and esp. *id.* and Edgar Karg von Bebenburg, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Mary E. Gilbert (Frankfurt am Main, 1966), *passim*, in which poet and naval officer explore together the nature and pursuit of the gentlemanly ideal.

their tennis, and the club they called, in English, the "First Vienna Athletic." But they also read English poets together, even on their holidays at Altausee, where each would pursue the aesthetic activity most congenial to his nature.⁴²

"Art is art and life is life, but to live life artistically: that is the art of life." This motto, devised by Altenberg for his journal,⁴³ might well have served the Hofmannsthal-Andrian circle. Their mission became the pursuit of beauty and the escape from the "common" lot. Without wholly rejecting a social role, they made of life a stylized play, a search for the delicate emotion and the refined sensibility.

In his prologue to Schnitzler's *Anatol*, the young Hofmannsthal expressed one side of his generation's sense of life through the image of a rococo garden. From Stifter's hated *Zopfzeit*, Hofmannsthal invoked a utopia in which beauty was associated not with virtue but with a self-indulgent hedonism. Separated from the world by "lofty railings, formal hedges," the poet and his friends re-create the elegant, playful atmosphere of Canaletto's Vienna. Near quiet pools "smoothly edged in gleaming marble," cavaliers exchange gallantries with daintily perfumed ladies, "with them, violet monsignori." In this classic garden of delight the young aesthetes have "fleetingly erected" a stage to act out plays of their own making: "the comedia of our spirit," "early ripe and sad and tender." Their theater offers them a life substitute, in which serious concerns are not so much evaded as trivialized through beautification. "Pretty formulas" speak "evil things." Feelings, furtive and half-felt, find outlet in the refined conventions of the tolerant hedonistic community.

Some are listening, but not all . . .
Some are dreaming, some are laughing.
Some are eating ices . . . others
Utter very gallant sayings. . . .⁴⁴

Such was the gracious garden scene that the young poet evoked to introduce Schnitzler's compulsive sensualist, *Anatol*. Hofmannsthal's prologue was to his friend's play as the aesthete to the playboy, the man of sensibility to the man of sensuality, the spirit to the flesh in a generation that made of beauty a screen against truth and of art a substitute for ethics. The image of the garden—this time the Belvedere, near Hofmannsthal's own house—served as the artificial preserve wherein the functionless and cultivated could live sundered from a world they neither made nor cared to know.

Was this garden truly a utopia? Yes and no. Like a utopia, it was posited

⁴² Hofmannsthal, *Briefe, 1890-1901*, 208, 291.

⁴³ *Kunst* (No. 1, 1903), II.

⁴⁴ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Poems and Verse Plays*, ed. Michael Hamburger (New York, 1961), 65.

against an unsatisfactory reality. But where, in Stifter, utopian house and garden served as model for life, in Hofmannsthal it was a refuge from life. In the playlet *The Death of Titian* (1892), Hofmannsthal showed his concern that the disciples of art were cut off from reality in their master's garden retreat, and disdainful of the darkly pulsating vitality outside the pale. He saw his generation as

altogether without energy [*Kraft*]. For the strength to live is a mystery. The stronger and more spirited [*hochmütiger*] one is in daydreams, the weaker one can be in life. . . . Incapable of ruling and of serving, incapable of giving love or receiving it . . . , he wanders like a ghost among the living.⁴⁵

Although he found life in the insulated temenos of high culture problematical, Hofmannsthal saw some possibilities in the early 1890's for projecting his aesthetic utopia into reality. In 1895 he weighed the prospects in a letter to Richard Beer-Hofmann:

I still believe that I shall be in a position to build my own world into the [outer] world itself. We are too critical to live in a dreamworld like the romantics. . . . The problem is admittedly always one of setting up Potemkin villages on the periphery of our own horizon, but [villages] of the sort that one can personally believe in.⁴⁶

But even if one had the confidence and sense of sovereignty (*Herrschaftlichkeit*) to press one's illusions into reality, the resultant empire of the imagination would not endure: "an empire like Alexander's, just as great and so full of events as to fill all thought, . . . then falling apart with [our] death—for it was an empire only for this one king."⁴⁷ Desirable as it was, young Hofmannsthal's ephemeral, projective utopia was still purely personal: "for this one king." No community ideal was implied; no social reality affected. Hofmannsthal accordingly defined as the condition of his personal utopia the willingness to "let life slide."⁴⁸ The existential side of utopian dreaming was drifting. Indeed, one might well view drifting and dreaming as the objective and subjective aspects of introversion, of preoccupation with the self, its nature, and its boundaries. Aesthetic utopianism, with its stress on self-cultivation, fed a narcissism in which utopianism could survive no better than social realism.

Not Hofmannsthal but his friend Andrian produced the classic novel of the *fin de siècle* identity crisis, *The Garden of Knowledge* (1895). At the head of the work stands the motto "Ego Narcissus." We remember the classi-

⁴⁵ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Prosa, Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben*, ed. Herbert Steiner (Frankfurt am Main, 1950), I, 273.

⁴⁶ Hofmannsthal, *Briefe, 1890-1901*, 130.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁴⁸ For Hofmannsthal's connection of the imaginary empire with drifting, see *ibid.*

cal Narcissus as the self-infatuated one, the autoerotic, drowning in the attempt to merge with his own reflected image. Let us not forget that outraged Eros, whose favors Narcissus had rejected, had imposed the curse upon him for spurning that union with "the other" that is love. For his crime against Eros and the world, the seer Tiresias had predicted a fitting fate: Narcissus would die if he should come to know himself. These mythological motives pervade *The Garden of Knowledge*: self-preoccupation, the incapacity to love another, the inability to distinguish the inner self from the outer world and to separate illusion from reality. If knowing himself spelled death to the mythical Narcissus, knowing the world only as a projection of the self was the fate of Erwin, his modern descendant. Erwin died, the last line of the novelette tells us, "without knowledge." The "Garden of Knowledge" was in fact coextensive with the psyche of the hero: too small and too arid a plot to yield the fruit even of good and evil. Erwin never reached the world; like the cultivated class to which his creator belonged, he was, half by necessity, half by choice, removed from reality.

When Stifter, four decades before, had traced the *Bildungsweg* of Heinrich Drendorf, he had etched the elements of reality that his hero encountered in sharpest outlines. Household, landscape, *Rosenhaus*, workers, art, and history: all were treated in the spirit of object realism, as elements composing an orderly world to which the individual must adapt himself. The solid outer world provided the frame for the proper disposition of the individual. The utopian dimension in Stifter consisted essentially in the purity and clarity with which the immanent order of the world was realized as milieu. This order once made plain, man could achieve fulfillment within it, as Heinrich did. Stifter's assumption was not unlike that of Rousseau and his *Émile*: the rightly ordered world provided the key to, and a model for, the well-ordered soul.

Andrian's *The Garden of Knowledge*, despite its title, barely touched upon the concrete environment of the hero. Andrian's realism was the opposite of Stifter's: it concerned not the outer world of social and physical reality but the inner scene of psychic life. The social and physical world exist merely as stimuli to or symbols of the hero's feelings. Both Erwin and Heinrich seek entry into and connection with a world larger than themselves. Both see that world as multifaceted and composite. But Heinrich masters it stepwise and comes to understand it as an essentially static harmony of elements from which man, by his labor, eliminates the dissonance. Its unity is a clarity of articulated parts. For Erwin, the world is a flow—now viscous, now torrential—whose liquid elements blend into each other and into the self. Its unity is an elusive flux. For Heinrich, truth lies in clarity; for Erwin, in

mystery: "deep, dark, manifold."⁴⁹ Erwin cannot find the way to the world because he sees rational self, outer reality, and personal feeling as an undifferentiated continuum. Subjective and objective experience were painfully and dizzyingly confounded. Hofmannsthal expressed the fluid sense of relationship between the "I" and the world more succinctly than Andrian: "And three are one: a man, a thing, a dream."⁵⁰ Such panpsychism was a complete inversion of Stifter's individuated and defined universe: "Everything and every person can be but one thing," said Heinrich's father; "this, however, he must be to the full."

The liquidity of the boundary between self and other meant that the search for "the other" was condemned to futility. Even scientific knowledge Erwin drew into the vortex of self-infatuation. After a year of scientific study,

it . . . became clear to him that he should not search for his place in the world, for he was himself the world, equally great and equally unique with it. But he studied on, for he hoped that if he knew the world, out of its image his own would look back.⁵¹

Erwin's hopes went unrealized. Separated from the world, he could not use it as a mirror. Merging with it, or ingesting it, he felt his selfhood threatened. Only in ceremonial or aesthetic experience were ego and world bound together in a rhythmic unity of feeling. But this unity lacked both strength and durability. The shudder at the poetic word, in which heaven and hell flowed together in an ambiguous, sublimated ecstasy, "full of trembling glory," brought neither clarification to the understanding nor satisfaction to the instincts. Life, which began for the sensitive Erwin as "an alien task," ended without the direct and meaningful experience of engagement. The aesthetic aristocrat remained the devitalized Narcissus, hoping as a dying man that a dream might give him what life had failed to provide: contact with "the other."

As Stifter and Andrian differed in defining the relationship between the ego and the world, they exploited the image of the garden for radically different purposes. For Stifter, the garden symbolized the marriage of nature and culture. There man, through science and art, completed the work of God. There he purged nature of disease and chaos, brought out its potentiality for an order blending usefulness and beauty. For Andrian, the actual cultivation of the garden would of course be wholly irrelevant. Life knows no such thing as labor. The garden served only to stimulate the sensibilities.

⁴⁹ Leopold Andrian, *Das Fest der Jugend: Des Garten der Erkenntnis erster Teil* (Graz, 1948), 33.

⁵⁰ "Und drei sind Eins: Ein Mensch, ein Ding, ein Traum." (Hofmannsthal, "Terzinen," *Poems and Verse Plays*, ed. Hamburger, 30.)

⁵¹ Andrian, *Fest*, 46.

It symbolized the strangely mixed and transient fragrances of life, the passing experience of beauty. There is no one garden, only gardens. They reinforced those sensuous thoughts and intellectualized sensations that marked the self-infatuated ones. For a generation that felt itself to be outside the mainstream of life, perceiving it only dimly through the refracting medium of art—"because a play is more to us than is our fate"⁵²—gardens symbolized the evanescent beauty that one might capture as one drifted willessly through life. Erwin's mother, his only true soul mate, expressed the psychological function of the garden for the disengaged generation:

We go through our lives as through the pleasure gardens of strange castles, guided by strange servants; we retain and love the beauties they have shown us, but which ones they lead us to and how fast they take us through depend on them.⁵³

The aesthetic attitude reinforced the severance from the common lot which was its social basis, and hence nurtured a vicarious rather than a direct experience of the world. The aesthetic experience, as Suzanne Langer has reminded us, is virtual, not actual. It gives form to the feelings arising out of experience, but not to the experience itself. By the very fact of standing for life, art separates us from it. That is why, when art became detached from other values and became a value in itself, it produced in its devotees that sense of eternal spectatorship which in turn nurtured introversion. Andrian's Erwin, unable to find the secret of life by direct engagement, turned inward and "bent deeper and more anxiously over his past." His recollections of past experience became not merely moving but "exalting and priceless." As in Marcel Proust, Erwin's remembrances became his life. Again, desocialization accompanied internalization. Human beings acquired worth for Erwin only in so far as they contributed to his memories; that is, "they moved him only because he had lived of them."⁵⁴ The past recalled became more significant than the present experienced. Thus the narcissistic hero imperceptibly shifted not only from a life of engagement to imprisonment in the self, but also from a life not yet lived to a life lived out. When death came for Prince Erwin, he was ready for it, despite his young years. It came not, as to Narcissus, as moral retribution, but as psychological necessity.

Hofmannsthal deeply admired *The Garden of Knowledge*.⁵⁵ Yet he could not leave the problem of the new Narcissus unresolved as Andrian had

⁵² *Ibid.*, 35.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 42-43.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁵⁵ As late as 1900 Hofmannsthal gave the *Garden* to Maurice Maeterlinck and strongly urged Andrian to resume his literary activity, both for his own sake and "so that the [artistic] powers that produced it should not turn completely . . . to dust." (Hofmannsthal, *Briefe*, 1890-1901, 306-307.)

done. He sought to return art to ethics, aesthetic culture to society, and his cultivated class to fruitful participation in the body social. Andrian wrote for his generation alone; Hofmannsthal linked its problems more closely to tradition, more deeply to the psyche, and more widely to society.

From the first, Hofmannsthal saw Andrian's *Garden* as built on a terrain fraught with dangers of which the author had been unaware. "Your book," Hofmannsthal wrote his friend, "is just like the young goddess Persephone, who . . . picks many narcissus on a meadow and is suddenly overcome with anxiety. You know, it is the same meadow where Pluto then rises up to abduct her to [the land of] the shades."⁵⁶ And what modern force, in this antique parable, did Pluto represent? Hofmannsthal groped for an answer to his own question, seeking it now in individual instinct, now in the threatening masses.

Hofmannsthal's earliest concern, however, was for the moral consequences of the aesthetic attitude. From these he was led to psychological and social interests. In *The Fool and Death* (1893), a playlet in verse dealing with the same problem as Andrian's *Garden*, Hofmannsthal indicted the young aristocrat who, in pursuit of his own refined sensations, ruined mother, friend, and sweetheart. Where Andrian pursued the psychological development of the aesthetic attitude, Hofmannsthal examined its moral implications. Death came to the Fool as judge, as in a medieval morality play, to punish the transgression. In this respect, Hofmannsthal was a traditionalist, trying to re-establish the connection between art and ethics. But, as Richard Alewyn has shown, the figure of Death was no medieval skeleton. He appears in the play as musician, as a Dionysian ally of life. He represents the unconscious instincts that have been repressed in a hypertrophy of individual self-cultivation.⁵⁷ Thus morality, unlike in Stifter, takes the form of vitality and appears in dialectic unity with it in Death become music.

Hofmannsthal's attempt to break out of the solipsism and cultured isolation of the temple of art was thus two-pronged: on the one hand he returned to revitalize a traditional morality of personal responsibility; on the other he thrust forward toward depth psychology and the affirmation of instinct.⁵⁸

To Hofmannsthal's moral and psychological critique of the *Gefühlskultur* of his class, we must add yet a third dimension: the sociological. Even as a young man, Hofmannsthal began to worry about the hollowing out of social responsibility in the upper classes. His poem "Manche freilich . . .," writ-

⁵⁶ Hofmannsthal to Andrian, Easter Monday, 1895, *ibid.*, 125-26.

⁵⁷ Richard Alewyn, *Über Hugo von Hofmannsthal* (Göttingen, 1958), 75-76.

⁵⁸ For further treatment of the psychological dimension in Hofmannsthal, see my article "Politics and the Psyche in *fin de siècle* Vienna: Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal," *American Historical Review*, LXVI (July 1961), 930-46, esp. 940-44.

ten in 1892, reasserted the unity of the cultivated and the common strata, whose separation Saar had so deplored in "Contrasts." Hofmannsthal's statement of the problem, to be sure, took the form of a reminder that there was such a thing as a tie between the high and the lowly, the fortunate and the hapless—an indication of how attenuated it had become. The poet expressed it as a hidden bond of interdependency, in the image of the galley slaves below decks, from whose lives a shadow falls on the lives of those above. ". . . And my part [in this web of interdependent existence] is more than this life's slender flame or narrow lyre," Hofmannsthal concluded,⁵⁹ suggesting the urge to a stronger social commitment.

In a verse playlet called *The Little Theater of the World* (1897) Hofmannsthal set forth in veiled but unmistakable terms the whole direction of the interrelationship of art and society for his generation.⁶⁰ He chose as form for his statement the baroque masque. In a cast of characters who appear in only the loosest relations, the first of importance is the Gardener. A former king, he has put aside his worldly diadem of power to cultivate his flowers. The Gardener's poetic vision enabled him, as king, to see that the care of human subjects and the care of plants are essentially the same: only that the latter is "cooler." Hofmannsthal here recapitulates *in parvo* the withdrawal of Risach in *Der Nachsommer* from the frustrations of politics to the satisfactions of the *Rosenhaus*. Did he also wish to allegorize the more general and less voluntary withdrawal of the Austrian upper middle class from politics to culture? The evidence is too scanty to judge. But clearly Hofmannsthal asserted a principle of correspondence between kingship and horticulture, one that erected a dangerous equivalence, in "childish innocence and majesty," between the realm of politics and the garden of art, between civil and aesthetic order.

Contraposed to the Gardener-monarch, as the final and dominating figure in the masque, is the Madman. He is a scion not of royalty but of wealth: "the last of the rich, the last of the powerful—helpless." His father, a mighty entrepreneur, had been unable to tame a son who shared his arrogant spirit, but had no sense of responsibility. Like many actual parvenus' sons in Hofmannsthal's society, this one sought and won the company of noblemen, charmed the world, squandered his wealth, and wasted his person. But, like the best of the functionless, the Madman turned inward, sought solitude.

⁵⁹ Viele Geschicke weben neben dem meinen,
Durcheinander spielt sie alle das Dasein,
Und Mein Teil ist mehr als dieses Lebens
Schlanke Flamme oder schmale Leier.

(Hofmannsthal, *Poems and Verse Plays*, ed. Hamburger, 34.)

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 224-63.

Again we encounter Narcissus, identified now as *rentier-squanderer*. The Madman shut himself in a tower, turning his bold, rapacious spirit upon his inner soul to become the poetic explorer of his own depths. There he found "monstrous masses of inchoate" forces. The self-centered attitude of the functionless rich, transferred from the world of action to that of contemplation, led to his discovering inside himself monstrous instinctual forces. Through this the Madman came to a recognition of inchoate energies outside himself: "dem ungeheuren Gemenge äusseren Daseins."⁶¹ As the Gardener found a correspondence of order between the realm of politics and the garden of beauty, so the Madman found a correspondence of energy between inner instinct and external life forces. Individuation begins to transcend itself, and the Madman, apostrophizing his reflection in a mirror, *en bon Narcisse*, proclaims: "The illusion [of the self-contained individual] will not last much longer; the voices multiply which call me to the outer world."⁶² He announces a mission that will be Hofmannsthal's: to create a dynamic unity between the individual and the world. The abstract, static fashion of kings and poets before him can no longer serve either the modern psyche or modern society:

But what are palaces, and what are poems?
The dreamlike image of reality.
The real no mortal tracery can catch:
To lead the *whole* dance, the *whole* round,
The real, can you begin to grasp this task?⁶³

A bold but sane man could "grasp this task"; only a madman would be determined like Dionysus "to lead the *whole* dance, the *whole* round." The Madman had to be restrained from plunging into the river beneath, the torrent of primal life energy which was also death.

By 1897 Hofmannsthal was convinced that the Gardener was but a relic, and he devoted himself, however tentatively, to taming the Madman: the problem was to find an order that was not sterile, to find an energy that was not fatal, to re-establish the ties between art and instinct on the one hand, art and society on the other. He turned toward the lower orders not only because the problem lay there but also because life seemed to be strong in them. Like Sigmund Freud, Hofmannsthal saw the lower classes as uninhibited, living directly by instinct. Half in envy, half in fear, he sought the social sources of vitality in the ill-defined "folk," while he gingerly approached its psychological sources in sex.⁶⁴ Accordingly, at the turn of the century, Hof-

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 256.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 262.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 263.

⁶⁴ Both tendencies are clear in *Der Tod Titians*, where the Great God Pan inspires art, but where the artist is drawn by the magnetism of the city to leave the pale of art.

mannsthal passed from poetry to drama, out of the narcissistic reservation into the street.

It was characteristic of the sheltered perceptions of his class that Hofmannsthal should first have been impressed by abject social misery not in his native Vienna, where there was much of it, but in Galicia during his military service in 1896. From his billet in the wretched Jewish village of Tlumacz, he wrote to a friend, "I am correcting my concept . . . of what life is for most people: it is more joyless, more depressed than one likes to think: much more. . . ."⁶⁵ Amid this dreadful "spectacle of so many miserable human beings, . . . their stench and their voices," Hofmannsthal became captivated by the dramatic form. Thomas Otway's Restoration drama on the Popish Plot, *Venice Preserved*, which Hofmannsthal read in his dank and stinking billet, stimulated his new turn. "A very peculiar art form," he wrote to Andrian, "and I suspect that if one produces it, one simultaneously connects oneself with life—and simultaneously frees oneself from it."⁶⁶ Here was Hofmannsthal's deepest need, both as poet and as citizen.

Eight years later Hofmannsthal published his powerful reworking of Otway's play under the title *Das Gerettete Venedig*. This somber social-psychological drama deals with political decadence and the personal passion that is unleashed as a consequence of misrule. An insurrectionary mob contributes its murky and threatening power to the action. Characteristically, the principal figure is a waverer, vacillating between the old powers and their angry challengers.⁶⁷ He is the most humane figure, yet too weak for the situation he confronts. His human understanding is of no avail when he does not know how to apply it in sociopolitical crisis where passion is unleashed.

The poet wavers and trims like his major character. Though his play was redolent with the problems of modernity, he avoided, as in most of his writings, any direct social realism or a contemporary *mise en scène*. Like so many Austrian pioneers of twentieth-century thought and art—Gustav Klimt, Gustav Mahler, Otto Wagner, Sigmund Freud—he used traditional language to convey modern messages. Not without justice did Andrian invoke for him the motto: "Sur les pensers nouveaux faisons des vers antiques."⁶⁸

Yet Hofmannsthal would not commit himself, as Stifter or Saar had

⁶⁵ Hofmannsthal to Fritz Eckstein, May 2, 1896, Hofmannsthal, *Briefe, 1890-1901*, 182.

⁶⁶ Hofmannsthal to Andrian, May 4-5, 1896, *ibid.*, 184-86.

⁶⁷ ". . . Jaffier makes the mistake of joining the indignant ones, though he probably belongs really to the lackies: a consistent main motif. . . ." (Hofmannsthal to Otto Brahm, Sept. 15, 1904, Hofmannsthal, *Briefe, 1900-1909*, 163.)

⁶⁸ Leopold Andrian, "Erinnerung an meinen Freund," *Hofmannsthal*, ed. Fiechtner, 70.

done, to history. It seemed to have lost its exemplary value. Although his setting was Venetian, he fought hotly against the producer's tendency to make sets and costumes historically "realistic." Hofmannsthal demands "atmospheric" and "suggestive" costumes appropriate to "a conservative-reactionary period rotten at the roots . . . like pre-March [1848] Austria" (the period before Liberalism's first break-through!). Above all, the mob should "for God's sake" not be Venetian, but rather "uncanny, threatening," like a contemporary mob (*Gesinde*).⁶⁹ Both in the play and in the form of its production, then, Hofmannsthal approached contemporary social reality cautiously and evasively. He wished neither an escape into history and myth nor a direct representation of modern society and its problems. By using a suggestive, rather than a literal, historical milieu, he realized in this frightening drama of social disintegration the promise he had seen in drama as a literary form when he wrote *Andrian* from squalid Galicia. Drama, he said, would both connect one to life and free one from it.

The combination of engagement and distance that Hofmannsthal found in drama made possible his redefinition of the poet's function in modern society. His road into the clear had been a long one. First he escaped the hedonistic garden of Narcissus, with the futility that *Andrian* had rendered in his *Bildungsroman*. He had clarified the still graver dangers that he had allegorized in *Das kleine Welttheater*: the soul-satisfying illusion of the Gardener, that art was a substitute for politics; and the drastic conclusion of the rich Madman, that the only true participation in life was a suicidal merging with the formless irrational forces of the world. Slowly Hofmannsthal shaped a synthesis between lifeless illusion and formless vitality, between Gardener-king and Madman. Out of it emerged the poet, not as legislator, not as judge, not as sympathizer, but as reconciler.

In 1906 Hofmannsthal defined the poet's role with a new clarity: "It is he who binds up in himself the elements of the times."⁷⁰ In a society and a culture that he saw as essentially pluralistic and fragmented, Hofmannsthal set literature the task of establishing relationships. The poet must accept the multiplicity of reality, and, through the magic medium of language, bring unity and cohesion to modern man. The poet "is the passionate admirer of things of eternity and the things of the present. London in the fog with ghostly processions of unemployed, the temple ruins of Luxor, the splashing of a lonely forest spring, the roaring of monstrous machines: the transitions are never hard for him, . . . everything is simultaneously present in him."⁷¹ Where others saw conflict or contradiction, the poet would reveal

⁶⁹ Letters to Brahm, Dec. [?], 1904, Hofmannsthal, *Briefe, 1900-1909*, 184, 192-93.

⁷⁰ Hofmannsthal, "Der Dichter und diese Zeit," *Selected Essays*, ed. Gilbert, 132.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 133.

hidden ties and develop them by bringing out their unity through rhythm and sound.

Was there room for utopianism in Hofmannsthal's new conception of literature? Not in the senses in which we have thus far encountered it. There were here no Stifterian model of an expurgated reality, no abstract social ideal in the manner of Saar, no resurrected rococo garden of delight, not even Hofmannsthal's earlier Potemkin village. For the poet now accepted reality as it was: insistently incoherent. The assertively centrifugal character of society and culture inhibited the constructive fancy. Emerging from his cultivated social isolation, Hofmannsthal had learned "to grapple with an existing social order," but as he did so, he found it less and less possible "to posit one which does not exist."

In *Der Turm* (1927), written over twenty-five years, Hofmannsthal nevertheless struggled once more to point the way to utopia. I say "point the way," no more, for Hofmannsthal no longer tried to project one. The action in *Der Turm* almost reverses that of *Das kleine Welttheater* at a deeper level. The hero, Prince Sigismund, began as the irrational prisoner in the self like the Madman. By way of his own dream of a just world, he attempted to pass from Madman to Gardener to king—from instinctual visionary to civic actor. In the process he associated himself with the needy and energetic but irrational mass. The Oedipal revolt of the poet-prince, as in Pedro Calderón de la Barca, became identified with a political revolution against the father-king. In Hofmannsthal, the result is not divine comedy but human tragedy. The work of harmonizing the disparate components through the language of mutual respect breaks down. As in the Austrian Empire, the forces of social and psychological disintegration prove too strong. Yet the poet-prince dies in the conviction that his message of love, drawn up from the lonely well of Narcissus where dream and reality had merged, will yet be understood one day:

"Bear witness that I was here—
Even if no one knew me."⁷²

The Prince not known by the world: he is the opposite of Andrian's Prince Erwin, who died without knowing the world.

Hofmannsthal had rescued the function of art from the hedonistic isolation into which his class had carried it and had tried to redeem society through its reconciling power. The rifts in the body social had proceeded too far. Society could tolerate tragedy or comedy, but not redemption through aesthetic harmonization.

⁷² Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Dramen, Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben*, ed. Herbert Steiner (Frankfurt am Main, 1948), IV, 207.

Looking back on his life as an artistic rebel, the Expressionist Oskar Kokoschka recalled an episode of his childhood.⁷³ Kokoschka came from a humble artisan background, rather more like Stifter's than like Hofmannsthal's. Near his modest suburban home was a public park where little Oskar played. Once the Galitzinberg park had been the garden of a palace. No longer a private preserve of gallants and their ladies, or of violet monsignori, it became a place where Viennese urchins came to play among the marble statues. An old veteran of the Austro-Prussian War who served as watchman seemed to Oskar much like the sculptured Hercules at the fountain. The allegorical figures "lived on the same basis as the lords of the palaces" in the Viennese folk imagination, which was peopled with "tragicomic figures who wished to climb so much higher in society that they bumped into the world of spirits [*Geisterreich*]."⁷⁴

Not only gamins like Kokoschka frequented the garden, but better folk too. Oskar made friends with two little girls who came with their mother to play. He disliked that mother with her cultured airs: she read French novels, insisted on proper manners, and served tea *à l'anglais* promptly at five. Oskar learned in scorn that the lady's father had been just a good bourgeois Viennese coffee drinker, but she had married an "Edler von."

Despite his distaste for their mother, the boy rejoiced in the girls. One he admired for her mind and her grace. The other, who swung on the swing with her clothes disarrayed, occasioned his sexual awakening. Here, in the garden of Prince Gallitzin, the lower-class boy awoke to the "abrupt and naked facts" revealed by an upper-class girl. Sexual instinct broke raw through the veneer of a stylish civilization. For Kokoschka, coming of age meant not the initiation into culture, as for his predecessors, but the tortured yet joyous affirmation of our animal nature.

In school young Oskar learned of the two great simultaneous inventions that ushered in modern times: printing and gunpowder. Since the first resulted in the hellish invention of the textbook, he turned to explore the second. (His faith in education and his application of science were something less than Stifter's.) One day, equipping himself with homemade gunpowder, Oskar went to the palace garden where his friends were at play. Beneath the tree where the swing was hung was a huge ant colony. Under it Oskar placed his explosive charge. When all was prepared, at five o'clock, the hated hour of tea, Oskar "cast the torch into the world."⁷⁵

The explosion was immense, far beyond the destroyer's expectations. The

⁷³ Oskar Kokoschka, "Aus der Jugendbiographie," *Schriften, 1907-1955*, ed. Hans Maria Wingler (Munich, 1956), 21-46.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 23. Kokoschka refers to the fairy realism of the popular dramatist Ferdinand Raimund.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 39.

burning city of ants flew into the air with a great clap of thunder. "How hideously beautiful!" Singed bodies and severed limbs of ants fell writhing over the well-kept lawn. And the innocent temptress in the swing was knocked to the ground—unconscious.

The forces of civilization rallied. The mother summoned the guard of the park. Oskar was "banished from the Garden of Eden."⁷⁶

Unlike Adam, young Oskar—modern, lower class, self-willed—refused to accept his banishment as final. Though the old guard barred the gate "like the Archangel Gabriel," the young rebel would find a way. Behind the garden lay a city dump, with a bluff that Oskar might scale to enter the garden from the rear. He climbed the bluff, but disaster awaited him. He lost his footing.

Only the expressionistic fantasy could contrive what followed. Plunging back into the dump Oskar fell upon the bloated carcass of a rotting pig. A swarm of vicious flies rose from its body, stinging the hapless boy. Oskar went home to bed with a serious infection.

Lying in bed, the fevered second Adam had psychological experiences that have the tortured glow of Kokoschka's early painterly vision: At the root of his tongue sat a fly that incessantly turned round itself, leaving its grubs as it went. The wallpaper burned with revolving suns of green and red. His brain dissolved into a vile gray fluid.

With uncanny exactitude, Kokoschka's biographical parable reflects his role in the birth of Expressionist culture. In 1908, when he was twenty-two, Kokoschka burst upon the Viennese world of arts and letters in a fashion that won him the epithet *Bürgerschreck*.

The occasion was the *Kunstschau*, an exhibition in which Vienna's aesthetic movement celebrated its greatest and its final triumph. All contributions aimed at the beautified life. Use objects were raised to the level of the fine arts, while even the most serious painting and sculpture strove to fill decorative functions. The lines between truth and beauty, life and art, reality and utopia were erased in this elegant, upper-class culture.

With generous official support, the artists could make a veritable country estate in the heart of the city. Josef Hofmann's *Kunstschau* building took the form not of a modern museum but of a *Lustschloss*. The city fathers of Vienna bore the cost of setting the building in a gracious garden.⁷⁷ And finally, true to the Viennese tradition, there was a garden theater where, on balmy summer nights, were performed Friedrich Hebbel's *Genoveva* and Oscar Wilde's *Birthday of an Infanta*.

In this setting Kokoschka produced his first Expressionist explosion. His

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁷⁷ *The Studio*, XL (1908), 308.

contributions to the *Kunstschau*, both literary and graphic, led to his expulsion from the educational garden, the School of Applied Arts. In *The Dreaming Boys*, Kokoschka used the dreamy style of fairy tale poetry, fashionable in the well-conducted nursery, to render the nightmare of sexual awakening. Through innocent-looking color lithographs (there was a lady in blue with a teapot) executed in the formalistic, hieratic style of his teacher, the painter re-enforced with sexual symbolism the hallucinatory effect of his verse. The most refined visual and poetic language was employed to render the most searing personal experience, one hitherto not tolerated by the culture.

To the *Kunstschau* theater, Kokoschka contributed a playlet shockingly entitled *Murder, Hope of Women*. It was a drama of brutal Cyprian combat between nameless *Mann* and archetypal *Weib*: this for an audience enchanted by Wilde's *Infantal*

In these works Kokoschka not only rebels against aesthetic culture, but brings civilization itself before the bar of naked instinct, outraged feeling. He speaks for no particular class, but for a European man suffering from a culture that concealed his problems. Nothing could break through the surface more powerfully than Kokoschka's identification of love and war.

It was a prophetic *Lebensgefühl* that produced the explosion in the garden: a humanism unfamiliarly combined with nihilism. Where was the realism of yesterday? Where the utopian possibility? Kokoschka answered in a way that psychologized realism and privatized utopia. Commenting on his autobiographical parable, he wrote:

Isolation compels every man, all alone like a savage, to invent his idea of society. And the knowledge that every doctrine of society must remain a utopia will also drive him to take flight in solitude. This solitude swallows us in its emptiness. . . .⁷⁸

From Stifter to Hofmannsthal, Austrian literature had struggled to express ideals that would enable men to grapple with social reality. Changes in society's structure, especially changes in the position of the cultivated middle class to which the artist gave allegiance, had transformed the function of art, slowly hollowing out its capacity to provide either utopian models or healing functions. In a rent society, with pent-up energies that could find no constructive outlet, prevailing culture seemed to a new generation not a creative illusion but a lie. In their prophetic explosion in the garden the Expressionists anticipated Europe's greater explosion, the new reality of world war and of revolution.

⁷⁸ Kokoschka, *Schriften*, ed. Wingler, 44.

Presidential Leadership in Foreign Affairs: William McKinley and the Turpie-Foraker Amendment

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THE quality of William McKinley's leadership is a highly disputed historical question. His handling of the crisis with Spain in 1898 has received especially extensive and critical attention from historians.¹ This is so partly because Americans have varied and deeply emotional attitudes toward war and toward those men who were Presidents during wars and partly because the small, sometimes pathetic, sometimes comic Spanish-American War provides such delightful examples for special pleading from history.

McKinley has persistently been stereotyped as a weak President who had the backbone of a "chocolate eclair," and historians have helped to fix this negative image. Some contended that he did not lead the people as Presidents should, but that he bowed before the public's "martial spirit" and the "yellow press." Others felt that he should have paid more attention to the last-minute "concessions" by Spain in April 1898, that he should have accepted the Spanish offer of an armistice in Cuba, and that he should have re-

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¹ Among the historians and writers who have criticized McKinley's actions in April 1898 are Randolph Adams, Thomas A. Bailey, Charles A. Beard, Samuel Flagg Bemis, W. H. Callcott, Herbert Croly, A. L. P. Dennis, Foster Rhea Dulles, Harold U. Faulkner, Leland Jenks, George Kennan, Ernest May, Walter Millis, Samuel Eliot Morison, Allan Nevins, E. B. Oberholtzer, Robert E. Osgood, Julius W. Pratt, James Ford Rhodes, Mark Sullivan, and Woodrow Wilson. The "critical" school has been so dominant since the late 1920's that the existence of another view is almost unrecognized. Yet a number of earlier historians and a few later ones ably defended McKinley. These include James M. Callahan, Admiral French E. Chadwick, Charles E. Chapman, Carl Russell Fish, John H. Latané, and Tyler Dennett, as well as McKinley's biographer, Charles S. Olcott. The validity of these sympathetic interpretations can be evaluated in the light of recent historical interpretations. The first signs of a major sympathetic revisionism appeared in Margaret Leech, *In the Days of McKinley* (New York, 1959), 151-93, but they were somewhat vitiated by her attempt at psychological description. Ernest May's *Imperial Democracy: The Emergence of America as a Great Power* (New York, 1961), esp. 152-77, accurately describes the diplomatic situation, though the conclusions about McKinley are strongly critical. Richard W. Leopold makes an effective case for the President in his *The Growth of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1962), 173-77. A well-developed defense of McKinley appears in the works of H. Wayne Morgan, cited in note 3, below.

sumed diplomatic negotiations. Presumably, if he had not been so weak or ineffective, peace might have been preserved, and the subsequent imperialistic "aberration" of the United States avoided.²

These theories are entertaining and superficially attractive. But, as scholars have recently begun to demonstrate, they have no substantial basis in fact, and they do McKinley an injustice. More important, they obscure the significant decisions about Cuba made on the eve of the war and McKinley's role in shaping policy and dealing with legislation, which represented crucial contributions to the maintenance of presidential leadership in foreign affairs.

It must first be understood that by April 1, 1898, the question facing the United States was not whether to go to war but who was to direct American policy. By that date McKinley had decided that Spain was not negotiating in good faith and would not meet the demands of the United States involving Cuba.³ While he continued to take part in diplomatic exchanges, he believed war inevitable. Congress and the American people were certain to approve his decision to act in the Cuban situation. He did, however, anticipate serious opposition from the advocates of immediate intervention who intended to embarrass him by calling for recognition of a "republic of Cuba," and his concern was warranted; the issue of recognition led to a major polit-

² Charles and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1927), 372, helped to popularize the remark about the "chocolate éclair," attributed to Theodore Roosevelt. Walter Millis, in his entertaining antiwar tract, *The Martial Spirit: A Study of Our War with Spain* (Boston, 1931), and Julius W. Pratt, in his scholarly book, *The Expansionists of 1898: The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands* (Baltimore, 1936), expounded effectively on the role of public opinion, the yellow press, the jingoists, and the expansionists. George Kennan has helped to convince the last generation of college students that McKinley bungled the diplomatic negotiations in his *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950* (New York, 1952), 16 ff. It is strange that Kennan overlooked McKinley's consistent and effective use of formal diplomacy. The word "aberration" is Samuel Flagg Bemis', in his *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (5th ed., New York, 1965), 463.

³ H. Wayne Morgan, *William McKinley and His America* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1963), 351-72, and *America's Road to Empire: The War with Spain and Overseas Expansion* (New York, 1965), 37-62. The second of these books is less defensive in tone and more persuasive. Morgan analyzes McKinley effectively in "William McKinley as a Political Leader," *Review of Politics*, XXVIII (Oct. 1966), 417-32. A perceptive appraisal appears in John A. S. Grenville and George Berkeley Young, *Politics, Strategy, and American Diplomacy: Studies in Foreign Policy, 1873-1917* (New Haven, Conn., 1966), 239-66. See also Henry Cabot Lodge, "The Spanish-American War. II—The Coming of War," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XCVIII (Mar. 1899), 505-506. On the administration's hope for peace on March 31, see Cornelius Bliss to Elihu Root, Mar. 31, 1898, Elihu Root Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Spain's intransigence on the essential details of full self-government and an indemnity for Cuba is borne out in *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1898* (Washington, D. C., 1901), 704, 711-13, 733. McKinley himself told Congress that the "disappointing" Spanish response of March 31 brought him "to the end of his effort." (*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI [Apr. 11, 1898], 3705-3706.) Rafael Altamira y Crevea, *A History of Spain from the Beginnings to the Present Day* (New York, 1949), 588, views the American demands as "exaggerated," yet admits their weight and regrets Spain's belated reforms and intransigent diplomacy. A more sympathetic Spanish treatment of the policies that led to "disaster" is Melchor Fernández Almagro, *Historia política de la España contemporánea* (2 vols., Madrid, 1956-59), II, 470-76, 493.

ical crisis and provided the occasion for an effort by some congressmen to assume control over foreign policy.⁴

The first attempts to take the initiative from McKinley were made in late March 1898. A small group of silver Republican and Populist congressmen agreed in caucus to introduce a resolution calling for the recognition of Cuban independence.⁵ Simultaneously, but in separate moves, two Republican "reconcentrados" (friends of the Cuban rebels) and the Democratic minority leader, Representative Joseph W. Bailey, introduced such proposals. The McKinley administration clearly opposed these resolutions. A prominent though unidentified member of the cabinet told the press: "The conditions for the recognition by the United States of the independence of a Cuban government . . . do not exist now. There is nothing for us to recognize, and no European nation would follow our example." He intimated that the President's course would be to establish peace and to prepare the conditions for independence. Meanwhile, the administration fought effectively to maintain control over relations with Spain. McKinley personally appealed to Republican war hawks to avoid hasty action, and Republican congressional leaders helped him stifle rumblings of discontent by announcing that he soon would address Congress on the subject of Cuba—a strategy that worked. On March 30, when Speaker Thomas B. Reed ruled against discussing Bailey's motion, he received solid backing from Republican members.⁶

McKinley delayed sending his message to Congress for ten more days because he wished to provide for the safety of Americans in Cuba and to make some preparations for war. On April 11 he delivered the long-awaited message, which is usually but not altogether correctly referred to as his "war message." There were three major aspects to the address. The President stated first that the United States meant to help the suffering people of Cuba. While he implied that force would be used, he did not, however, insist on armed intervention in Cuba. This stand won the approval of prominent Republicans, many of whom had been resisting pressures for war. Second, he

⁴The impatience of one Republican jingo is revealed in William E. Chandler to Paul Dana, Mar. 29, 31, Apr. 10, 1898, William E. Chandler Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. On April 9 Chandler wrote Dana that recognition of Cuba had become the entire issue. Contemporary newspapers and periodicals are filled with stories on this question. *Literary Digest*, XVI (Apr. 23, 1898), 484, called it "the chief feature" of debate. *Outlook*, LVIII (Apr. 23, 1898), 1010, said it was "the central point." And the *New York Herald* (Apr. 17, 1898) termed the battle over recognition "one of the greatest and most momentous" ever fought in the Senate.

⁵Omaha *World-Herald*, Mar. 30, 1898; *Washington Post*, Mar. 30, 1898. Populist Senator William V. Allen of Nebraska had been introducing resolutions to this effect since February 1896.

⁶Omaha *World-Herald*, Apr. 6, 1898. The resolutions of Republican Senators Joseph Foraker and William Frye took somewhat different forms. (*Washington Post*, Mar. 30, 31, 1898; Leech, *Days of McKinley*, 178-79.)

asked Congress to give him full power to act, including broad authority to do whatever was necessary to halt the fighting in Cuba, to set up "a stable government" on the island, and to use American naval and military forces as he saw fit. Third, and at considerable length, he took up the question of Cuba's status, a highly controversial matter and the issue on which debate over his powers would turn.⁷

McKinley vigorously opposed recognizing Cuban independence. He argued that granting recognition would not help to end hostilities, but would limit the freedom of the United States to act, and that the Cuban revolutionary junta did not yet deserve recognition. Recognition, he stated,

is not due to a revolted dependency until the danger of its being subjugated by the parent state has entirely passed away. . . .

Such recognition is not necessary in order to enable the United States to intervene and pacify the island. To commit this country now to the recognition of any particular government in Cuba might subject us to embarrassing conditions of international obligation toward the organization so recognized. In case of intervention our conduct would be subject to the approval or disapproval of such government. We would be required to submit to its direction and to assume to it the mere relation of a friendly ally.⁸

McKinley assumed a strong position in arguing that the United States should maintain freedom of action in Cuba. His message drew praise from Republican congressional leaders, an impressive cross section of prominent public figures, and the moderate press.⁹ Furthermore, McKinley shrewdly

⁷ Fitzhugh Lee to Department of State, Apr. 5, 1898, William McKinley Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, and John C. Spooner Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Cornelius Bliss to Root, Apr. 6, 1898, Root Papers; *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 11, 1898), 3704-3707.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 3706. In March 1898 McKinley had sounded out prominent Republicans on the advantages of extending recognition. Whitelaw Reid argued that recognition ought to follow upon some signal Cuban military success, such as opening a port, and be accompanied by Latin American recognition. (Reid to McKinley, Mar. 8, 1898, McKinley Papers.)

⁹ The clerks read the message badly, and the galleries and jingo newspapers were disappointed. (Washington *Evening Times*, Apr. 11, 1898; Washington *Post*, Apr. 12, 1898; New York *Times*, Apr. 12, 1898; *Harper's Weekly*, XLII [Apr. 16, 1898], 378; *Literary Digest*, XVI [Apr. 23, 1898], 484.) But *Outlook*, *Harper's*, and other magazines praised the contents of the speech, as did the majority of the press, judging from the *Literary Digest's* summary. (See also the Washington *Evening Star*, Apr. 11, 12, 1898; New York *Herald*, Apr. 12, 1898; and Washington *Post*, Apr. 13, 1898.) There are a few critical messages in the McKinley Papers, and dozens of strongly congratulatory messages from such diverse persons as Abram Hewitt, Robert Ingersoll, Jacob G. Schurman, Oscar Straus, A. R. Whitney, Bishop John Newman, and Lafayette McWilliams. Democratic, Populist, and Republican "reconcentrado" members of Congress, such as Joseph Bailey, Roger Mills, Richard Pettigrew, Chandler, and Foraker, expressed themselves critically. In contrast, Senator Shelby J. Cullom, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, described it as "a strong paper" that would have "a strong influence," and the chairmen of the Senate Committees on Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, and Appropriations and of the House Committees on Foreign Affairs, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, Appropriations, and Ways and Means voiced similar views. (New York *Times*, Apr. 12, 1898; Washington *Evening Star*, Apr. 11, 1898.) For the views of other public figures, see Vols. XII and XIII of the McKinley Papers. The extent of praise for the address is worth emphasizing because historians, even Morgan, have so often ridiculed or belittled

called attention to the fact that he had taken the same stand against recognition of Cuban independence in his first annual message to Congress in December 1897. In this way he tried to rally all Republicans behind him.

He succeeded to some extent, partly because the Democrats seized upon the issue eagerly. On April 13, two days after the President opposed recognition, William Jennings Bryan defended the right of the United States to recognize Cuban independence, and he urged Democratic congressmen to unite on this question. Democratic leaders and some Populists and Republicans pressed the issue in Congress.¹⁰ The independence of Cuba thus became a party issue. "The Democrats in the House and Senate can well afford to insist on Cuban independence as the price of their cooperation," the Democratic Atlanta *Constitution* advised. "The whole question is wrapped up in this."¹¹

But more was involved in the Democratic challenge than recognition for Cuba or even the partisan advantage that might accrue from support of the struggling rebels. Control of foreign relations and the fate of McKinley's effort to assert the power of the executive were at stake—a fact often obscured by the contention of some historians that McKinley was indecisive. The question of the President's authority came up constantly in contemporary editorials and in congressional debate. A few congressmen—most conspicuously, Republican Senator William E. Chandler of New Hampshire and Democratic Representatives Bailey of Texas and Benton McMillin of Tennessee—charged the President with being evasive about Cuba. Most Democrats, on the other hand, complained bitterly about the nature of his requests and protested that he demanded too much power.

The following examples, one from the Democratic press, the other representing Democratic congressional opinion, could be multiplied many times. McKinley "asks Congress to delegate its war-making power and all control over the crisis to him," exclaimed the Washington *Evening Times*. This paper angrily urged Congress to repudiate the President and make war on Spain immediately. Democratic Senator Edmund W. Pettus of Alabama

McKinley's message. A clear factual account appears in David F. Healey, *The United States in Cuba, 1898-1902: Generals, Politicians, and the Search for Policy* (Madison, Wis., 1963), 20-22.

¹⁰ *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 13, 1898), 3776-91, 3810-21. Bryan advocated recognition in a speech to a Democratic gathering in Washington. At the behest of Congressman Hugh Dinsmore, ranking minority member on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the assemblage unanimously endorsed the idea of recognition of the Cuban Republic. (Washington *Post*, Apr. 14, 1898.) On April 15 the *Post* reported that Bryan had urged upon Democratic leaders the popularity and political advantages of advocating recognition. Senator Allen of Nebraska predicted political disaster for the Republicans if they did not support recognition.

¹¹ Quoted in *Literary Digest*, XVI (Apr. 23, 1898), 485.

summarized the congressional minority's interpretation of the President's message:

Now Senators, what are we advised to do? To declare war? No. To recognize the Cuban Republic as an independent nation? No. To recognize the Cubans as belligerents? No. What are we advised to do? If you will boil the words down to their true meaning, we are advised to delegate to the President the power to intervene between Spain and Cuba for the purpose of putting an end to the war, and to use the Army and Navy at his discretion and force both parties to keep the peace; or, in other words, we are advised to give the President power to intervene and make war, if he sees fit, without declaring war at all.¹²

The Democrats attacked the President's requests as excessive and unconstitutional. The Republicans, particularly the so-called "conservatives," expressed faith in the President, stated that he needed the powers, and complained that the opposition was seeking to strip him of his prerogative of granting diplomatic recognition.

At this point it is necessary to investigate carefully congressional action in order to understand the legislative situation and what emerged from it. The question of recognition provided the motif for the weeklong debate over McKinley's policy. On April 13 the Democrats in the House introduced a resolution recognizing the independence of the republic of Cuba and directing the President "to employ immediately the land and naval forces of the United States."¹³ This measure would have left McKinley little discretion, or dignity. But he was strong in the House, and the Democratic resolution was defeated after a sharp fight by a party-line vote of 150 to 190. The House then (April 13) approved the moderate resolution that McKinley favored by a vote of 325 to 19:

Resolved, that the President is hereby authorized and directed to intervene at once to stop the war in Cuba, to the end and with the purpose of securing permanent peace and order there and establishing by the free action of the people thereof a stable and independent government of their own in the island of Cuba; and the President is hereby authorized and empowered to use the land and naval forces of the United States to execute the purpose of this resolution.¹⁴

¹² Washington *Evening Times*, Apr. 11, 1898; *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 12, 1898), 3731. Senator Joseph L. Rawlins made a similar plea at the end of the debate. (*Ibid.* [Apr. 18, 1898], 4011.) "The best constitutional lawyers of the Senate," reported the *Washington Post* (Apr. 13, 1898), hold "that it would be unconstitutional to give the President power to intervene at any time in his discretion, as he has asked." Conflicting views on the war powers of Congress and the President were printed in the *Washington Evening Star* (Apr. 15, 1898). Republican jingoists avoided attacking McKinley directly, but Senator Redfield Proctor attempted to persuade the President to "lead" by saying nothing and turning over the entire question to Congress! (Proctor to McKinley, late Mar. 1898, McKinley Papers.)

¹³ *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 13, 1898), 3814-15.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3815, 3819-20. As explained below, the words "and independent" were inserted after "stable," which McKinley had been forced to use in his message to Congress because this was the term General Stewart Woodford had used in his negotiations with Spain. The Department of State had informed the American envoy that "stable" meant "independent,"

The resolution (House Joint Resolution 233) was everything that the President had requested. But he was not to have his way so easily in the Senate, where Republican ranks were split as a result of differences over domestic issues and factional quarrels. Even before the message had been referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, Senator William M. Stewart, a silver Republican of Nevada, objected to the lack of provision for Cuban independence and to the request for discretionary authority: "Such a new phase of it has been presented by the message of the President that I think some public discussion ought to be had before it is referred to the committee."¹⁵ His extraordinary plea was ignored, but the Foreign Relations Committee, which had been at work on its measure for a week, reported a stronger resolution than the House passed. It was acceptable to McKinley, however. He had seen a copy of the measure and been given a chance to comment on it. Senate Joint Resolution 149 stated:

That the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be free and independent.

Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third. That the President of the United States be, and hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such an extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.¹⁶

A minority of the committee also issued a report. One of the signers, Democratic Senator David Turpie of Indiana, introduced an amendment to the first section of the resolution providing for the recognition of Cuba: "and that the Government of the United States hereby recognizes the Re-

and Woodford had verbally communicated this interpretation to Premier Praxedes Sagasta, but had never done so in writing. (*Washington Post*, Apr. 13, 1898.) The President was embarrassed by charges in Congress that he did not favor independence for the Cubans; thus the Republican managers worked out a provision for addition of the words "and independent." (Charles Boynton to Benjamin Montgomery, Apr. 12, 1898, McKinley Papers; *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI [Apr. 12, 1898], 3766-67; *Washington Evening Star*, Apr. 13, 14, 1898, which also records the President's approval.)

¹⁵ A statement by Horatio Rubens of the Cuban junta that the insurgents would reject American intervention unless preceded by diplomatic recognition angered some congressmen and aided McKinley, who had warned against the possibility of such interference. (Chandler to Dana, Apr. 7, 1898, Chandler Papers; see also *Outlook*, LVIII [Apr. 16, 1898], 946, and *Harper's Weekly*, XLIII [Apr. 16, 1898], 378-79.) Stewart's statement appeared in *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 11, 1898), 3702-3703, and in his newspaper, *Silver Knight-Watchman*, Apr. 14, 1898.

¹⁶ *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 13, 1898), 3773; Lodge, "Coming of War," 509. The senators who signed the majority report were Republicans Cushman K. Davis, Cullom, Lodge, Frye, and Clarence Clark, and Democrats John Morgan and George Gray.

public of Cuba as the true and lawful government of that Island."¹⁷ The real author of the amendment was Senator Joseph ("Fire-Alarm Joe") Foraker of Ohio, a Republican jingo and rival of McKinley and Senator Mark Hanna. The Turpie-Foraker amendment was not acceptable to the President, but the Senate adopted it on April 16 by a vote of fifty-one to thirty-seven.¹⁸

Before any conclusions are reached about the merits of the amendment, which has an appealing ring to a later generation of Americans, its contemporary implications and the sources of its support should be considered. The amendment was designed in part to embarrass the President and in part to seize the initiative from him. (Foraker also believed it was the best way to ensure the ultimate absorption of Cuba by the United States.) It quickly became identified as a Democratic measure. Of the Democratic senators, twenty-nine voted for the amendment, and only five opposed it.¹⁹

Eleven Populist and silver Republican senators also voted for the amendment. These dissident congressmen simultaneously accused McKinley of trying to avoid war, of plotting a war of aggression, and of planning to return the island to Spanish rule.²⁰ Even more revealing was their often repeated fear that the United States would assume responsibility for a bond issue of \$400,000,000.00 that Spain had undertaken to finance its military efforts on the island. Cuban revenues were pledged for payment of the bonds, which had been purchased by banking interests throughout Europe and allegedly in the United States as well. "If we intervene and take possession of the country," Senator Stewart asked, "what are we going to do with it? . . . We can not liberate it from the lien which the bondholders have upon it. It is a mortgaged country."²¹ The Populists and silverites favored the recognition of Cuban independence as a way of invalidating the bonds. Republican Senators Foraker and Chandler, the jingo Democratic press, and a number

¹⁷ *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 13, 1898), 3776. The four who signed the minority report were Republican Foraker and Democrats Turpie, Mills, and John Daniel.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* (Mar. 29, 1898), 3293, (Apr. 18, 1898), 4030. The vote came on Saturday evening, after four days of vigorous debate, which turned on the questions of recognition and executive power. (*Ibid.* [Apr. 16, 1898], 3988.) On Foraker's political background, see Morgan, *William McKinley*, 114-17, and Everett Walters, *Joseph Benson Foraker, an Uncompromising Republican* (Columbus, Ohio, 1948), 54, 64-140.

¹⁹ Foraker's theory of economic absorption is revealed fully in a letter to Chandler, Oct. 18, 1898, Chandler Papers; New York *Herald*, Apr. 17, 18, 1898; *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 16, 1898), 3988. The five were Morgan (a Cuban annexationist), Donelson Caffery, Gray, Arthur Gorman, and Charles Faulkner; the last three had been summoned to the White House on April 14 for a conference with McKinley. Morgan and Gray were on good terms with the President.

²⁰ See *ibid.* (Apr. 11, 1898), 3702, for Senator Stewart's view, and *ibid.* (Apr. 12, 1898), 3732, 3745-48, for Senator Marion Butler's and Congressman Jeremiah Botkin's views.

²¹ See, e.g., *ibid.*, 3732-33, 3745-48, (Apr. 14, 1898), 3830. Stewart's statement appears *ibid.* (Apr. 11, 1898), 3703.

of Democratic congressmen, including Turpie, who voted for the amendment, shared these Populistic views or at least used the same arguments.²²

Yet, the amendment could not have been passed without the support of "regular" Republicans. Eleven members of McKinley's party, many hitherto loyal to the President, broke ranks and voted with the Democrats. This split caused the Democrats to think that their strategy had been politically astute. As the administration feared, the defectors included several Republican jingoes. One was Chandler, advocate of a big navy and perennial dissident who deeply distrusted the President and meant to leave him no discretion; another was idealistic, flamboyant "Billy" Mason of Illinois. A few other Republican defectors argued that the Turpie-Foraker amendment would make it possible to free Cuba without war or other cost to the United States. One man of this persuasion was Senator John M. Thurston of Nebraska, a personal friend of the President. He contended:

If we recognize the Cuban Republic, if we intervene as the friend of that government, which already has an army, not one American youth will ever have to march by land upon Havana. The Cuban Republic has an army. Give it recognition, give it arms, give it munitions. . . . It will drive Spain into the sea.²³

Of the thirty-seven senators who voted against the Turpie-Foraker amendment, thirty-two were Republicans. They opposed the measure for different reasons. A majority were against recognizing Cuban independence because they agreed with McKinley or preferred to stand by the President. Stephen Elkins of West Virginia, Charles Fairbanks of Indiana, and Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts were representative of this group.²⁴ Other senators, such as the war hawks William Frye of Maine and Redfield Proctor of Vermont, wanted immediate action and believed that granting recognition would delay war. Some of their statements hinted at a reluctance to see Cuba independent at this time if not in the future.²⁵ Still others who voted against the Turpie-Foraker amendment had been hoping to avoid war with Spain. Joseph Hawley and Orville Platt of Connecticut, Hanna of Ohio, Nelson Aldrich of Rhode Island, Eugene Hale of Maine, William Allison of Iowa, John Spooner of Wisconsin, and George Hoar of Massachu-

²² Chandler to Dana, Apr. 5, 12, 14, 17, 1898, Chandler Papers. Foraker contended that it was a "principle of international law" that "if one country absorb another it takes not only the legal rights and advantages of that country but it takes also the obligations." (*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI [Apr. 13, 1898], 3779-80.) On Turpie, see *ibid.* (Apr. 14, 1898), 3838-40; for other Democratic statements espousing the "Cuban-bond" theory, see the Washington *Evening Times's* feverish editorials, Apr. 11, 12, 1898, and *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 12, 1898), 3765, (Apr. 13, 1898), 3785-88, 3816.

²³ Chandler to Dana, Apr. 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 1898, Chandler Papers; *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 16, 1898), 3986-87.

²⁴ *Ibid.* (Apr. 13, 1898), 3782, (Apr. 14, 1898), 3845-46, (Apr. 16, 1898), 3978-80.

²⁵ Frye and Proctor called for "prompt action." (*Ibid.* [Apr. 13, 1898], 3791, [Apr. 16, 1898], 3982-83, [Apr. 18, 1898], 4030.)

setts feared that recognition of Cuban independence would lead directly to war.²⁶ They also were unimpressed with the argument that the United States might be obligated to assume the burden of Spain's Cuban debt.²⁷

During the debate Senator Henry M. Teller, silver Republican of Colorado, introduced an amendment that was a complete substitute for the proposed resolution. Teller's resolution threatened intervention by the United States to stop the war in Cuba. It also contained a qualifying clause declaring that the United States disclaimed "any disposition or intention to exercise jurisdiction or control over said island except for the pacification thereof and a determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to the people thereof."²⁸

Teller's resolution was not adopted, but the qualifying clause attracted attention. Senator Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, reintroduced the clause with the word "sovereignty" added to "jurisdiction or control." The Senate accepted the clause, which became the fourth or so-called Teller amendment to the Senate resolution, which now also included the Turpie-Foraker amendment.²⁹ Senator Frye introduced an amendment stating merely that the people of Cuba "are and ought to be" free and independent. But the opposition held sway, and Frye's measure was tabled by a vote of fifty-five to thirty-three.³⁰ Senator Davis, moreover, moved to strike out all of the House resolution except the enacting clause and substitute the Senate resolution as amended. The amended version (still technically House Joint Resolution 233) contained the original Senate Foreign Relations Committee's resolution with the Turpie-Foraker and Teller amendments. Republicans Hale, Allison, Aldrich, and Hoar argued in vain that the Senate would now be in a deadlock with the House of Representatives and the President and that an effort was being made to "take from the Executive his constitutional power." But the motion passed by sixty-seven to twenty-one. The Senate then sent its resolution to the House without a request for a conference and adjourned until Monday.³¹

Senatorial advocates of recognition were in no mood to compromise. The

²⁶ *Ibid.* (Apr. 14, 1898), 3830-35, (Apr. 16, 1898), 3948-49, 3959, 3990-92. Elkins might also be included. These senators were called "conservatives," referring in this instance to their views on foreign policy.

²⁷ *Ibid.* (Apr. 13, 1898), 3786-87, (Apr. 14, 1898), 3833, 3846.

²⁸ *Ibid.* (Apr. 16, 1898), 3954. It is revealing that Foraker considered the Teller amendment unwise. (Foraker to James H. Wilson, May 22, 1899, James H. Wilson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.)

²⁹ *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 16, 1898), 3988.

³⁰ *Ibid.* Senator Morgan's amendment calling for a declaration of war was defeated even more decisively, by a vote of eighty-three to five.

³¹ *Ibid.* (Apr. 16, 1898), 3989-93. The majority consisted of thirty-one Democrats, seven Populists, five silver Republicans, and twenty-four Republicans; the minority was comprised of nineteen Republicans (mostly "conservatives") and two Democrats.

House of Representatives, in contrast, was willing to accept the Teller amendment, and there were reports that it might adopt the entire Senate resolution. The showdown was scheduled for Monday, April 18, a full week after McKinley had addressed Congress. On Saturday evening the President discussed the legislative situation with his friend, Representative Charles H. Grosvenor of Ohio, who was to function as his liaison with the House.⁸² On Sunday the administration's political machinery began to function efficiently. Speaker Reed, who strongly supported the President, consulted with his lieutenants—Grosvenor, Joseph Cannon, Nelson Dingley, Sereno Payne, and John Dalzell—and dispatched other influential representatives to canvass the membership. One reporter likened Reed's rooms at the Shoreham Hotel to "the headquarters of a commander-in-chief."⁸³ The administration's forces concentrated on midwestern congressmen, who were reported to be torn between popular sentiment for a more aggressive resolution and a desire to stand by the President. Reed exerted "all his influence," knowing that the President counted on the House.⁸⁴ "I expect you to hold your state delegation in line tomorrow," he directed General David B. Henderson of Iowa.⁸⁵

The administration men argued that President McKinley could not approve the resolution, which invaded his prerogative of directing foreign policy and also violated international law by providing for recognition of a government that did not merit recognition. Republican congressional leaders and cabinet members further intimated that he would veto the Senate resolution. The warning gained credence when the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald*, among other papers, recommended that the President exercise his veto if the House of Representatives did not reject the objectionable Senate resolution. And McKinley, fortified by messages of support from all over the country, was prepared to do just that.⁸⁶ By Sunday evening

⁸² Lodge, "Coming of War," 510-11; *New York Tribune*, Apr. 17, 1898; *Washington Post*, Apr. 15, 17, 1898. Between Thursday and Monday, McKinley summoned to the White House and consulted with at least thirteen key congressmen, making clear his opposition to recognition of a republic of Cuba. (*Washington Evening Star*, Apr. 14, 16, 18, 1898.)

⁸³ *Portland Oregonian*, Apr. 18, 1898; *Springfield Republican*, Apr. 18, 1898. Hoar argued that the Senate would not hold out.

⁸⁴ *New York Times*, Apr. 19, 1898; *New York Herald*, Apr. 18, 1898.

⁸⁵ *Omaha World-Herald*, Apr. 18, 1898.

⁸⁶ *New York Tribune*, Apr. 18, 1898; *Washington Evening Star*, Apr. 16, 18, 1898. The administration talked vaguely of precedents for a veto set by President Grant, presumably referring to Grant's special message of June 13, 1870, in which he opposed the recognition of Cuban belligerency. That message was called a veto in advance. (*New York Times*, Apr. 18, 1898; *Springfield Republican*, Apr. 19, 1898; *New York Herald*, Apr. 18, 1898; Charles G. Dawes, *A Journal of the McKinley Years* [Chicago, 1950], 154-55.) Among the many important persons and organizations encouraging McKinley to stand firm were Chauncey Depew and the New York Republican Club, A. R. Whitney, Seth Low, William Rainey Harper, and Lyman Abbott. Political confidant Jacob Schmidlapp informed the President that Foraker lacked strength in Ohio on this issue. (Schmidlapp to McKinley, Apr. 16, 1898, McKinley Papers.) Congressmen who backed the President also received wide public support.

the Speaker and his lieutenants felt confident that they would win on the floor. But on Monday morning they learned that they had been overconfident and that "tares had been sown in their field even while they slept."⁸⁷

Fearing defeat, Reed arranged an adjournment for two hours to regroup his forces. A score or more of Republicans gathered in the Speaker's offices to discuss strategy. It was agreed that no debate should be permitted but that some concessions must be made to the advocates of independence for Cuba. Thus Representative Albert Hopkins and Majority Leader Dingley prepared a motion to accept the resolution preferred by the Senate; they deleted, however, the reference to recognition of Cuban independence and stated only that the people of Cuba "ought to be" free and independent.⁸⁸ Meanwhile, Senators Hanna, Elkins, and Julius Burrows worked among the representatives to offset the influence of Foraker, Chandler, Matthew Quay, and other war hawks and antiadministration men. At noon, when the House reassembled, both sides were confident. But the administration, which had made the necessary political adjustments, triumphed handily, by a vote of 178 to 156.⁸⁹

The decision in the House of Representatives was the turning point, though the battle would not end so long as the coalition of Democrats, Populists, and rebellious Republicans held sway in the Senate. For the next fourteen hours, there was constant legislative maneuvering on the floors of both chambers, in the corridors, and in conference committee. Gradually, faced with steady pressure from the administration, the bolting Republican senators returned to the fold—first jingo Mason, and Foraker, then Jacob Gallinger, Quay, George Perkins, and Boies Penrose. On Monday evening Foraker announced, "We yield for the sake of harmony." When administration senators persuaded Speaker Reed that the House of Representatives must make some minor concessions, the last Republican bolters relented. An exhausted Congress passed the resolution early on Tuesday morning, in the Senate by 42 to 35, and in the House by 311 to 6.⁴⁰

Senator Spooner of Wisconsin was deluged with congratulatory mail for backing McKinley. (John C. Spooner Papers, General Ser., Vols. XX, XXI, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.) Those who opposed the President were urged to give way. (Dana to Chandler, Apr. 18, 1898, Chandler Papers.)

⁸⁷ *New York Tribune*, Apr. 19, 1898. The Illinois and Pennsylvania delegations were shaky, but consented to remain loyal. (*Springfield Republican*, Apr. 19, 1898.)

⁸⁸ *New York Tribune*, Apr. 19, 1898; *Washington Post*, Apr. 19, 1898. "Clap it right on to them [without debate,]" advised "Uncle Joe" Cannon. (*Ibid.*)

⁸⁹ *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 18, 1898), 4041-42. Congressmen William Lorimer and James Mann and Governor John Tanner of Illinois also worked against the administration. (*Washington Post*, Apr. 18, 1898; *Washington Evening Star*, Apr. 18, 1898.)

⁴⁰ *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., XXXI (Apr. 18, 1898), 4018, 4033-41, 4056-61; Lodge, "Coming of War," 511; *Silver Knight-Watchman*, Apr. 21, 1898; *Washington Evening Star*, Apr. 18, 19, 1898. The Senate skirmished sharply over its selection of con-

The resolution adopted was not a war resolution.⁴¹ Rather, it provided for the use of military forces to end the "abhorrent conditions" in Cuba, included the self-denying Teller amendment, and stated that "the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent." Inclusion of the words "are, and" had inspired much argument during the final hours of maneuvering. But the resolution did not provide for recognition of the republic of Cuba. Indeed, except for the addition of the moderate Teller amendment, it was virtually identical with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's original version, which McKinley had approved. Senator Foraker lamely tried to claim that Congress had limited the power and discretion of the President and that the reference to the "free and independent" people of Cuba was of great importance.⁴² But few persons were impressed by his argument. The President and the cabinet expressed great satisfaction over the outcome.⁴³

McKinley had lost control of the situation temporarily to an unruly combination of idealistic jingoes, suspicious Populists, and political rivals. After great effort he re-established his authority over American foreign policy. He asserted the primacy of the President in foreign affairs at a time when either an independent-minded Congress or an inflamed public opinion might have inspired action that he deemed unwise. In this way he contributed substantially to strengthening the institution of the presidency.

It is ironical that scholars who favor a strong President have so often belittled McKinley. Admittedly, his style differed from that of some later Presidents, for he often acted quietly and indirectly, trying to persuade Congress to accept his views. He usually succeeded in gaining his ends and in retaining respect and good will. Contemporaries recognized his accomplishments. The view of the Springfield *Republican* was fairly representative of the reaction to his stand. After tracing the crisis to "party considera-

ferences, before choosing Davis, Foraker, and Morgan. Foraker had anticipated winning some concessions from the House; when he failed he displayed a spirit of compromise by supporting continuation of the conferences.

⁴¹ On April 20, the day after the resolution was passed, McKinley demanded that Spain agree by April 23 to abandon its military campaign and evacuate Cuba. Spain chose to break diplomatic relations. On April 22 the President proclaimed a blockade of Cuba, and on April 25 Congress declared that war had existed since April 21.

⁴² Joseph B. Foraker, "Justice and Necessity of the Spanish-American War," *Forum*, XXV (June 1898), 391-93. Chandler also claimed a partial victory in a letter to Dana, Apr. 19, 1898, Chandler Papers. But a few months later Foraker told Chandler that Congress had made a great mistake in not adopting the policy they favored. (Foraker to Chandler, Oct. 19, 1898, *ibid.*)

⁴³ *New York Times*, Apr. 20, 1898. Bliss to Root, Apr. 19, 1898, Root Papers; see also the congratulatory letters in the McKinley Papers. McKinley was able to operate satisfactorily under the resolutions of April 1898 until early 1901, when he desired to establish a civil government in Cuba. Then the Teller amendment proved somewhat inhibiting and inspired the embarrassing negotiations over the Platt amendment. (Root to John Hay, Jan. 11, 1901, to Leonard Wood, Jan. 9, 1901, to Albert Shaw, Feb. 23, 1901, Root Papers.)

tions" and "an unfortunate and unjustifiable distrust of the President by the radicals who belonged to both political organizations," the paper concluded with satisfaction that "the vast power of the President of the United States increases." There was "no precedent in American history" for the resolution that had been passed. "Yet the country is fortunate in having at its head, to exercise these enormous powers, a man who will not abuse them or seek his own or his people's aggrandizement."⁴⁴

Critics of McKinley's day attacked him for not pursuing a more aggressive policy toward Spain. Later critics have condemned him for failing to restrain warlike American public opinion, forgetting that McKinley gained widespread recognition for maintaining a steady course and calming the country down. His message to Congress was "exactly what the occasion prompted and the nation needed," wrote Robert Collier of *Collier's Weekly*, "an honest, comprehensive temperate statement."⁴⁵ A few days later, when the battle was over, the New York *Herald* breathed with relief at the defeat of "the doctrine of yellow diplomacy." Had the Turpie-Foraker amendment been adopted, "any emotional Congress swayed with politics or champagne could have recognized Fenian republics, Cuban insurrections, the Mahdi in the Soudan. . . . The independence of Cuba may come, but it will be among the consequences, not the causes, of the war."⁴⁶ This view was widely, if not universally, held.⁴⁷

The contemporary reaction to McKinley's leadership is evidence that not all of the criticism of his action on the eve of the Spanish-American War is warranted. McKinley knew what he wanted and accomplished his ends. (The pattern established in Cuba was important. He subsequently pursued a virtually identical course in dealing with the Philippine Islands.) He retained freedom of action for the country and for himself as President. He also blocked premature recognition of a Cuban government. This policy caused some ill feeling among the Cuban rebels. Yet, the New York-based Cuban junta was an ephemeral body, hardly a government, and certainly not representative of the Cuban people. And the island needed time to recover from the ravages of the war and to prepare for self-rule.⁴⁸

Following the war, McKinley's grasp of the Caribbean nettle continued to be impressive. He brought about the speedy end of military government in Cuba since he believed that the island must have a special relationship to-

⁴⁴ Springfield *Republican*, Apr. 20, 1898.

⁴⁵ Robert J. Collier, "The President's Message," *Collier's Weekly*, XXI (Apr. 23, 1898), 2-3.

⁴⁶ New York *Herald*, Apr. 20, 1898.

⁴⁷ See *Literary Digest*, XVI (Apr. 30, 1898), 515-16.

⁴⁸ After the war scholars continued to discuss the question of recognition of Cuba. (See, e.g., Horace E. Flack, *Spanish-American Diplomatic Relations Preceding the War of 1898* [Baltimore, 1906], 13 ff.)

ward this country while at the same time he insisted that the United States did not seek sovereignty over the island. He attempted to protect Cuba from those Americans who sought unwarranted privileges there and argued until his death that the United States must shoulder economic responsibilities for the "Pearl of the Antilles." He helped to make Americans aware of their obligations toward Cuba, even if he did not foresee the full extent of political turbulence that would follow upon the elimination of the Spanish regime.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ The New York *Herald* (Apr. 20, 1898) astutely anticipated some of the problems that occurred in Cuba.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

REPORT ON PROJECT HISTORY RETRIEVAL: TESTS AND DEMONSTRATIONS OF AN OPTIC-COINCIDENCE SYSTEM OF INFORMATION RETRIEVAL FOR HISTORICAL MATERIALS. By *Elizabeth Ingerman Wood*. [Sponsored jointly by the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum; Drexel Institute of Technology, Graduate School of Library Science. Drexel Library School Series, Number 14.] ([Philadelphia: Graduate School of Library Science, Drexel Institute of Technology; distrib. by Drexel Bookstore, Philadelphia.] 1966. Pp. xiii, 123. \$3.00.)

FACED with the explosion of printed materials, microfilms, manuscripts, and government documents, librarians and archivists have begun to apply the machinery and techniques of data processing to the crucial problem of locating and retrieving research materials from their often poorly organized and cramped collections in the simplest, most expeditious, and most complete way possible. As the author of this brief report on a test of one such system notes, "effective information retrieval can aid both historians and staff members in selecting pertinent materials more quickly and directly and it may also enable the historian to find in orderly fashion materials that can now only be found through accident." This pilot project involved the collections of a group of historical depositories ranging from the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Delaware State Archives to the New-York Historical Society and the Virginia Colonial Records Project. There were wide differences between these collections in the scope and nature of their holdings and their degree of organization and utility. The retrieval system used, the Optic-Coincidence system, "small, compact, inexpensive . . . within the budget of any institution," included punched cards, a light source, and a viewing screen. Each collection was first organized by breaking down the items in its holdings into identification components: proper name, date or time period, subject matter, and so forth. This information was grouped and punched onto the cards. Test questions were then asked as to the amount and location of materials on particular subjects, such as how many items in the Delaware State Archives would be useful for a biography of Caesar Rodney and how many lists of emigrants to the colony does the Virginia Colonial Records Project have. The Optic-Coincidence system located the materials requested in most cases with a completeness and rapidity that neither trained researchers nor librarians using present methods could have approached.

Although the system described here is quite simple, involving no great complexity of machinery, the vital elements of all such processes—organization, definition, categorization, speed, and completeness of retrieval—are all included and

pinpoint the potential of such technology. With the growth of data banks and computer sophistication, the historian will be able to deal ever more effectively with the problem of acquisition of relevant data no matter how quixotically located. This project report is worth perusal not only for its own usefulness but also as an indication of some of the possibilities opening up to the research historian.

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JOEL H. SILBEY

VSEMIKNAIA ISTORIA [World History]. Volume X. Edited by V. V. Kurasov *et al.* [Akademiia Nauk SSSR: Institut Istorii; Institut Narodov Asii; Institut Afriki; Institut Slavianovedeniia.] (Moscow: "Mysl'." 1965. Pp. 726.)

THIS is the final volume in an ambitious collective history of the world begun a decade ago under the auspices of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and to which some four hundred scholars have contributed. The purpose of the series is to provide an authoritative Marxist-Leninist schema and interpretation for world history, and the ten volumes are being translated and published in several countries of Eastern Europe, as well as in Greece and Japan. More interesting than Volume X itself is its "afterword" from the editorial board for the entire series, which includes many of the leading figures in Soviet historical science. After acknowledging that new research has modified some of the findings presented in earlier volumes and noting that, since the series began, Soviet historiography has been liberated "from a whole range of dogmatic positions that had held sway in the recent past [that is, Stalinism]," the editors make a plea for greater methodological and interpretive sophistication in Marxist historiography. They argue for more attention to the specific facts and "objective" conditions of different societies and periods and urge study of the complexities of contemporary Western society, of varieties of social change and revolution, of the complicated relationship between consciousness and action, of the admittedly tenuous tie between the "economic base" of society and ideas and culture, and of the interaction of the world scene with individual peoples and countries, including the problem of how some societies may "skip" the capitalist stage of historical development.

This volume presents a rather routine and uninspired summary of the Second World War from the Soviet point of view. Heavily emphasized is the Soviet role, as well as partisan and resistance movements. The treatment is chronological, except for brief chapters on Latin America, Africa, and the international Communist movement during the whole period. As usual, nothing is said about the secret Nazi-Soviet agreement for the occupation of Poland in 1939; Stalin and the Ministry of Defense are blamed for failing to prepare for Hitler's attack; and the Allies are accused of deliberately delaying the second front. The photographs are poorly reproduced, but there are some useful maps and drawings and an appendix that lists contributors to all the volumes of the series.

Indiana University

JOHN M. THOMPSON

SOCIAL ORIGINS OF DICTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY: LORD AND PEASANT IN THE MAKING OF THE MODERN WORLD. By *Barrington Moore, Jr.* (Boston: Beacon Press. 1966. Pp. xix, 559. \$10.00.)

IN this suggestive treatise, a prominent sociologist seeks to explain contemporary political systems by means of a comparative study of the role of landlords and peasants in the transformation of eight societies from an agrarian to an industrial way of life.

Moore sees three patterns emerging from his materials: in the English, French, and American cases, landlords and businessmen together seized the initiative within a democratic environment to invest agrarian profits in industry; in Germany and Japan, the landlords allied themselves with the state in an industrializing effort that culminated in fascism; and in Russia and China, the conservatism of the landlord-oriented bureaucracy served to inhibit modernization, and the peasants provided the revolutionary force that led to the establishment of Communism. In India, where landlords, businessmen, bureaucracies, and peasants have all been ineffective as modernizing forces, the bureaucracy still has an opportunity to evolve a democratic solution.

Moore sees these democratic, fascist, and Communist patterns, moreover, as "successive historical stages." Assuming that "democratic capitalism," to use his term, is past its zenith, he suggests that in Latin America and Africa the agrarian problem may well be solved by peasant revolutions that could lead to Communism.

There are some important general questions that historians will wish to raise about Moore's theoretical conclusions, whatever the specialists may have to say about his analysis of individual countries. In what sense have democracy, fascism, and Communism succeeded each other? The introduction of Communism, in fact, preceded that of fascism. In what sense did the conservative route taken by Germany and Japan "culminate" in fascism? In neither country did fascism survive for more than a dozen years. If Moore would maintain that the natural course of developments in Germany and Japan was interrupted by war and defeat, he would also have to acknowledge that war and near defeat had much to do with the success of Communism in Russia and China.

To express serious reservations regarding Moore's theoretical conclusions, however, is not to question the significance of his study. Approaching his material as a sociologist, Moore offers a challenge to historians to be bolder in their comparisons and more imaginative in their formulation of problems. Historians, for their part, can contribute to such studies a fuller appreciation of the considerations of ideology, social psychology, leadership, war and diplomacy, and, indeed, chance, that must be taken into account in addition to economics and class relationships in seeking to explain the transformation of societies.

Princeton University

C. E. BLACK

SOVEREIGNTY. By *F. H. Hinsley.* (New York: Basic Books. 1966. Pp. vii, 255. \$5.95.)

THIS history of sovereignty has a fascination all its own for it treats of failure, of what did not happen in the past. First, Hinsley considers why Europeans did

not conceive the concept of sovereignty before the sixteenth century. He then describes how men once again formulated the "notion of sovereignty [an idea that had eluded the twelfth-century Roman law revivalists] . . . in much the same way and by much the same process as when it was first formulated in imperial Roman times." This central theme is cogently reasoned, and it is logically consistent within itself; yet the more logically convincing the argument becomes, the less real it seems in history. To explain why a theory of sovereignty failed for so long to emerge, Hinsley concludes that its "emergence" required a dissolution of the medieval "framework of political thought which could not achieve independent standing, practical validity or general currency." This did not occur until "the revolutions in thought and politics of the period of the Reformation." A final chapter on sovereignty in the modern world turns from history to political science. Throughout the book, in fact, the particularities of history are often reduced to abstract propositions, a treatment that some historians may find abstruse.

Fortunately, *Sovereignty* reflects a historian's sense of time, place, and circumstance, and Hinsley's knowledge of European history has an extensive range. He reaches many broad conclusions; perhaps a few are overbold, but most of them seem plausible. The many "exceptions" that he conscientiously notes, however, almost invalidate the assumption that history and politics can be scientific. Actually, the recurrence of emergencies in governance, this analysis suggests, was what drove men to rationalize the excuses for their conduct into a theory of sovereignty. For them, sovereignty had a dual function: "within the community" to justify the supreme political authority; and in the "relations between states" to vindicate each nation's "independence." Within the international context sovereignty may no longer be "the sole international concept" and yet, Hinsley believes, still be "the central concept." To simplify so complex a subject successfully is indeed an achievement, and *Sovereignty* was surely a hard book to write. Yet it would be less difficult to read were there fewer overlong sentences, lost antecedents of "this," "that," and "which," and uses of "the fact that"—especially when the "fact" is a negation: "Perhaps the best proof of this may be seen in the fact that it was not by reference to a claim to sovereignty that imperialists defended themselves. . . ."

Yale University

WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR.

THE THINGS THAT ARE CAESAR'S. By *Milton Katz*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1966. Pp. 227, x. \$4.95.)

THE art of self-government requires any society that attempts to practice it to produce men of two capacities that successful Caesars must possess: ability to secure election by the community and to remain in power long enough to accomplish something, and skill enough to carry on with continuity the tasks that successful governing requires. One of the most significant problems that any self-governing society faces is whether it can command such capacities in sufficient quantity and in correct proportions, or, as the author describes it, in a "proper mix."

The chance that both capacities may be possessed by any one individual is so rare that self-government generally requires two classes of persons, each spe-

cializing in one of the two talents required. Because these two types have characters occasionally conflicting, there must be an accommodation of the contrasting traits.

Mr. Katz outlines in capsule form the history of this accommodation in ancient Rome, in the government produced by the French Revolution, in England, in Germany, and in the United States, and, to emphasize the problem and the need, details most recent efforts in the new state making in Africa, particularly in the Congo. His main purpose is to warn against possible ruinous consequences if the accommodation is not made.

The principal problem, particularly in the United States, has been to find sufficient numbers of people of both classes enlisted in the right proportions, to supply the "mix" needed to enable the government of this enormous democratic society to keep up with its growing and increasingly complex needs. This has required the establishment of a permanent civil service and the periodic election of a governing group who can be politically responsive and flexible in the face of popular pressures and who are willing and able, at the same time, both to make practical political choices and to sustain and support the permanent experts, the civil service, which for its part needs to be aware of the requirements of public opinion.

Katz implies that there is a subtle reciprocity between these two groups, the character of which is not uniformly understood, and that it is essential that it be better comprehended. The political officeholders and the civil service, the high-level policy makers and the permanent experts must possess a reciprocity of understanding. A "proper mix" is essential. This "mix" does not now exist; consequently there is not that successful accommodation between the two groups necessary for efficient government. This is particularly true in local government where conditions are even more difficult and dangerous.

The accommodation, which is essential, depends upon the skill with which recruiting is done in both categories of those involved in government—those political policy makers who pass in and out of the ranks of the high command, men of character and talent skilled in identifying themselves with Caesar's policies, and those in the permanent services who supply continuity, commitment, and *expertise* to the conduct of government.

This book is an example of a proper and expert application of accurate and penetrating historical knowledge directed to the solution of a basic problem of self-government. Let us hope that it will have wide reading and serious consideration in high circles.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

SHAKESPEARE CELEBRATED: ANNIVERSARY LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE FOLGER LIBRARY. Edited by *Louis B. Wright*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the Folger Shakespeare Library. 1966. Pp. v, 176. \$5.00.)

THE unity of this *Festschrift* derives from the celebration by the Folger Shakespeare Library in 1964-1965 of the four-hundredth anniversary of Shakespeare's birth. From the lectures given by the many scholarly visitors or researchers

there during that year, the editor, also director of the library, selected seven for publication in this volume.

The book, typographically fitting, scholarly, and well written, stands as a monument to the enlightened humanism of the Folger during the last fifteen or so years, when it could have been merely a warehouse of folios and quartos. It does not, of course, carry insurance that it will escape the difficulties that usually beset *Festschriften*; a few words in this journal about each essay may guide scholars to it in future decades.

In the first paper, "Shakespeare between Two Civil Wars," C. V. Wedgwood gives a pleasant account of England's condition and prospects during Shakespeare's life, concentrating particularly on the high valuation placed on peace after the troubles of the fifteenth century and the dangers of the sixteenth. To accomplish this she chooses and discusses passages from the plays, especially the histories, that may reflect Shakespeare's points of view, hopes, and fears.

D. B. Quinn, in "The Road to Jamestown," suggests that the English and French had a more experimental attitude toward colonizing than the Iberians, that the English experience during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries showed that the more complete the social entity established, the more chance of permanence, and that state support, and the desire to have its economy complement England's, counted decisively toward the success of Jamestown. Madeleine Doran, in "Shakespeare as an Experimental Dramatist," makes a case that while Shakespeare stood for "Nature" as opposed to "Art" in the ancient debate, it was with full knowledge of the rules of "Art" that he transgressed them ever more boldly. A. R. Humphreys, in "Shakespeare and the Tudor Perception of History," shows how Shakespeare's histories "embody a peculiar wealth of national story and character."

"Shakespeare in Czechoslovakia," by Zdeněk Sřřbrný, traces the history of the Bohemians visiting the London theater in Shakespeare's time and seeing his plays at home from the seventeenth century to 1964, and he points out how Shakespeare rallied the spirits and roused the nationalism of Bohemians. Sergio Baldi discusses Shakespeare as poet, in "Shakespeare's Sonnets as Literature," to show how "literary trends, the Platonic, the manneristic, and even the baroque, worked together to give their actual form to Shakespeare's sonnets." The final essay, by Frederick Hard, "Sidney Lanier: Amateur Shakespearean," brings Shakespeare to nineteenth-century America, and shows how this descendant of the illustrious court musicians of Shakespeare's day led America into scholarly study of Shakespeare, stressing music as a key.

Although five of the seven essays are written by professors of English literature, historians should not neglect this book. Some will find it useful; most will enjoy it.

University of California, Davis

WALTER L. WOODFILL

ENGINEERS OF THE RENAISSANCE. By *Bertrand Gille*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1966. Pp. 254. \$12.00.)

PROFESSOR Gille's study, published first as *Les ingénieurs de la Renaissance*

(1964), is the first book devoted entirely to this subject. Two themes dominate: the first deals with the place of Leonardo da Vinci in the history of science and technology; a second emerges in Gille's attempt to base the scientific revolution largely on the interests and activities of the engineers. Of the two, the author's reappraisal of Leonardo seems the more convincing, and here his views are based upon a detailed knowledge of fifteenth-century manuscript sources. A view of the Renaissance engineer emerges that corresponds closely with the career and interests of Leonardo. Even his famed inventions are shown to have been largely borrowed from the work of men such as Alberti, Fontana, Valturio, Taccola, and Francesco di Giorgio.

The reader may well sympathize with this characterization of Leonardo as a man of his own age rather than as an isolated genius, but he may entertain grave doubts about Gille's interpretation of the birth of modern science, which he views primarily as the triumph of Archimedean engineering tradition. Surely few would argue against the importance of technological advance in the rise of modern science, but the complexity of this period requires that it be viewed against a much broader background than that Gille has chosen to depict. I feel that the Scholastic criticism of Aristotelian thought is of more importance for modern science than he has indicated. One cannot help but feel that Gille's enthusiasm has led him to overplay his hand in attempting to connect this criticism with the work of contemporary engineers. In addition, it is perhaps even more questionable for him to have ignored Renaissance Neoplatonism in his account. This may have had little connection with engineering, but it most certainly influenced sixteenth- and seventeenth-century views of nature and mathematics. In short, while Renaissance technology may properly be considered significant, it is doubtful whether it should be considered the most important stimulus for the rise of modern science.

The scholar may be disturbed by other aspects of this book. Historians might well question the categorization of all Greek works after about 50 B.C. as "Byzantine." And the decision to eliminate all footnotes is hardly atoned for by the short list of additional readings for each chapter. The "Catalogue of Manuscripts," on the other hand, is a most valuable contribution that most certainly will be used by all researchers in this field.

As a first attempt to deal with an important subject, this book predictably succeeds in some areas and fails in others. The multitude of questions that it poses, however, cannot help but encourage further research.

University of Chicago

ALLEN G. DEBUS

VOLTAIRE'S CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER. By *Merle L. Perkins*. [Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, Volume XXXVI.] (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire; distrib. by Librairie Droz, Geneva. 1965. Pp. 342.)

MERLE L. Perkins is an authority on the writings of Voltaire. In this scholarly analysis he dissects Voltaire's views on government and statecraft before he discusses the titular theme, international order, in the ninth and concluding chapter. The first eight chapters are titled "The Nations of the Earth," "European

Politics," "International Law," "Peace Projects of Saint-Pierre and Rousseau," "Enlightened Despots," "Sources of War," "Individual Rights and Popular Sovereignty," and "National Power and Foreign Policy."

Voltaire's concepts were a product of wide critical reading and much independent thought, as Perkins convincingly demonstrates. He also traces the shaping influence of contemporary events, identifying, for instance, six stages in Voltaire's varying concept of the benevolent ruler. "His concept changed with the times and circumstances and is usually closely allied with eighteenth-century events and aspirations." While acknowledging such ideational shifts, however, Perkins insists that Voltaire's deeper convictions on man's nature and potentialities were more constant and retain validity today. "Many of his views still appear sound and relevant."

The international order, as Voltaire conceived it, depended upon man's rational impulses. Although Voltaire moved away from divine authority and Platonic truths, discarding absolutist for relativist notions, he kept a flickering faith in the rectifying influence of human reason. Perhaps the clearest expression of this faith occurs at the close of the *Essai sur les mœurs*. "Amidst these sackings and destructions which we note in the space of nine hundred years," the *Essai* concludes, "we see a love for order which secretly animates the human race and has prevented its total ruin."

There is a current tendency to reaffirm the practicality and realism of the philosophes, and the present work should strengthen this school of interpretation. Scholars will appreciate its explicit documentation, especially the citations from the Besterman edition of Voltaire's correspondence, and will value the illustrative passages and the list of pertinent books in Voltaire's library, provided in two appendixes. The volume closes with a "Partial List of Works Consulted" and a short "Index of Persons."

Ithaca, New York

GEOFFREY BRUNN

WAR, POLITICS, AND DIPLOMACY: SELECTED ESSAYS. By *Gordon A. Craig*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1966. Pp. x, 297. \$7.50.)

In this volume Professor Craig has assembled fifteen essays written between 1941 and 1965 and ranging from an appreciation of Hans Delbrück, the founder of modern military history "within the framework of general history," to an article describing the diplomatic potential of the emerging "new nations." The essays are broadly divided into three categories. The first group contains four pieces on "The Art of War," the second, three papers on "Civil-Military Relations," while the remainder deal with "Diplomacy." To be sure, the boundaries between the categories are not, and cannot be, sharply drawn.

This essential interrelationship is clearly demonstrated in the first three essays. In the "Command and Staff Problems in the Austrian Army, 1740-1866," the author shows how in the Habsburg Empire the army never achieved the supremacy over civilian authorities that its counterpart held in Prussia. And while this hampered the development of professionalization and the rise of an effective staff and command structure, which on several occasions produced defeat, the civilian supremacy was not without its positive side. Discussing the

"Problems of Coalition Warfare: The Military Alliance against Napoleon, 1813-14," Craig finds that the alliance, pursuing sharply differing objectives, was made militarily effective and in fact only kept together by diplomatic skill and fears about the re-emergence of Napoleon. This skill, however, the author notes, was notably lacking in "The Military Cohesion of the Austro-German Alliance, 1914-18," where lack of proper political as well as military coordination resulted in such major initial setbacks that by 1917 "the military effectiveness of the alliance was beyond salvation." These three articles are lucid variations on the main theme and welcome contributions to the field of Austrian military history which, in this country at least, has been almost totally neglected. The section appropriately concludes with an essay on Delbrück.

In the second section Craig returns to the field for which he is perhaps best known: German military history. Besides a study of Edwin von Manteuffel, the author offers two essays that contrast civil-military relationships in Germany under the Iron Chancellor and during World War II. While the first two studies show the military at their height, the third reveals how far, comparatively, the power and influence of that group had declined under Hitler.

The final section considers a broad spectrum. There are essays on "Neutrality in the Nineteenth Century" and a case study of British nonintervention in Belgium in 1869. They are followed by papers discussing the more technical aspects of diplomacy, ranging from "Bismarck and His Ambassadors" to a discussion of "John Foster Dulles and American Statecraft." Perhaps the most perceptive and important contribution here is "The Revolution in War and Diplomacy, 1914-39," which delineates the changing role of the professional diplomat and his art under the impact of war, revolution, and totalitarianism.

Nine of the essays have previously appeared in books, journals, and proceedings; two were privately printed; and four are published here for the first time. Bringing these masterful essays together is very valuable. Whether they are read here for the first time or reread again, they provide new insights and open up new perspectives.

University of New Mexico

GUNTHER E. ROTHENBERG

VOICES PROPHECYING WAR, 1763-1984. By I. F. Clarke. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 254. \$10.00.)

I. F. CLARKE has tackled a long-neglected subject: imaginary works dealing with wars of the future. While it is true that a number of these existed before 1871, he shows that it was G. T. Chesney's *The Battle of Dorking* that really started the fad. In it Chesney showed how Britain was defeated by an invasion following the neglect of its armed forces and its defenses by the government of the day. The political motive employing a propagandist technique then became the feature of many such stories up to the present. A change occurred, however, after the 1904 *Entente* when the theme was not invasions of Britain by France but similar attacks by Germany. In all of these stories up to the First World War there were, says Clarke, two conflicting yet unrecognized trains of thought centering on the idea that the ideal war could save the ideal state. He maintains that this was so because people still looked upon applied science as all for the good. But after the

disillusionment of 1914, a struggle he believes these works helped promote, people became pessimists. Thus after the war he sees all these works heading straight to Nevil Shute's *On the Beach* and to George Orwell's *1984*, which compelled men to look upon modern atomic war as suicidal where world civilization is concerned. In all of this he bridges the gap between intellectual and military history as his extensive triple bibliography indicates.

All of this is fine. There is the feeling, however, that particularly in the twentieth century the author has not correlated his literary findings with military thinking. Was the fictional war not in some cases, such as in the air war literature of the interwar years, as much the product of interservice, and even intraservice, rivalries as of imagination? Mathematical computations of destruction were commonly used in parliamentary debates in the early 1920's and by P. R. C. Groves in his 1922 *Our Future in the Air*, which is not at all the same book as his 1935 work of this title, the one Clarke cites.

Kansas State University

ROBIN HIGHAM

THE EASTERN QUESTION, 1774-1923: A STUDY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By M. S. Anderson. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1966. Pp. xxi, 435. \$9.00.)

THIS is a judicious and useful survey of the Eastern Question from Kutchuk-Kainardji to the end of the Ottoman Empire. It is not original in its data or interpretations; nor does it claim to be so. But it is a well-informed, integrative study based on obvious mastery of the vast amount of monographic literature, both Western and Russian, that has appeared on this subject in recent decades. The organization is traditional, as is evident in the chapter headings: "The Ottoman Empire and the Great Powers, 1774-98"; "The Napoleonic Wars and the Growth of Balkan Nationalism, 1798-1821"; "The Greek War of Independence and the First Mohammed Ali Crisis, 1821-33"; "The Second Mohammed Ali Crisis, 1833-41"; "Anglo-Russian Relations and the Crimean War, 1841-56"; "From the Treaty of Paris to the Bosnian Revolt, 1856-76"; "The Eastern Crisis of 1875-8"; "The Near East after the Congress of Berlin, 1878-96"; "The Baghdad Railway, the Macedonian Question and the Bosnian Crisis, 1896-1909"; "The Near East before the First World War, 1909-14"; "The War of 1914-18"; "The Peace Settlement, 1918-23."

The brief "Conclusion" of ten pages is noteworthy for its thoughtful reflections. The author expresses "an impression of sterility" concerning the Eastern Question, originating primarily from the self-neutralizing policies of the Powers. Their persistent suspicions and interventions appear in the light of historical perspective to have been greatly exaggerated when weighed against their interests. They were able to maintain a precarious balance amongst themselves and to postpone the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, but more than this they could not achieve. Consequently, the interminable maneuvering and crises that comprise the perennial Eastern Question appear in retrospect to have been fruitless and irrelevant to the real interests of both the Powers and of the Near Eastern peoples.

Northwestern University

L. S. STAVRIANOS

THE CONVERGENT CENTURY: THE UNIFICATION OF SCIENCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Harold I. Sharlin*. [The Life of Science Library, Number 46.] (New York: Abelard-Schuman. 1966. Pp. 229. \$6.50.)

PROFESSOR Sharlin writes of major innovations in nineteenth-century scientific theory, limiting himself to physics and chemistry. The result is a discussion of the French mathematicians' analysis of current electricity; the working out of the laws of thermodynamics; Faraday's theories of electromagnetic phenomena; the evolution of concepts of the atom and the molecule; and William Thomson's and James Clerk Maxwell's elaboration of Faraday's electromagnetism. There are also chapters on the study of light waves; the development of the kinetic theory of gases; the application by the American, Josiah Willard Gibbs, of thermodynamics to chemistry; the emergence of theories of cathode ray phenomena; and the diffusion of science.

The author's approach to his subject is straightforward. He writes about the towering figures in chemistry and physics, giving to each a short biographical sketch before focusing on their most significant work. The scope is limited to the development of ideas about science and the scientific method. This is not a social history of science; nor did the author intend it to be.

The interpretive themes providing coherence are those of convergence, controversy, and scientific method. Seizing upon the conviction of many nineteenth-century scientists that they were nearing a great unifying concept of nature, Sharlin discusses at length the concept of the conservation of energy. He does not, however, sufficiently stress that the emergence of the electron concept at the century's end was of little help to the great synthesizers. He has stimulatingly emphasized the controversy between intelligent men who advanced persuasive conflicting explanations of phenomena. In this connection, the chapter on cathode rays is particularly good. Sharlin avoids the use of the phrase "scientific method" to prevent, I suppose, the reader from recalling simplistic definitions encountered elsewhere. Yet, in writing of mathematical explanation, experimentation, model imagery, and analogy, he helps his reader comprehend the method. The section on Maxwell, Thomson, and electric force provides the most direct access to the author's ideas on analogy and model building. Throughout the book Sharlin contrasts the mathematical method of the French and the less abstract approach of the British and the late nineteenth-century Germans.

For sources Sharlin relied heavily upon the classical papers of the scientists and the classics among the secondary works. There is little indication that he drew upon his contemporaries in the history of science. Thus his book lacks some sophistication and complexity, though its basis is solid. Only occasionally does the author extend himself beyond these foundations and lay about him with generalities. My comments do not, however, take into account Sharlin's chapter on the encouragement and diffusion of science. The less said about this foray into the institutionalization of science, the better.

Johns Hopkins University

THOMAS P. HUGHES

SCIENCE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Edited and with a general preface by *René Taton*. Translated by *A. J. Pomerans*. [History of Science.] (New York: Basic Books. 1966. Pp. xxiv, 638. \$17.50.)

FIFTY-SIX experts were enlisted to cover the history of science in the twentieth century. The result is not history; it is an undigestible compendium.

Each of the contributors is an expert in one field of science, and rarely can such experts explain what is being done in language comprehensible to an outsider. One notable exception is Louis de Broglie. His chapter on atomic and quantum physics discusses the scientific endeavor for what it is, an attempt to derive acceptable theories from conflicting evidence. Most of the other authors, however, fail completely as historians and are satisfied to be chroniclers of "milestones."

Is it inherently impossible to treat the formulation of scientific theories as history? I think not. Scientists, like historians, begin their research with the generalizations of the time. In the nineteenth century, for example, energy seemed to be the key to understanding. Conservation of energy was the grand generalization of the century, and the important theories used the word dynamic. When we know something about the generalization of the period from which scientific theories were formulated, individual discoveries appear related and comprehensible.

The chapter on geology is more like the nineteenth-century British Association for the Advancement of Science reports that told of the "history and present state" of theory in different areas of science. That approach provides a basis for an interim report before the general direction of theory becomes clearly marked.

Part VI, "Science and Society," is especially disappointing because the editor's introduction speaks of science in our time as having "become a social factor of prime importance." The section on science in the United States is good, but the one on the USSR sounds like a political tract. I do not understand why there should be sections on Latin America and Vietnam when they conclude that nothing of importance is being done in those places.

Science in the Twentieth Century represents much work by sincere and intelligent scientists, and it is not the only time scientists have failed as historians. All historians should, however, read this volume. Perhaps it will convince them that historians should become interested in rescuing the history of science from the empiricists.

Iowa State University

HAROLD I. SHARLIN

INDUSTRIALIZATION IN TWO SYSTEMS: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF ALEXANDER GERSCHENKRON BY A GROUP OF HIS STUDENTS.

Henry Rosovsky, Editor. (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1966. Pp. ix, 289. \$6.95.)

THIS interesting collection of papers contrasts the economic growth of capitalist societies—particularly the United States, Great Britain, and Japan—with the pattern of economic development generated by Soviet Communism. Containing the original contributions of ten economists, all former students of Professor

Gerschenkron, the volume features the application of the tools of economic analysis to historical situations, an approach utilized in Gerschenkron's works. The issues discussed include technological change in pre-Civil War United States, decline of the British steel industry, the Meiji transformation in Japan, human capital formation in the US, a critique of historical statistics, and the role of money in the Soviet economy.

Part One, which deals with various aspects of capitalist economies, is introduced by a quotation from Gerschenkron's book, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*: "Historical research consists essentially in application to empirical material of various sets of empirically derived hypothetical generalizations and in testing the closeness of the resulting fit in the hope that in this way certain uniformities, certain typical situations, and certain typical relationships among individual factors in these situations can be ascertained. None of these lends itself to easy extrapolations. All that can be achieved is an extraction from the vast storehouse of the past of sets of intelligent questions that may be addressed to current materials."

Part One consists of five unrelated essays: "The Mechanization of Reaping in the Ante-Bellum Midwest" by Paul A. David; "The Common School Revival: Fact or Fancy" by Albert Fishlow; "No Safety in Numbers: Some Pitfalls of Historical Statistics" by Goran Ohlin; "Japan's Transition to Modern Economic Growth, 1868-1885," by Henry Rosovsky; and "The Relative Decline of the British Steel Industry, 1880-1913," by Peter Temin.

Historians and demographers will find Ohlin's stimulating essay of particular interest. He considers a number of estimates of mortality in medieval Europe and their relationship to the interpretations of the economic dynamics of pre-industrial growth. Rosovsky's essay is disappointing in that it merely re-covers ground previously analyzed by Norman, Allen, Lockwood, Ohkawa, Crawcour, Tsuchiya, Tsuru, Patrick, and others.

Part Two is entitled "Industrialization in Planned Economies" and is introduced by the following quotation from Gerschenkron's *Soviet Economic Growth*: "Neither the great landmarks in the economic history of the Soviet Union over the past 35 years nor the specific institutional arrangements which are characteristic of the Soviet economy need be explained by recourse to Marxism. Rather, it is much more plausible to explain both the formidable changes that have taken place and the *modus operandi* of the Soviet economy in part as a recurrence of a traditional pattern of Russian economic development; in part as stemming from the exigencies of a given situation and, most of all, as emanating from the mechanics of power politics—that is to say, essentially as necessitated by the desire of a dictatorial government to augment and to perpetuate its power position."

There are five essays in Part Two: "The Economics of Overtaking and Surpassing" by Joseph S. Berliner; "On the Theory of Economic Administration" by Robert W. Campbell; "Gold and the Sword: Money in the Soviet Command Economy" by Gregory Grossman; "Foreign Trade Behavior of Centrally Planned Economies" by Franklyn D. Holzman; and "Pressure and Planning in the Soviet Economy" by Herbert S. Levine.

The application of economic analysis to economic history emerges clearly in

Part Two, which appears to have an internal consistency and coherence lacking in Part One. Perhaps because they are concerned mainly with the prime socialist economy, the essays seem more meaningful and interrelated than do those in Part One. Levine concludes the final essay by noting that it is the task of the apprentice to learn the master's methods, but the master should never be held responsible for the foolishness of the apprentice. A wrathful God, Levine says, once spoke of *poked awon avoth al banim*, but he did not even countenance *poked awon banim al avoth*. Levine notes that for those who, unlike Gerschenkron, cannot handle a multitude of foreign languages: a wrathful God once spoke of "visiting the sins of the fathers upon the sons," but even he did not countenance "visiting the sins of the sons upon the fathers." Fortunately, for Gerschenkron, the teachings of the master seem to have flourished in the hands of the sons.

City University of New York

JEROME B. COHEN

GOLD AND WORLD POWER: THE DOLLAR, THE POUND, AND THE PLANS FOR REFORM. By *Sidney E. Rolfe*. With the assistance of *Robert G. Hawkins*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1966. Pp. viii, 276. \$6.95.)

A SENSE of apprehension animates this book. The author is much concerned lest unrealistic planners of international monetary reform shall espouse policies likely to restrict severely the international movement of money, men, and materials. Such restrictions may ensue, he believes, unless the international economy is freed from reliance upon gold and from addiction to arbitrary evaluation of currencies. As one means to secure this freedom, present monetary planners should consider, dispassionately, utilization of some degree of the principle of flexible exchange rates.

The first third of this book presents a general summary of twentieth-century balance of payments problems, concluding with the rise of the Bretton Woods system. Analyses of the subsequent plight and prospects of the British pound and the dilemmas of the dollar follow. Next comes a descriptive critique of the principal plans for reform and, finally, a plea that preoccupation with liquidity problems shall not shunt aside basic adjustment to actual conditions with adoption of flexible exchange rates. Argumentation is buttressed by twelve graphic charts and three tables portraying economic trends of 1950-1964, mostly related to the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and West Germany from 1960, with some reference to Canada, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. Stress lies on outstanding facets of economic change. A four-page bibliography reflects chiefly the range of argumentation in 1960-1964 writings, including some from Chicago's renowned "Friedman School" of economic theory.

The past is monitory, but planners must look to the future. Although Britons have talked so much of their long-run economic problem that they "are probably the best educated nation in the world on their own domestic difficulties," yet their "incomes" policy shows signs of being "based on dubious assumptions." As for Americans, they err in assuming that "devaluation is a sign of weakness"; rather, they should recognize that their addiction to "classical medicine" has brought "huge losses of potential output and employment." Their position is too

serious for them to ape the congressional conservatives who at Bretton Woods "confused today with always." Under international liberalism with fixed exchange rates they cannot attain domestic growth and full employment.

Since Mr. Rolfe frankly admits that "no one plan for reforming the international monetary system is perfect" and since neither economists nor historians are notorious for agreeing among themselves, a reviewer does better to present Rolfe's view than to criticize it. But the book could have been helped by somewhat more precise diction and far better proofreading.

University of Pennsylvania

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

THE STRICKEN PEACOCK: ANGLO-BURMESE RELATIONS, 1752-1948.

By Maung Htin Aung. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1965. Pp. xii, 135. 16.25 gls.)

MAUNG Htin Aung, who formerly served as vice-chancellor of the University of Rangoon as well as Burma's ambassador to Ceylon, seeks to provide in *The Stricken Peacock* a long-overdue Burmese interpretation of his country's complicated relationship with Britain in the nearly two-hundred-year period from 1752 to 1948.

The work is a trying one. Htin Aung attacks with vigor and, more often than not, with justification the frequently parochial studies of English historians of Burma, especially D. G. E. Hall, G. E. Harvey, E. C. V. Foucar, and Brian Harrison. He also takes frequent issue with the American historian John F. Cady.

The book's major shortcoming is the author's overwhelming dependence on a handful of other English-language secondary sources, particularly Dorothy Woodman's *The Making of Burma* (1962), a good book which he cites again and again in criticizing the works of Hall and Harvey in particular. Htin Aung refers in his preface to documents collected when he was chairman of the Burma Historical Commission, but he cites very few of them. Likewise, he specifically excludes such primary material from his bibliography, asserting that other works already include such references.

In short, Htin Aung's book is pro-Burmese, which one would expect in view of its author's distinguished record of service to his country, but it is not really a Burmese interpretation. Like the criticized works of Hall and Harrison, it draws almost wholly on English-language sources and secondary ones at that. There is no evidence of significant original research on the author's part.

The Stricken Peacock also suffers from its far too brief and much less scholarly treatment of British colonial rule and Japan's wartime occupation. The first 95 of 125 pages of text deal in detail with the British conquest of Burma, although the author states his intention to cover the whole period 1752-1948. Htin Aung's treatment of the later years suffers in comparison with the rest of his book, particularly since he says nothing that has not been said previously by the same scholars he attacks earlier in the work.

The above criticisms notwithstanding, the fact remains that Htin Aung has produced a well-written, lively, and more than modestly justified critical essay

dealing with the inadequacies of past and persisting European histories of Burma and particularly of that country's relations with Britain.

University of Kentucky

RICHARD BUTWELL

INDIA AND THE PERSIAN GULF REGION, 1858-1907: A STUDY IN BRITISH IMPERIAL POLICY. By *Ravinder Kumar*. (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1965. Pp. 259. \$10.75.)

RAVINDER Kumar has traced the rise of Anglo-Indian supremacy in the Persian Gulf in the half century preceding the Anglo-Russian entente of 1907. It is a novel work, the first full-length study of the subject written by an Indian scholar and based largely on the unpublished records of the Foreign Department of British India, records that now form an important part of the national archives of sovereign India. The second half of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth, it must be remembered, antedated the discovery of oil in the territories washed by the gulf, and since no other natural resources in the zone whetted European imperial appetites at the time, Anglo-India's interest in it remained preclusive, simply that of excluding rival powers. The author details the successive efforts by the Ottoman Empire and Persia, as Asian states bordering on the gulf, to reassert rights that had been allowed to wither, and by France, Russia, and Germany, as expansive European powers with varying interests and aspirations, to stake imperial claims. Each such effort, Kumar shows, the British rulers of India viewed as a threat to the defense of the subcontinent, and as Anglo-India frustrated the challengers one after another, it progressively established its exclusive position.

The India Office, as Kumar implies now and again, took the durable decisions on the gulf on viceregal recommendation yet in cooperation with the Foreign Office. But the views of the Foreign Office receive only scant attention, because no more than a fragment of its relevant correspondence ever reached the subcontinent. The book thus suffers from an overreliance on sources available in Delhi. This is also reflected in the time span that Kumar adopted. The year 1858 was momentous in India's relationship with Britain. A better starting point, however, for the study of Anglo-Indian dominance in the gulf would have been 1798, when the East India Company concluded an agreement with the shaykh of Masqat as a defensive measure against Napoleon's occupation of Egypt. Better still would have been the year 1880, when the shaykh of Bahrayn became the first gulf ruler to surrender his external sovereignty to Britain. In either case, a logical stopping point would have been 1916, when Qatar's admission to the system of quasi protectorates and nonalienation bonds consummated Anglo-Indian hegemony in the gulf. Finally, the author did not quite erase all traces of the dissertation out of which the book grew, as attested by the massive, and often redundant, annotation and the ascendancy of fact over interpretation and analysis.

Still, within these limits, it is a useful book that brings us one step closer to an understanding of the origins of Britain's special position in the Persian Gulf, and a timely one, too, now that that special position appears to be coming to an end.

Columbia University

J. C. HUREWITZ

AMERICANS IN AFRICA, 1865-1900. By *Clarence Clendenen et al.* [Hoover Institution Studies, Number 17.] ([Stanford, Calif.:] Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University. 1966. Pp. 130. Cloth \$4.00, paper \$3.00.)

TYING together materials largely from secondary sources, this work paints in broad outline the story of American involvement in Africa during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It is generally a picture of decline and neglect until the era of Henry M. Stanley, the pivotal American figure of the book and the period. His quest of Livingstone, his epic journey across Africa, his relations with Leopold II of Belgium, and his exploits in behalf of the Congo Free State are dealt with, along with the consequences ensuing from American recognition of that state. A collage of American adventurers (including Stanley) into the Congo Basin follows, resulting, the authors would have us believe, in inner Africa becoming "almost as familiar as the prairies of Kansas." Finally, the role of American adventurers, missionaries, and engineers in the northern and southern parts of Africa is assessed.

As anything but a useful introduction to the subject, which it is, the book falls somewhat short of the mark. It is inadequate in depth, and, relying almost solely on secondary sources, it uncovers nothing new. Its emphasis is sometimes out of proportion. Three pages, for instance, are devoted to an apologia for the record of the United States African Squadron off the coast, which, besides being seriously open to question, is outside the scope and time span of the book. Yet Stanley's Emin Pasha expedition merits just two sentences; and of George W. Williams, American journalist, clergyman, attorney, and Negro historian, who alerted the world to Leopold II's activities in the Congo in 1890, there is not a word.

Further, the authors' zeal to give Americans their due, combined with the book's brevity, sometimes leads them into unsupported generalizations and errors. Their Stanley in 1884 is the "world's foremost expert on Africa," and they assert that historians have generally overlooked his "steel-like resolution and hardness." They have Stanley and Livingstone proceeding to the Lualaba after exploring northern Lake Tanganyika, and Stanley discovering Lake Mweru during his transcontinental expedition. Neither occurred; nor was the Zanzibar trade the *raison d'être* for any New England ports.

Despite some shortcomings, an introduction such as this is to be welcomed, and it should spark more research into a neglected but very interesting area.

Ohio University

ALAN R. BOOTH

LA GUERRE DE 1914-1918: LES OPÉRATIONS MILITAIRES. By *L. Koeltz*. [L'histoire du xx^e siècle.] (Paris: Éditions Sirey. 1966. Pp. 653. 60 fr.)

AN intelligent, thoughtful, and articulate professional soldier who capped a distinguished military career by serving as a corps commander in the North African campaign of World War II, General Koeltz has brought immense experience and knowledge to his history of the military operations of World War I. His focus is determined by a statement made in 1904 by Colonel Ferdinand Foch, who said:

"Whoever wants to understand warfare must try to understand those who wage it. The key to military history is found in the headquarters." That is, it is found in the intentions, plans, and actions of the higher commanders.

Koeltz has admirably carried out his purpose in clear and cleanly written prose. He presents the principal military personages in the acts of estimating and selecting courses of action according to the precepts of strategy, tactics, and logistics; enough of the political situation to give framework and motivation for the military activities; sufficient material on organization, weapons, and doctrine to make comprehensive the employment of forces; and, where necessary, personality sketches to include the human fallibility and frailty that are part of all decisions.

The work is military history in its purest sense. Stressing the management of military forces, concentrating on the mass rather than on the individual, it is impersonal and reasoned. It is, as might be expected, indubitably French in outlook. Koeltz's main interest is the Franco-German struggle. All other participants occupy the fringes of his central concern, his attempt to discover the answer to a question that torments him: did Germany lose the war or did France win? His conclusion seems somewhat forced: Ludendorff, he says, was conquered by Foch. This, in the final analysis, may be why such matters as the collapse of Russia, the entry of the United States, and the other fronts seem to receive relatively brief attention. And perhaps it is why his treatment of Pershing, for example, is cursory, his judgment of the Meuse-Argonne offensive less than complimentary.

But given a subject of such complexity and scope, the narrative is absorbing, comprehensive, and highly informative.

Department of the Army

MARTIN BLUMENSON

HITLER & JAPAN: THE HOLLOW ALLIANCE. By *Johanna Menzel Meskill*. (New York: Atherton Press. 1966. Pp. x, 245. \$6.75.)

HISTORIANS have long known that the Axis alliance was an instant failure as a diplomatic instrument. This excellent monograph shows how equally disappointing it was to Germany and Japan as a military partnership. Not that the Axis Powers lost great opportunities for victory, for there were none to be lost, but such opportunities as existed for fruitful cooperation were not really exploited, often for frivolous reasons. Neither in 1940 nor later did Germany and Japan coordinate their political and strategic goals. Neither tried seriously for a combined grand strategy (for example, a Middle Eastern drive in 1942). Economic and technical mutual assistance made only a minor contribution to their respective war efforts. Even in the area of least friction—the division of the world for their respective "New Orders"—quarrels over economic interests still arose.

This work's many virtues include judicious use of a wide range of sources, particularly German documents, a clear, compact, straightforward style, and, most important, the quality of raising pertinent questions and answering them convincingly. Where the author does not know the answers, she says so; where conjecture is necessary, her arguments are persuasive. There are some debatable

interpretations, but none affect the value or thesis of the book. Except for a rather thin final chapter, it is solidly informative throughout.

The only mildly disturbing aspect is a reverse side of the book's strength. Professor Meskill is so good at discovering reasons for policy decisions, even foolish and self-defeating ones, that the irrational element in German-Japanese relations tends to be underrated. She recognizes the final irrationality of their aims and irrational elements in their decision-making processes. Yet mainly the disharmony in the alliance derives from each power's refusal to subordinate selfish private goals to the common end. While true, this obscures a worth-while distinction: Japan used the alliance selfishly, but the Germans, especially Hitler, often used it senselessly. A pervasive, fundamental irrationality appears in Nazi diplomacy, here as elsewhere—the refusal to recognize that commitments are commitments, and actions have consequences. Meskill gives us instances of such thinking, describing, for example, how Germany suddenly in 1941 wanted the pact, defensive and anti-US, transformed into an offensive military alliance against Great Britain, "as if the pact were a lamp that needed only to be rubbed in the right way to bring out its power." Precisely this kind of inconsequence, in contrast to the relative sobriety of Japanese diplomacy, helps account for many phenomena the author describes: Japan usually got the better of Germany in concrete agreements, Germany repeatedly tried to reassert rights it had previously signed away, and Nazi officials seemed curiously blind to the effect that their double-dealing would have on relations with Japan. In fact, this special Nazi irrationality helped greatly to assure that the Axis Pact would remain a hollow alliance.

University of Illinois

PAUL W. SCHROEDER

Ancient

TERZO CONTRIBUTO ALLA STORIA DEGLI STUDI CLASSICI E DAL MONDO ANTICO. In two volumes. By *Arnaldo Momigliano*. [Storia e letteratura: Raccolta di studi e testi, Numbers 108 and 109.] (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 1966. Pp. 533; 546-874. L. 15,000.)

PROFESSOR Momigliano offers two volumes as his *Third Contribution to the History of Classical Scholarship* with the addition for this one of *and of the Ancient World*. His first collection was Number 47 in the same series, and the second, Number 77. A fourth is promised, and articles are mentioned that are not included in any of the published three. Moreover, a selection of articles from all three *Contributi* has been published, entirely in English, as *Studies in Historiography* (1966). It may be remarked for bibliographers that the jacket designer of this last work gives the author his middle initial: A. D. (for Dante) Momigliano. A brief note on so wide-ranging a collection as this can at most indicate how many interests they touch. The sixty-five articles are grouped under five headings in the two volumes. In Volume I, the first part contains eighteen "Recent Essays in the History of Historiography." Of these, the first five deal with Greek and Roman historiography; the remainder stretch from a Portuguese falsification of a Latin inscription published in 1505 to a memoir on the dis-

tinguished Italian historian, F. Chabod. Part II, "Some Youthful Essays," has twelve more directly historical articles, of which the sixth through the ninth deal with the concept of a "general peace" in fourth-century Greece. In Volume II, the third part contains eleven articles grouped as "Essays and Discussions on the Origins of Rome." It opens with the valuable "An Interim Report on the Origins of Rome," to which five further essays and five book reviews form pendants. Part IV offers nineteen selections plus one unnumbered "Notes and Discussions of Method" composed of book reviews, contributions to discussions, and prefaces. The fifth and final part, "*In Memoriam*," comprises memoirs on four scholars, of whom only one, Fraccaro, was an ancient (Roman) historian. Actually two pieces included in Part I as methodological might well belong here, those on Beloch and Chabod. Except for the items from 1931 to 1934 in the second part, the pieces date from 1958 to 1965, that is, since the publication of the second *Contributo*. The majority are in Italian, several are in English, and three are in German.

The collection of materials, published in such a diversity of places, is convenient for consultation, and it reveals the extraordinary scope of the author's scholarship: from Hecataeus to Chinese historiography; from historicity in contemporary thought through the renewal of studies in ancient legal history—both presented in English in *Studies in Historiography*—to Persian influences on Hebrew and Greek historiography. The index of ideas discussed shows the sweep of Momigliano's main interests: Greek and Roman historiography from ancient Sparta to the *Historia Augusta*, early Rome, modern historiography, and the history of Judaism. Throughout, the study of history is carried beyond a mere systematization of historical material to a methodological and philosophical analysis. The author thoroughly commands the sources and the modern literature, including the Russian. His bibliographical references call attention to much that the reader may find new. The indexes of passages, of ideas, and of ancient and modern persons cover nearly sixteen pages. The tone, even in disagreement, is urbane and polite, the style lively, and the interpretation balanced. Scholars in a wide variety of both historical and humanistic fields will find stimulating suggestions for reading in the table of contents. This *Contributo*, like its two predecessors, not only summarizes and passes judgment on previous scholarship; it also offers starting points for further investigation.

Harvard University

MASON HAMMOND

THE HYKSOS: A NEW INVESTIGATION. By John Van Seters. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. xix, 220. \$6.50.)

OUR knowledge of the Hyksos, those "rulers of foreign lands" who dominated the Egyptian Delta and who claimed overlordship over the princes of Thebes and Upper Egypt for approximately a century and a half, from about 1700 until 1550 B.C., is scanty and is derived mainly from documents written anywhere from the time of the end of the Hyksos' rule in Egypt in the middle of the second millennium B.C. until shortly after the fall of Jerusalem in the first century A.D. The literary sources are, for the most part, propagandistic in nature, distorted, and hostile, although they contain more than a core of historical truth.

The nonliterary, archaeological evidence for the Hyksos is scanty. Possessing little material culture of their own, they quickly assimilated and Egyptianized, although to the native Egyptian they were always the alien outlander. Nevertheless, they were responsible for important innovations in the techniques of warfare as practiced by the Egyptians, the foremost of which were the introduction of the superior Asiatic compound bow, the curved saber, and perhaps the horse-drawn war chariot. A number of scholars, including Van Seters, however, do not credit them with the introduction of the last. Unquestionably, the most important consequence of the Hyksos' sojourn in Egypt was intangible: the shattering of the smug, self-confident superiority and isolation that the Egyptian had developed and cloaked himself in during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and the natural consequence of this national humiliation which saw first the expulsion of the Hyksos and then the establishment of the Egyptian Empire.

There have been many scholarly studies on the Hyksos, on their origins, on the way in which they entered Egypt and gained power, and on their eventual expulsion, and each succeeding study has done much to enlighten and increase our knowledge of them. Van Seters' work is among the most important of these studies. Not only does he approach the Hyksos from the standpoint of the Biblical and West Asiatic scholar; he carefully and thoughtfully embodies all current scholarship. Most important is his brilliant hypothesis that an important literary text, *The Admonitions of Ipuwer*, a document hitherto dated to the First Intermediate Period, actually should be dated to the Second Intermediate Period. If he is correct, and I believe that he is, then we have a new and exceedingly important document for the appearance of the Hyksos and their rise to power in Egypt. Van Seters' book is excellent, and it is highly recommended for anyone interested in the preclassical ancient Near East.

Queens College

ALAN R. SCHULMAN

THE PALACE OF NESTOR AT PYLOS IN WESTERN MESSENA. Volume I, THE BUILDINGS AND THEIR CONTENTS. Part 1, TEXT; Part 2, ILLUSTRATIONS. By *Carl W. Blegen* and *Marion Rawson*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati. 1966. Pp. xxx, 440; xxvii, 484 plates. \$40.00 the set.)

WE expect prompt and meticulously exact publication from Professor Blegen, and *Pylos I* conforms to this high standard; the text is admirably complemented by a separate volume of excellent plans, pot profiles, and photographs, mainly by Alison Frantz. The "History of the Excavations" has, however, perhaps unnecessarily been repeated from annual reports in the *American Journal of Archaeology*. The thirteen-page list of illustrations in the text volume has also been repeated unnecessarily from the plate volume (there with valuable page concordance). After short sections on the site and building materials comes the main body of the work (not light reading), an exhaustive description of each room: preservation of floor and walls, dimensions, nature of fill, objects found. This may all be indispensable for checking conclusions and providing data for further study, but was it necessary to include the exact number and placement of every visible "chase" for timber reinforcements? They might have been more

usefully and economically treated under materials. There is also a detailed description of the main palace, the SW building, and minor buildings, followed by a well-organized and competent survey of nearly eight thousand pieces of pottery, described as "this first discovery of what appears to be virtually the whole stock of ordinary dishes and crockery in a Mycenaean palace." The final six-page account of the character, date, and identification of the palace is particularly important for the historian. The authors are surely right in claiming the site as the dominant Mycenaean economic and political center of the western Peloponnese, and as the Pylos of the *Iliad*. The pottery date for the holocaust that destroyed the palace is certainly at the turn of L. H. III B to C; the absolute date, "about 1200 B.C.," can be debated, but the opinion of the excavator of both Pylos and Troy will not lightly be put aside.

Not to seem ungrateful, we might have hoped that this, the best-preserved and excavated Mycenaean palace, would come in for rather more general discussion and comparison than it does. Occasionally a detail such as column fluting is compared, but not the façade niche which is unique in Mycenaean palaces but common in Minoan. The general plan, the hypothetical gallery in the main megaron, the "Queen's Hall" complex, and the "earlier throne room" in the SW building might have been more thoroughly treated. I agree with Mylonas that the "Queen's Hall" complex was more likely for distinguished guests, but disagree both with his identification of the "earlier throne room" as the "Queen's Hall" and Blegen's as the "earlier throne room," and I will discuss this in a forthcoming article.

University of Toronto

J. WALTER GRAHAM

HISTOIRE POLITIQUE DU MONDE HELLÉNISTIQUE (323-30 AV. J. C.). Volume I, DE LA MORT D'ALEXANDRE AUX AVÈNEMENTS D'ANTIOCHOS III ET DE PHILIPPE V. By Édouard Will. [Annales de l'Est, Mémoire Number 30.] (Nancy: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences humaines de l'Université de Nancy. 1966. Pp. 369.)

No clear, detailed account of the political history of the Hellenistic period has been written in any language by a single scholar since Benedictus Niese's three-volume *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten* (1903; reprinted without change in 1963), but now there is reason to hope this gap will be filled, provided Professor Will does not falter after such a promising first volume. When completed, the work will furnish students with a critically annotated narrative extending far beyond Niese's stopping point of 146 B.C., though not including the fifteen years between Chaeronea and Alexander's death. For this, one is almost grateful, the literature on Alexander during the last sixty-three years being as exhaustive and exhausting as it is.

Despite the author's disclaimers in the preface, this is emphatically a work of interpretation, by no means an objective synthesis of the views of others. Further, there is no effort to assign equal space to equal periods of time—an assumption we in our wisdom are prone to make in our reconstruction of lost historical works from their fragments—but instead the author has lingered over the delicious obscurities of the third century, while he is content with capsule

treatment of the better-documented early period (323-276 B.C.) in Part One of this volume.

Part Two, entitled cryptically "L'Impossible Stabilité (281-223)," is made up of three chapters: the first deals with the relations between the various Hellenistic states to 241 B.C.; the second with Seleucid problems in Asia Minor and the East down to 223; and the last with European affairs to the death of Doson. In Chapter I, the most interesting part is an essay analyzing Lagid foreign policy in the third century. He finds the origin of this policy in Egypt's need for security in the confusion following Alexander's death. This security was sought in reserves of money, raw materials, and trained personnel, while the means used to obtain them was a mercantilist economics already tried with great success by Cleomenes of Naucratis. So successful were they that the Ptolemies sometimes were seduced into overseas adventures to satisfy dynastic ambitions, but they never lost sight of the essential object, the protection of Egypt. This leads him to a new interpretation of the sporadic intervention of the Ptolemies in Greece itself and to a rejection of current views of Egyptian impotence at sea brought on by Macedonian naval victories.

There is more, much more, than can be taken into account in such a brief review, but this at least must be said in closing. The present volume contains critical bibliographical discussions after each portion of the narrative, discussions that summarize the scholarship of the last sixty years in such a way that the reader who disagrees with the author's interpretation will also be led directly to the evidence on which it rests. Volume II will be awaited with great impatience.

University of California, Los Angeles

TRUESDELL S. BROWN

THE MASK OF JOVE: A HISTORY OF GRAECO-ROMAN CIVILIZATION FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER TO THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE. By *Stringfellow Barr*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1966. Pp. xv, 598. \$15.00.)

THIS is the sequel to Professor Barr's fine synthesis of Greek history (*The Will of Zeus* [1961]), but it is heavier in size and in spirit. *The Will of Zeus* tells of crimes and tragedies, but these are purged by the author's love for Hellas. *The Mask of Jove* describes the great achievements of soldiers, statesmen, saints, and sages, and of one, Marcus Aurelius, who was all four. But all are men of sorrows even in their triumphs, and the book is another "consideration on the greatness of the Romans and their decline." The ultimate failure of Rome's cosmopolis is suggested in the dedication: "To Another City." Few will need to come to Chapter v, "The Kingdom of Heaven," to identify that city. Barr cannot give the Roman Empire at its best the devotion that he gives Athens at its worst. He seems to fear that his readers may be seduced into doing so, for he continually reminds them that the Romans wear a mask: the mask of liberator assumed by Augustus, that of Jove put on by Diocletian, or that of Caesar-Apostle used by Constantine. The generalization about the Romans is true, but it must be qualified by the further generalization that it is true of all mankind.

In this book Barr uses the device of letting "the actors speak for themselves"

even more than in *The Will of Zeus*. This is good, but it has drawbacks. Too often Barr neither criticizes the sources himself nor cites others who do, leaving the reader to wonder how much he is to believe. Lack of such criticism can lead not only beginners, but seasoned scholars, into factual errors, faulty generalizations, and premature conclusions, especially where their own emotions are strong. It is no accident that Barr's treatment of Christianity is the worst part of a generally distinguished work. It displays a curious neofundamentalism, as though the book required the imprimatur of William Jennings Bryan. Barr seeks the Kingdom of God, not the historical Jesus, and his Christians never step down from stained-glass windows.

Whether as Christian or as historian, one must dissent from Barr's last judgment on the Roman Empire: that it provides "a record of how not to attempt the construction of a genuine City of Man." A Christian must regard the attempt itself as presumptuous, since the city that has foundations is built not by man but by God (Heb. 11:10). A historian can say only that Rome built a more lasting cosmopolis than any other nation and that none has achieved even transient success by another method.

University of Louisville

LAURENCE LEE HOWE

CORINTH: RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS. Volume VIII, Part 3, THE INSCRIPTIONS, 1926-1950. By *John Harvey Kent*. (Princeton, N. J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens. 1966. Pp. x, 260, 64 plates. \$20.00.)

LIKE B. H. Hill's recent book on Peirene, Kent's *Inscriptions* represents many years of labor on material that itself extends throughout a millennium of Corinth's history. Hill and Kent both gave themselves completely to every phase of their task. From examining and photographing the hosts of fragments, through all the editing and finally the compilation of twenty-two indexes, Kent did everything. In many essential respects, not least because it includes both Greek and Latin inscriptions together, *Cor VIII 3* is indeed a model volume.

A comparison of the sheer numbers of inscriptions from the three main periods reveals surprising aspects of Corinth. In excavations conducted during most of the years from 1896 on, with a fair amount of digging in Greek layers, the number of inscriptions discovered from the Greek period, that is, from all the years before 146 B.C., amounted in 1950 to hardly more than 100, and the additions since 1950 have not been numerous. One might imagine that originally there were many more; Kent suggests that they were inscribed on wood and so have perished. The suggestion deserves full attention (elsewhere). In any case the volume provides new evidence that bears on the paucity of inscriptions from the Greek period. The fact that three decrees (out of a present total of only eleven) are inscribed on local limestone proves, what was not clear before, that marble did not have to be imported, nor did wood have to be used. One new decree, Number 27, alone has lettering that looks earlier than all the others, that is, than the period 243-146 B.C.; probably somewhat earlier than 300 B.C., alas it tells almost nothing. The Timoleon monument, Number 23, is almost the only inscription of more than local interest.

In startling contrast, the Roman period is abundantly represented. Numbers

50-500, dated 44 B.C.-A.D. 267, are the only texts, among a mass of fragments, long enough to be worth editing. Kent probably had knowledge of the chronology of Roman lettering better than anyone's, and most of the fragments otherwise hopeless could be dated by him at least to broad periods; most are Roman. When he wrote, the grand total of inscriptions from the years 44 B.C.-A.D. 267 was "surely over 1500."

The third major period, A.D. 267-668, is like the first in the paucity of official inscriptions: only 21 are published here. From the same years (Christian) grave-stones survive in such numbers that Kent publishes at least 164 (add Number 721). Hence, either official inscriptions suffered a separate and peculiar fate, or (as I should say of the first period, that is, the Greek on ante-146 B.C.) comparatively few official inscriptions were ever set up.

Always alert to interesting possibilities, Kent began years ago to use his knowledge of the chronology of lettering to study when Greek was reinstated as the usual, perhaps as the official, language of inscriptions at Corinth, and so, doubtless, of the whole province. We now have his statement. The statistical evidence, whether or not it indicates an official act, points to the champion Philhellene, Hadrian. This is one item of many in a notable synthetic introduction to the great Roman section.

Still in his prime, and loving these studies, Kent lived to see the volume in print, but not to read its praises. A Vermonter by adoption, and chairman at Hill's own University of Vermont, Kent piously venerated the master. To knowledge of Corinth—our own American site, familiar and yet often strange—no university has contributed more distinguished and more genial scholarship.

American School of Classical Studies, Athens

STERLING DOW

RES PUBLICA AMISSA: EINE STUDIE ZU VERFASSUNG UND GESCHICHTE DER SPÄTEN RÖMISCHEN REPUBLIK. By *Christian Meier*. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1966. Pp. viii, 332.)

THE institutions and basic procedures of the Roman constitution are well known. Still, little solid information (but much misinformation) exists on the party groupings that made the constitution function. Modern analogy has often misled: *optimates* and *populares*, for example, are often inaccurately termed "aristocrats" and "democrats." Family combinations worked behind the scenes. The ancient patron-client system was extended, most importantly to the army and the provinces.

Meier chooses to emphasize connections formed through personal obligation (*Bindungswesen*) in an effort to illuminate further the *Verfassungswirklichkeit* of the late Roman Republic. *Bindungswesen* made it possible for the overextended city-state, despite obvious deficiencies, to govern an empire and to endure. Through this system, all important elements at home and in the provinces had a kind of representation within the ruling circle and so had a stake in the government. Thus no one, until Caesar, after 49 B.C., seriously desired any basic change. Finally, however, the tangled web of *Bindungswesen* produced "a kind of schizophrenia"—requiring change but permitting no change—that led to the downfall of the Republic.

Important sections of the book deal with the equestrian order, the rural and city plebs, *populares*, and *optimates*. A final long section ("background to the picture") is an excellent constitutional history of the last half century of the Republic. The documentation is impressive but a bit overdone; there are few lapses (though four of my articles might have helped on minor matters). The book summarizes well the state of research on many problems.

Meier sometimes overstates his case, most notably when he criticizes the work of H. H. Scullard, R. Syme, L. R. Taylor, and E. Badian on the family-political groups. He says that their "Faction-thesis" seems disproved for the late Republic. Actually, their work is more supplemented than displaced by this study. The problem is partly semantics. Meier attributes to these scholars (especially Taylor) a narrowness that they do not have. Such overgreat precision—Meier is sometimes more exact than the Romans were—is a venial defect of the work.

In sum, this is an important work whose defects are minor. It deserves careful study.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

HENRY C. BOREN

ROMAN STATE & CHRISTIAN CHURCH: A COLLECTION OF LEGAL DOCUMENTS TO A.D. 535. In three volumes. By P. R. Coleman-Norton. (London: S. P. C. K.; distrib. by Alec R. Allenson, Napierville, Ill. 1966. Pp. lxxvii, 370; v, 371-844; v, 845-1358. \$39.10 the set, postpaid.)

JUST as nineteenth-century scholarship has been distinguished for the establishment of definitive texts of the literary and documentary materials of antiquity, so the twentieth century has made great contributions by providing sound translations of these records for a generation no longer entirely at ease in the use of the classical tongues. In this monumental three-volumed collection of documentary matter Mr. Coleman-Norton has continued a tradition of translation of the legal records of Roman antiquity into the English language that began with S. P. Scott's rendering of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* and related legislation. Clyde Pharr's *Theodosian Code* (1952), a landmark in such translation, was followed by the *Ancient Roman Statutes* (1961) to which Coleman-Norton was a contributor. These generally secular legal records are now supplemented by this large reservoir of material dealing with the relations of the Roman state and Christian church to A.D. 535.

It is almost impossible to exaggerate the value of a compilation such as this. It affords the interested layman and nonspecialist student a vast spectrum of records otherwise not readily available. To scholars familiar with the field, the usefulness of such translation cannot be discounted. Translation is a fine and delicate art if it is to convey exact nuances of meaning from one language to another. The comparison of independent renderings with one another and with the original text can refine the precise meaning for even the mature scholar. Many of the documents contained here are selected from the Justinian and Theodosian Codes. Coleman-Norton indicates his indebtedness to the Pharr Theodosian, and, within the limits of my observation, they do not vary widely in basic meaning. Pharr provides a smoother text, but Coleman-Norton's annotation is extremely detailed and comprehensive.

Indeed, aside from making the basic texts accessible, the fundamental value of this work resides in its thorough apparatus of notes, at once critical, informative, and bibliographic. There is a short but pertinent introduction accompanied with notes that deserve reading. The third volume concludes with appendixes, table of titles of address, splendid glossary, indexes of sources, persons, places, and subjects, together with lists of Biblical, classical, and patristic quotations and allusions. It is rare to find a work of this sort with such an extensive apparatus of aids. These volumes are no mere collection of documentary records, but really provide a guide to the primary sources in this field. This was a task of exacting labor, and historical scholarship owes a large debt of gratitude to Coleman-Norton and the SPCK which has published these volumes in a substantial and useful format.

Rice University

FLOYD SEYWARD LEAR

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ROMAN WORLD: GIBBON'S PROBLEM AFTER TWO CENTURIES. Edited by *Lynn White, jr.* [UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Contributions, Number 3.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 321. \$6.95.)

FUNDAMENTALLY, these eleven essays are a commentary on Gibbon's treatment of the late ancient and early medieval world, not a re-examination of the problem of the "decline and fall" *per se*. The division of subject matter is largely by cultures and peoples. Some authors present a factual survey; others engage in learned polemic or express fiery disagreement with Gibbon's values; one is merely pompous.

The bibliographic information that one might expect in essays seeking to bring Gibbon up to date varies greatly from chapter to chapter; one of the most thoughtful studies, that in which Hoxie discusses Gibbon's disinterest in the art of the period as being nonart, has no notes at all. The authors generally disagree with Pirenne and Dopsch as well as with Gibbon; Lynn White's own technological predilections have had their influence, as in the explanation of the decline of slavery. David B. Davis should be read in this connection. Cross references have been inserted, but the editor certainly should have removed "baroquizing."

These essays may have some value for an assiduous reader of Gibbon. Are there any today? Intriguing notes are occasionally struck of self-congratulation at our own advances, orchestrated in White's concluding essay into the statement that Gibbon's "work is almost unbelievably obsolete, save for antiquarian details." Another contributor (Vryonis) puts the matter rather differently: "In spite of the fact that Gibbon distorted the picture of an entire civilization, and did so with considerable prejudice, biting malice, and obvious pleasure, his work will abide as an object of contemplation."

University of Illinois

CHESTER G. STARR

Medieval

STUDIES IN CHRISTIAN CAUCASIAN HISTORY. By *Cyril Toumanoff*. ([Washington, D. C.:] Georgetown University Press. 1963. Pp. 599. Cloth \$10.00, paper \$7.50.)

THIS volume, which contains five of the author's previously published and now updated studies, will be of interest primarily to scholars of Georgian and Armenian studies, secondarily to Byzantinists, and, finally, the first essay has something for the scholar who is not a specialist in the ancient and medieval Near East. The work bristles with learned notes and appendixes, forged upon the author's formidable linguistic anvil, which lead the stouthearted reader through a maze of Indo-European nomenclature for socioreligious institutions, Greco-Roman geographical works, obscure Armeno-Georgian historical and religious compositions, to many of the more recent scholarly works in Russian, Georgian, and Armenian. What differentiates Toumanoff's work from much that stems out of philological scholarship is the vigorous effort in the first study to relate this great mass of detail to the flow of history. Part I, "The Social Background of Christian Caucasia," attempts to illuminate the origins and trace the development of Armenian and Georgian society from the second millennium into the Christian era. Faced with the lack of written sources Toumanoff has applied a number of techniques in an effort to present a picture of evolving Caucasia. Caucasian society in historical times was a highly aristocratic one that combined "features of feudal and dynastic regimes." Taking this statement as the "given" in his historical riddle, the author then works back in time and applies certain theories on feudalism and dynasticism and on the religious basis and rationalization of ancient civilization. Having thus established a theoretical social and religious grid in the manner of the social scientist, Toumanoff plots the rise of Caucasian civilization from a tribal to a more complex society. Caucasian society came to be characterized by three features: dynasticism, feudalism, and theophanism. The Georgian and Armenian societies were subject to the cultural and political currents pulsating from successive world empires—Achaemenid, Macedonian, Roman, Parthian, Sassanid, Byzantine. These cosmocracies greatly affected the life of the Caucasian world without, however, destroying its basic social structure.

The remaining four studies are much more specialized and will have meaning primarily for the historian of the Christian and Muslim Near East. Of these the second, "States and Dynasties of Caucasia," is the most important and is of particular interest for Byzantine social history because of the wealth of factual information on Armenian and Georgian families.

It is difficult to evaluate this vast body of material, and only a handful of scholars in the world would be philologically equipped to do so. But there can be no doubt that Toumanoff's work constitutes a substantial contribution if only because of the quantity of material that he has assembled and made accessible for scholars in the Georgian, Armenian, and adjacent fields. Secondly, the very structuring and ordering of the material on early Caucasian history are fortunate for they present a convenient approach to a chaotic and complex history. One

will readily dispute the validity of the theories on feudalism and religion that Toumanoff has applied, but the approach is both interesting and promising. The author also critically examines such classics in the field as the writings of Adontz and Manandean. There are, however, certain generalizations that Toumanoff has expressed, particularly in the preface and introduction, that do not seem valid to me. First is the statement that "... Byzantinology has been but little aware of the special importance of Caucasia for the Byzantine world." One need only look at the works of Charanis, Runciman, Jenkins, Schlumberger, Canard, Loos, J. Laurent, and he will almost be convinced that the Byzantine was a semi-Armenian empire. These scholars not only incorporated the findings of specialists in Caucasian history such as Adontz, but the Greek sources furnish so much material on the subject that it was unnecessary for them to know Georgian or Armenian merely to perceive the importance of Armenia and Georgia in the Empire's history. I quite agree with the author's exhortation that "in order to deal authoritatively with Caucasian history, the Byzantine scholar . . . must deal with new languages." But life is brief, and the body of knowledge to be mastered is vast, so that beyond Greek and Latin the Byzantinist must choose among three "groups" of languages: Slavic, Georgian-Armenian, and Arabic-Persian-Turkish. Both in terms of the history of Byzantium and of the broader historical currents the first and third groups are far more important as they are the key to the *Fortleben* of the Byzantine inheritance in Europe and to the development of the Islamic world. Finally, when he states that Byzantium's abolition of the petty Armenian principalities and their annexation were the cause for the Seljuk victory at Manzikert in 1071, and when he speaks of the appearance of numerous Armenians and Georgians in Byzantine society as the "peaceful conquest of the empire by Caucasia," we have an example of the fact that "Caucasiology has been but little aware of the special importance of Byzantine internal history for the Byzantine world."

University of California, Los Angeles

SPEROS VRYONIS, JR.

ISTORIYA KHRYSTYANSTVA NA RUSY-UKRAINI [The History of Christianity in Ukrainian Rus]. Volume I, DO R.1353 [To the Year 1353]. By *Nicholas D. Chubaty*. (Rome and New York: Ukrainian Catholic University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 816.)

THIS impressive contribution to free Ukrainian historiography was planned by Professor Chubaty thirty years ago. When teaching at the Greek Catholic Theological Academy in Lwów, he was inspired by its rector, Father Slipyi, who now, as cardinal and metropolitan-in-exile, is making possible the publication of that work by the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome.

In two respects the author gives more than the title promises. Realizing the close connection of Christianity and religious life with the whole destiny of the Ukrainian people, he writes not only an ecclesiastical history of Rus, which he identifies with the Ukraine, excluding Moscow, Novgorod, and even Byelorussia, but, at the same time, a detailed survey of the making and development of his nation. Furthermore, being deeply convinced of the exceptional place of Ukrainian Christianity in the Universal Church, he presents that local experi-

ence against the background of, and often in contrast to, the attitudes of its neighbors, touching also various problems of general European history.

This presentation is based upon original research and thorough knowledge of the historical literature, including the most recent. But it also reflects the author's personal convictions. Sincerely devoted to the Eastern Church of Slavic rite, he is, however, critical of Byzantine influence in the Kievan state and even more of the Muscovite form of Orthodoxy. And while he welcomes direct contacts with the papacy and reunion with Rome, he resents whatever seems to him "Latino-Polish pressure," even missionary activities. Such feelings clearly appear in this first volume, which goes from the pre-Christian origins of Rus to 1353.

Chubaty takes positions on older and more recent controversies, and even more controversial issues will appear in the next volumes, especially how it happened that precisely in the six centuries of Polish influence the Ukrainian church could revive its original traditions, including the ties with Rome, and survive the dangers and persecutions coming from Moscow until our time. But instead of questioning some of the author's conceptions, which at present are only summarized in the thought-provoking introduction to the first volume, I prefer to hope that the remaining two will appear as soon as possible.

White Plains, New York

O. HALECKI

BYZANTIUM: THE IMPERIAL CENTURIES, A.D. 610-1071. By *Romilly Jenkins*. (New York: Random House. 1966. Pp. 400. \$10.00.)

GENERALLY speaking, when one thinks of the Byzantine Empire, one thinks of Constantine the Great and his transfer of the capital of the Roman Empire to the newly founded city of Constantinople, a transfer that greatly conditioned the subsequent historical evolution of that Empire; of 1453 when the Ottoman Turks took Constantinople and brought the Empire to an end; of Justinian, of Saint Sophia, of the codices of Roman law; of the great theological controversies of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries that resulted eventually in the fragmentation of Christianity. And so virtually all general histories of the Byzantine Empire begin their narrative with Constantine the Great and end it with the capture of Constantinople in 1453.

It may be a surprise, therefore, to discover that Professor Jenkins in this book has chosen to begin his narrative essentially with the reign of Heraclius (610-641) and to end it with the Battle of Manzikert in 1071. There are good reasons, however, for making this choice. The period involved constitutes a historical unit: it has a beginning, a development, and an end. The events of the seventh century gave to the Empire the essentials of its character; the centuries that followed saw it rise to greatness; the Battle of Manzikert marked its end as a great power. This whole period, therefore, lends itself nicely to a unified treatment. Jenkins has given us such a treatment. He has offered a well-written, stimulating, lively, and, in places, even moving book. He has done this on the basis of his own scholarship, though the influence of Ostrogorsky is quite apparent.

It is to be regretted, however, that Jenkins did not strictly observe his own

dictum that he would let the sources be his guide. This is particularly noticeable in his treatment of the question of the Slavonic penetration of Greece and the effect that that penetration had on the original Greek inhabitants. It may be observed also in connection with some other statement as, for instance, the one to the effect that "the largest part of the population of Anatolia was of Slavic stock." This deviation from the sources, however slight, nevertheless mars what is otherwise an excellent book.

Rutgers University

PETER CHARANIS

DIE GESELLSCHAFT IN DER GESCHICHTE DES MITTELALTERS.

By *Karl Bosl*. [Kleine Vandenhoeck-Reihe, Number 231.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966. Pp. 67. DM 2.80.)

THIS short pamphlet contains three lectures concerning problems of medieval social history given by Professor Bosl at Japanese universities in 1965. Though newly composed units, the lectures obviously afforded the author opportunity to meditate further on issues he had previously considered in numerous specialized studies and forced him to reach general conclusions that would be pertinent and meaningful for his Japanese audiences. The short bibliography appended to the published lectures is sufficient indication, however, of the breadth of Bosl's investigations.

In his opening lecture on "The Beginnings of European Society and Civilization (6th-8th Centuries)" Bosl questions immediately any tendency to speak of European conditions before the time when the concept of Europe had any validity. Although here not lacking in originality, he has been influenced by writers like Denys Hay, Christopher Dawson, and H. Gollwitzer, all of whom he cites. Eventually there developed a European unity, recognized as such, but this came only after the concept of *oikoumene* that prevailed in antiquity had been replaced. A truly European society was evident by the seventh century, with ancient Gaul as its true center. Bosl attributes the integration of local and regional tendencies, with their diversity and pluralism, to the Carolingian intellectuals. With the development of feudalism the Franks succeeded in binding together individuals and various peoples in a monarchically ordered society. Rather than seeing in the disintegration of the Carolingian state the ultimate end of antiquity, Bosl emphasizes Carolingian novelty and creativeness. Following Carolingian times, in spite of unfortunate vicissitudes, France remained the cultural center not only for Western Europe but also for Central Europe and lands to the east. The imprint of the Frankish past persisted, and it is incorrect, says Bosl, to attribute European cultural unity to the effects of the reforming papacy of the eleventh century.

In a lecture on "The Aristocratic Structure of Medieval Society" the development of elite groups is stressed. Medieval civilization was Christian and clerical, yet also aristocratically oriented. Even the heavenly hierarchy was conceived of in similarly ordered forms. The importance of ancestral lineage of high degree was accepted by aristocratic societies, but modifications intruded when such connections alone no longer indicated true *nobilitas*. Outstanding personal qualities, reflecting the virtues of honor and glory, were principles prized by the

nobles' world. The third lecture provides a discussion of "Social Mobility in Medieval Society." Obviously there is much stress on the impact of urban groups in Europe following the eleventh century—their origins and strivings for free status. A brief review does not permit full and adequate description of the cogently argued contentions of these three interesting lectures.

Northwestern University

GRAY C. BOYCE

THE EARLY CHARTERS OF EASTERN ENGLAND. By *C. R. Hart*. [Studies in Early English History, Number 5.] ([Leicester:] Leicester University Press. 1966. Pp. 280. 55s.)

In this volume, one in a series of "Studies in Early English History" published by Leicester University, Mr. Hart provides a hand list of all known records of pre-Conquest land transactions for the east of England between the Thames and the Humber, with the exception of those relating to Essex, which he has already published. The series also contains similar volumes covering the West Midlands, Wessex, and Devon and Cornwall.

In Part I all charters, extant or known only by reference, are arranged by date within county. Summary of the contents of each document—donor, donee, and gift—is followed by brief comments including, as may be appropriate, information about the text, its authenticity, its date, the donor, the land, or any persons mentioned. The printed source is given, or the document is noted as lost. Two texts not previously printed are given in full with comments on such matters as text, date, diplomatic, and authenticity. In Part II Hart prints, for the first time in this century, the texts of all known pre-Conquest charters for Barkings and Thorney abbeys with detailed discussions of texts, dates, authenticity, diplomatic, and, where appropriate, commentary on persons and places mentioned. In Part III he lists all known pre-Conquest land transactions not in charter form for the religious houses of Ely, Ramsey, Peterborough, and Bury Saint Edmunds.

Hart points out that, in contrast to the paucity of material for eastern England in earlier centuries, there is more information available about land transactions for this part of the country during the last century of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom than for any other part of England. Because this material is little known, he has brought it together in this hand list. Like its companion volumes for other parts of the country, it should be most useful to diplomatists and to historians of Anglo-Saxon institutions.

Princeton, New Jersey

ELISABETH G. KIMBALL

THE NORMANS. By *Timothy Baker*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1966. Pp. ix, 317. \$7.95.)

THE ninth centenary of the Battle of Hastings produced a bumper crop of books dealing with the Norman Conquest. This work, despite its title, is another Conquest book. The Norman Conquest is an oft-told story, and Mr. Baker contributes nothing new to it. But originality is perhaps not to be expected of a book that is addressed to the intelligent layman rather than the specialist.

The book is, by and large, excellently written and shows, if not a complete

mastery of the original sources, at least an acquaintance with many of them and an intelligent sensitivity to modern historical writing on the subject. And Baker's vision of the Conquest is an admirably broad one. Beginning with sketches of pre-Conquest Normandy and England, he continues with a survey of the political and military history of 1066 and the post-Conquest era, and concludes with a series of chapters on various aspects of post-Conquest English society: the feudal problem, political and social change, the Church, language, Norman architecture, and the minor arts. Throughout these chapters he keeps in mind his basic question: how did the Norman Conquest affect England? And if his discussions are unoriginal, they are competent, thoughtful, and usually up to date.

The book suffers from occasional misstatements and misinterpretations. The Becket affair, for example, is handled briefly and badly, and one wonders why it had to be treated at all. It is incorrect to say of the establishment of feudal quotas: "No one disputes that this achievement, however it is rated, was primarily William's work." The Anglo-Saxon *fyrð* is undervalued and misunderstood, being described as largely a peasant army. It is regarded as ineffective and out of date, yet William's victory is described as largely fortuitous. It is misleading to say that Henry I was probably responsible for William Rufus' murder. The lay reader will also be misled by Plate X, the north transept of St. Albans Abbey, which is described in the caption merely as "late eleventh century" but which features a large nineteenth-century rose window. And at times the political narrative becomes far too name-ridden for the layman to absorb.

The book will, nevertheless, serve as an attractive, comprehensive, and generally reliable introduction to the Norman Conquest for the nonhistorian.

University of California, Santa Barbara

C. WARREN HOLLISTER

MIDDELALDER STUDIER: TILEGNEDE AKSEL E. CHRISTENSEN
PÅ TRESÅRS DAGEN, 11. SEPTEMBER 1966. Edited by *Tage E. Christensen et al.* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard. 1966. Pp. 337.)

THE history of Denmark during the Middle Ages is unfortunately much less well known to the English-speaking scholarly world than it should be. It is thus with particular pleasure that one notes this series of studies of aspects of medieval Denmark dedicated to Professor Aksel Christensen, which, though in Danish, gives us much valuable information. There are eleven studies in all: two dealing with the better-known Viking period of Canute and Sven Forkbeard; four that concern themselves with the great period of the Waldemars during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and five with the later Middle Ages and, especially, the crucial fifteenth century.

It is difficult to point out any articles of special importance, but to me a number seemed interesting. Among them were Jørgen Hansen's study of relations between Church and crown in the reign of Waldemar the Great, Erik Kjersgaard's examination of the military organization of Denmark after feudalization had begun in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Niels Skyum-Nielsen's study of the chancery in the late thirteenth century, and Erling Peterson's attempt to discover the price level of commodities in Denmark during the later Middle Ages.

What these articles emphasize above all, however, is the need to compare the

Danish experience during the Middle Ages with that of England and northern Germany, the nearby areas that resemble it most in many ways. When one does that, one discovers that many institutions and problems thought to be unique are actually part of a wider European development that needs to be studied in a broader compass than has often been the case. It is therefore to be hoped that in the future the scholars here represented will continue their researches and make them available to the non-Danish-speaking world on an even broader canvas than this slender volume provides.

University of Texas

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

DER PRIMAT DER RÖMISCHEN KIRCHE IM DENKEN UND HAND-
ELN GREGORS VII. By *L. F. J. Meulenberg*. [Mededelingen van het
Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome, Volume XXXIII, Number 2.] (The
Hague: Ministerie van Cultuur, Recreatie en Maatschappelijk Werk door het
Staatsdrukkerij- en Uitgeverijbedrijf. 1965. Pp. 138.)

THE author of this useful monograph seeks a more precise evaluation of the significance of Gregory VII's pontificate in the history of Roman primacy than has, in his view, been heretofore established. He proposes to achieve this end by systematically collecting Gregory's pronouncements and decisions relating to Roman primacy and by ascertaining the extent to which the Pope's position conformed to the tradition of primacy that he inherited with his office. His inquiry is directed toward certain crucial themes related to the inner structure of the Church: the nature of the Roman Church, the pope's position in the Church, the infallibility of the Roman Church, the relation between pope and hierarchy, the legates, Rome's judicial and penal power, its legislative authority, the pope and monasteries, the pope and the laity. Gregory's position on each of these matters is scrupulously sought out, basically from within his *Register*. That position is carefully compared with the tradition-sanctioned legal concepts of Roman primacy, which Meulenberg believes formed the background for the Gregorian era; as his source for these principles Meulenberg utilizes certain canonical collections known and used by the *Curia* in Gregory's age.

Meulenberg provides a valuable service in organizing Gregory's views of his position as bishop of Rome in relation to the topics noted above. His conclusions with respect to each issue warrant attention; they are, however, too complex to present here. In general, he finds that Gregory accepted the existing legal tradition concerning Roman primacy, but added little to this juristic concept. There are no solid grounds for concluding that the Pope consciously sought the erection of a centralized constitution for the Church in the name of a strong primatial concept. The Pope accepted his primacy in principle, but his position always shaded off into something less than an absolute. Thus it is very difficult to argue that Gregory advanced the ideal of Roman primacy in a legalistic sense.

But this does not quite settle the matter. On the last page of his book Meulenberg insists that, in spite of what his prior efforts have shown, Gregory VII did indeed provide a powerful impetus to the ideal of Roman primacy. This impetus derived from an inner religious conviction: his belief that he as pope stood in a mystical unity with St. Peter, which permitted him to apply and interpret

the will of God for Christian society. The author does not, unfortunately, elaborate this theme, leaving the reader at a loss to know where Gregory's pontificate fits into the history of Roman primacy. Basically negative, this work provides solid ground for concluding that Gregory did *not* contribute much that was new to the legal concept of Roman primacy. What Gregory did add to the exaltation of Rome must be sought in a context quite apart from legal history.

Michigan State University

RICHARD E. SULLIVAN

LA ORDEN DE SANTIAGO (1170-1275). By *Derek W. Lomax*. [Estudios, Volume XXXVIII.] (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Medievales. 1965. Pp. xxvi, 306. 300 ptas.)

THE religio-military Order of St. James, a peculiarly Iberian combination of celibate priests and nuns along with dedicated crusaders who married and whose families provided a continuing flow of new recruits, has long been regarded as a foremost agency in the history of the Luso-Hispanic reconquest and especially in the making of medieval Castile. This book, however, is the first comprehensive modern study to make critical use of the rich documentation in Madrid and elsewhere as the basis for a reconstruction of Santiago's history, institutional structure, and many-sided military, colonizing, economic, and ecclesiastical operations in its initial heroic century.

After describing the order's establishment in 1170, its record of combat against the ferocious Almohads, and its special relationship with the papacy and the kings of León, Castile, Aragon, and Portugal, Dr. Lomax skillfully analyzes the content and several versions of the Rule; the governmental system of Master, major and lesser encomiendas, and chapter-general; and the interesting problem of the nonnoble as well as the noble components of the membership. He gives extended treatment to the distribution and administration of the vast landed possessions in Extremadura, New Castile, and Andalusia that produced the revenues indispensable for the order's survival and effective campaigning, revenues derived from its own livestock raising and farming or from rentals, banalities, judicial fees, and so forth collected from its towns and vassals. Some especially good pages assess the nature of the juridical rights and degree of self-government extended in Santiago's *fucros* to the colonists who came to settle in the pasture lands and croplands of the southern *meseta*. The astonishing extent to which throughout their domains the *freiles* founded and controlled parish churches to the virtual exclusion of the episcopate is also made clear.

While limitations of space inevitably make for compression at various points, this does not outweigh the work's very substantial merits as a unique, long-needed, and highly illuminating account of a medieval Iberian military order. It is further enhanced by a bibliography of archival and published materials; an appendix of thirty-seven hitherto unpublished texts (including a Castilian version of the Rule) that illustrate numerous aspects of internal organization and relations with outside authorities; a distribution map of convents, castles, and principal estates; and fifteen plates.

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

HANDELSGESCHICHTE ÄGYPTENS IM SPÄTMITTELALTER (1171-1517). By *Subhi Y. Labib*. [Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Supplement 46]. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1965. Pp. xi, 586.)

RECENTLY Arabists and Islamists have shown an ever-increasing interest in the economic and social aspects of Islamic civilization and have contributed many valuable studies and monographs pertaining to specific problems of social and economic relevance especially in regard to medieval Egypt.

The publication and editing of hitherto unavailable Arabic texts of Egyptian historians of the Middle Ages, covering mainly the period from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, have widened the documentary basis and put in the hands of scholars a rich reservoir of information that has enabled them to deal with this formerly neglected field of Islamic research and scholarship. There was, however, no all-embracing picture of medieval Egypt's economic and commercial life. Professor Labib has now supplied us with the first comprehensive and scholarly investigation of this aspect of medieval Egypt.

He begins with the crusades and continues to the Ayubite and Mameluke dynasty over Egypt, and he covers all important spheres of the economic life of medieval Egypt: organization and control of Egyptian trade; markets and fairs; trade corporations; banking, interest, credit, currency, monopolies, and weights and measures; specific methods of taxation; customs duties; shipping and trade routes and maritime lanes and ports; the network of traffic and transport by ships and caravans; and the development, rise, and decline of Egypt's commercial potential. He analyzes the commercial policies of the various Mameluke sultans and investigates also the effect that the Portuguese discovery of the route around the Cape of Good Hope had on Egyptian trade. By placing these and other problems in the context of the contemporary world scene, he shows Egypt's close relationship to other political and commercial centers and cities of the European Christian lands.

Though the wealth of material is stimulating and thought provoking, it is badly organized, repetitious, and lacks clarity in many instances. The research is based on broad documentation and thorough combing and utilization of Arabic sources, on geographical, historical, juridical, and theological texts, on inscriptional and numismatic evidence, and on papyri. The author used archival material and Persian and Byzantine sources to a lesser degree.

The work as a whole, the abundance of footnotes, a complete bibliography, including Arabic sources and the literature of Western scholars, and the detailed indexes, will be hailed by every student of medieval Islamic civilization as a significant contribution and an indispensable mine of information for historians and economists alike.

University of California, Berkeley

WALTER J. FISCHEL

THE THEORY OF PAPAL MONARCHY IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CANONISTS. By *John A. Watt*. (New York: Fordham University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 160. \$5.00.)

THIS book provides a coherent and valuable account of canonistic thought on the

problem of *regnum* and *sacerdotium* from Gratian to Hostiensis. Its special contribution is to reappraise the great figures of the mid-thirteenth century—Innocent IV and Hostiensis—in the light of the abundant twelfth-century canonistic material that has recently been made available by scholars like Kuttner, Stickler, and Ullmann. There is also a careful analysis of the elements of continuity and change in the thought of Innocent III.

The author points out that all the medieval canonists would have agreed with the following propositions: "that the powers were divided, that they must co-operate with each other and that in some sense or other the spiritual power was the higher one." Within this framework of thought, however, there was room for many differences of opinion. Before the time of Innocent III, for example, the decretists were sharply divided over whether the pope possessed the "sword" of temporal power and bestowed it on the emperor. After Innocent's pontificate the theory that the pope *de jure* possessed both "swords" was generally accepted. Dr. Watt maintains that, although Innocent III made use of earlier canonistic doctrines and his main arguments were "continuous with Decretist thought," nevertheless he "transformed the canonist understanding of the relations of the powers." That is to say, Innocent's decretals combined various scattered suggestions of the decretists into "foundations" for a formidable theory of papal monarchy. They claimed, in effect, that there was a "prerogative power" inherent in the papacy, normally used only in the spiritual sphere, but available for exercise in temporal affairs also whenever this was necessary for the maintenance of justice and right order in the Christian world.

Innocent IV is vigorously defended against the charge that his doctrines "made a real break with what had gone before" by "an unrestrained insistence on papal absolutism in the temporal order." On the contrary, the author argues, in so far as Innocent IV departed at all from the ideas of Innocent III it was by adopting positions more moderate than those of his great predecessor. (In this connection Innocent IV's striking gloss on X. 3.34.8, with its teaching that legitimate political power could exist among infidels, might have been emphasized.) For Watt, Innocent III was the greatest creative influence on the development of canonistic ideas in the thirteenth century, and his influence was not wholly in favor of papal monism since his refusal to judge directly concerning a fief provided the root from which would spring the later doctrine of "indirect power." Innocent IV and Hostiensis faithfully developed all the aspects of Innocent III's thought without distorting it through any extremism of their own. These are sound conclusions, persuasively argued, and they are important in that they challenge the views expressed in several widely accepted histories of medieval political theory.

Cornell University

BRIAN TIERNEY

THE ENGLISH FUR TRADE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES. By *Elspeth M. Veale*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 251. \$7.20.)

THIS scholarly monograph is too modestly titled; it actually outlines the whole history of the precolonial English fur trade and gives a fascinating account of the use of fur as a status symbol from the early Middle Ages to the mid-sixteenth cen-

tury, when fur-lined robes became old-fashioned and fur retreated to trimmings and felt hats. The book is also a quite new contribution to the history of late medieval London as England's fashion trade center.

Owing to lack of adequate statistics, the subject has to be treated mainly through qualitative analysis of demand. English taste was satisfied with lower quality skins and workmanship than were available to the rich in Paris, Venice, Florence, Lübeck, and Bruges, but it followed European trends. In the fourteenth century red squirrel was the high fashion. Enormous quantities were used in fur linings, hoods, and bedding: Edward III slept under a coverlet sewn from two-thousand skins. Yet the Hanseatic merchants who exploited the Baltic sources managed, for a time, to oversupply their markets. It was because squirrel became too common, Miss Veale believes, that high fashion switched, in the next century, to the darker furs—sable and marten—which, yard for yard, were twice as expensive, with black Spanish lamb and black rabbit as runners-up. Ultimately, overslaughter and deforestation made all types of fur scarce and costly, encouraging other forms of display and other ways of keeping warm. The author is too skeptical of attempts to explain critical changes of taste to do more than indicate the complexity of the problem of the reception of innovations: one might get further by trying to locate the social milieu in which each one first appeared. She is happiest in describing shifts in the organization of the trade and in setting the skimmers firmly into London history. Here the only weak passages are those relying on Gwyn Williams' guesswork about London population and about the intent and effect of Edward I's intervention in London government. On the other hand, her own contributions are solid and original, fully documenting the difficulties the merchant skimmers encountered in their unsuccessful attempts to dominate small competitors or to acquire any effective guild monopoly over the processing and working up of furs.

In short, the book is English social history at its best.

University of Michigan

SYLVIA L. THRUPP

THE CAMBRIDGE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EUROPE. Volume I, THE AGRARIAN LIFE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. Edited by *M. M. Postan*. (2d ed.; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 871. \$14.00.)

APART from some notable improvements in bibliographies, the first six chapters of this edition are either unchanged or have been revised only as to details. Essentially, they express the same points of view that they did before.

Significant changes begin with the long chapter on "Medieval Agrarian Society in its Prime" (really eight subchapters). Even here, the sections on Spain, eastern Germany, Poland-Lithuania, and Scandinavia are almost untouched. Professor Verhulst has made some very helpful revisions in Professor Ganshof's treatment of France, the Low Countries, and western Germany. Mr. Jones's subchapter on Italy is new and good; the only possible criticism would be his reliance on rather late sources. But he has given an excellent description of the peculiarities of Italian agriculture.

Professor Postan has summed up years of work in his brilliant discussion of English agriculture. He is rightly concerned with the actual living conditions

and income of peasants, not with legal problems of status and tenure. In his concern for the peasant he is at times a little too pessimistic. Granted that our evidence on medieval demography is imprecise, it is good enough to exclude his suggested upper limit (nearly seven million) on English population around 1300. And if this is true, then the pressure of population on land at the end of the thirteenth century was less acute than he suggests. Moreover, pressure was probably unevenly distributed; at least this was the case in parts of northern France that were not unlike England. On the other hand, no one can doubt his assertion that the average size of peasant holdings and the real incomes of peasants were rather low about 1300 and that both increased in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. He also makes some very perceptive remarks about the ways in which landlords adjusted to changing conditions, and especially to factors that may have favored the gentry over the magnates in the fifteenth century.

The new eighth chapter on the later Middle Ages, by Professor Génicot, is also a brilliant performance. It is interesting to compare his conclusions with those of Postan, who gives much of his space to the same period. They seem to differ somewhat on the degree to which the situations of the small landlord and the peasant with a middle-sized holding improved. But this chapter and Postan's section are so stimulating that they justify completely the preparation of a second edition.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

A CALENDAR OF THE REGISTER OF WOLSTAN DE BRANSFORD, BISHOP OF WORCESTER 1339-49. By R. M. Haines. [Historical Manuscripts Commission, JP 9.] (London: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Service, New York. 1966. Pp. liii, 637. \$40.00.)

MEDIEVALISTS will welcome this calendar of a Worcester register with its variety of records of the early years of the Hundred Years' War and the ravages of the Black Death. The editor, thoroughly conversant with the period, reveals throughout the breadth of his background reading of manuscript and printed sources as well as of modern works. His introduction deals with the physical make-up of the register, the extent of the diocese of Worcester at this time, the early life and priorate of Wolstan, and Wolstan's administration as bishop, to which are added helpful descriptions of the functions of the bishop's officers and of his *familia*. Enlightening analyses are presented through a series of tables concerned with institutions to benefices, appointment of heads of religious houses, letters dimissory, licenses for absence from benefices, ordinations, and so forth. An appendix offers transcribed original documents, among which are foundations of chantries. An index of persons and places and a subject index complete the volume.

Wolstan, born probably about 1284 in Worcestershire, was ordained a priest in 1308 and was admitted as a monk of the cathedral priory in 1310; he became its prior in 1317. His election as bishop of Worcester in 1327 was set aside because Pope John XXII had issued bulls translating Adam de Orleton from Hereford to Worcester. Two bishops followed Orleton by papal provision before Wolstan

was again elected in 1339 and duly consecrated. The register is significant in showing a bishop not preoccupied with a government office, but giving himself solely to the conscientious administration of his diocese in which there is found no trace of pluralism or nepotism. Wolstan made three visitations and personally performed his ordinations, not enlisting the aid of suffragans. Pleading ill-health, he did not attend meetings of parliament, making only one exception. He had the courage to stand up to Edward III who wished an advance payment of a tenth, saying that he himself would grant a sum as would the abbots of Pershore and Evesham, but he could not ask it of his clergy. Wolstan, however, kept the royal favor, for Edward III later wrote of him: "*inter alios prelatos regni nostri Angliae justus pius et honestus, ac Deo sanctae Romanae ecclesiae devotus et obediens sit, et semper fuerit reputatus.*"

Sandy Spring, Maryland

DOROTHY BRUCE WESKE

LETTERS FROM PETRARCH. Selected and translated by *Morris Bishop*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 306. \$9.50.)

MORRIS Bishop provides English translations for some 110 of Petrarch's prose letters, about half being complete or slightly abridged, the rest abridged or excerpted. Few of these letters have been available in English until now.

The translations are generally accurate and lively. Yet sometimes discrimination appears sacrificed to familiarity, as when *impetum atque iniurias fortunae* becomes "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune."

Much of Petrarch is to be found in his letters. Bishop's selection reveals Petrarch's worries about fame in his youth and about health in old age, his friendships with princes and writers, his preference for ancient times (though he recognized the superiority of Venetian shipping to that of the ancients), his awareness of the economic depression that followed the Black Death, his openness to many of the curiosities, troubles, and satisfactions of his age. Yet certain things that should emerge from a representative book-length selection of Petrarch's letters do not appear. We find little of his polemic against dialecticians and only certain aspects of his quarrel with physicians. Some of the letters that are most revealing on Petrarch's ideal of culture and moral philosophy are omitted, as are most of the letters on political topics. Though availability may have influenced Bishop's selection, the nature of his understanding of Petrarch seems to have weighed as heavily. Bishop set forth his view of Petrarch in an earlier book, *Petrarch and His World* (1963): the first modern man, "one of the eternal men." A view so often repeated must have something to recommend it, but it is inadequate preparation for a reading of Petrarch's letters. It leaves one perplexed over Petrarch's rhetorical argument "that it is more honorable to be an Italian than a Greek," based on the ancient habit of calling one part of Italy "Magna Graecia"; it provides no approach to Petrarch's posings, his continual contradictions, his strivings for rhetorical effect. It leads Bishop to reject without explanation the new dating, and thus the new understanding, of "The Ascent of Mt. Ventoux" proposed by Giuseppe Billanovich. The quality in Petrarch that Bishop's selection most faithfully communicates is his self-consciousness. This is certainly a cen-

tral feature of his personality and one that brings him closest to us. But even this self-consciousness cannot be understood apart from Petrarch's other characteristics that are of his century, not of ours. One wishes more attention had been paid them in making this selection of letters.

Princeton University

JERROLD E. SEIGEL

ROZBIÓR KRYTYCZNY ANNALIUM POLONIAE JANA DŁUGOSZA Z LAT 1445-1480 [Critical Analysis of the *Annalium Poloniae* by Jan Długosz, 1445-1480]. Volume II. Edited by Jan Dąbrowski et al. [Polska Akademia Nauk, Oddział w Krakowie, Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, Number 12.] Cracow: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1965. Pp. 434. Zł. 85.)

THE first comprehensive history of Poland was written about five hundred years ago. In it, Jan Długosz set forth a record of Poland's evolution from legendary times to 1480, the year he died. This history, in manuscript form, served as a most important source of information on early Polish development for scholars and officials of the realm during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While a part of this lengthy record was printed in 1615, a complete version was not published until 1711-1712.

Długosz, a canon of Cracow, held two principal posts that influenced his writings. The first was that of secretary to Zbigniew Oleśnicki, bishop of Cracow and later a cardinal, who virtually ruled Poland for a considerable period. After the cardinal's death in 1455, Długosz entered the royal service and was employed by King Casimir Jagiełło in various capacities which brought him in touch with most of the events and many of the leading personages of the time. Also at one time or another, he had access to archival materials of both Church and state. Indeed, the earlier part of the history of Poland, which he began in 1455 at the suggestion of Oleśnicki, was drawn largely from documents in the Polish archives, but, as the events were recounted, his history became in fact a chronicle of contemporary events. Because Długosz was far from objective in his opinions, analyses, and interpretations, modern scholars have deemed it necessary, considering the value of his accounts, to determine the degree of literal accuracy they possess.

An undertaking of this nature was begun by Aleksander Semkowicz, one volume of whose critical studies, covering the period to 1384, was published in 1887. Much later this task was resumed by a group of scholars including Stanisław Gawęda, Krystyna Pieradzka, Julia Radziszewska, and Krystyna Stachowska, headed by the late Professor Jan Dąbrowski, and the first volume of their work was published in 1961. This study, relating to Długosz' history for the period 1385-1444, was the result principally of a comparison of Długosz' accounts with Bohemian, Russian, German, Silesian, and Lithuanian chronicles. Four years later the present volume was published. In this, the fact-finding group compared Długosz' accounts of his own times, often heavy with personal prejudice, with sources contemporary with Długosz and with more recent studies as well, verifying, correcting, or discrediting the original theme as the findings warranted. This final portion of the critical analysis of Długosz' history makes his work for

the first time fully useful to historians. The commentary as presented in the present volume, including a vast number of critical notes and an extensive bibliography, bears tribute to both the devotion and the scholarly attributes of the editors, and it is, in itself, a major contribution to the study of Polish history.

Library of Congress

JANINA W. HOSKINS

MECHANICAL UNIVERSE: THE ASTRARIUM OF GIOVANNI DE' DONDI. By *Silvio A. Bedini* and *Francis R. Maddison*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LVI, Part 5.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1966. Pp. 69. \$2.50.)

THIS work of collaboration, "a conflation of studies independently begun by both authors," undertakes to describe accurately the *astrarium* of Giovanni de' Dondi and to trace its history to its destruction at the end of the fifteenth century, as well as "to collect and systematize in chronological order all available surviving contemporary accounts and later records relating to the *astrarium*." This job was definitely worth doing, since De' Dondi's instrument, though not the first of its kind, is among the most famous; there have been many areas of ignorance and faulty knowledge regarding it.

The authors have done an impressively thorough and intelligent job. All quotations are given in English translation in the text and are referred to the documents printed in the original language in an appendix. Numerous well-chosen and well-produced photographs greatly enhance the book's value, though happily not its price. This is a most welcome addition to the literature on medieval technology. Both the authors and the publishers are to be congratulated.

University of Southern California

RICHARD C. DALES

Modern Europe

DECLINE AND RISE OF EUROPE: A STUDY IN RECENT HISTORY, WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF A EUROPEAN CONSCIOUSNESS. By *John Lukacs*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1965. Pp. xii, 295. \$4.95.)

THIS book's principal theme is "the ambiguous and, as yet, inadequate development of a European consciousness." To develop this topic the author concentrates on the original use of the term "Europe" as a noun and then the increasing use of it as an adjective. This may seem like a simple schematic approach, but in developing his account Lukacs touches on much European history in a very perceptive way.

Of the two concepts, what is Europe is relatively easy to deal with. The geographic, economic, and political development are tangible and can be surveyed. In the Middle Ages the geographical idea of Europe was inextricably interwoven with the idea of Christendom. Between 1400 and 1700 the terms Western Christendom and Europe were interchangeable, but the Treaty of Utrecht was the last international agreement to include a reference to *respublica*

Christiana. What unity Europe had gave way to a changing state system, and the history of Europe became the history of the separate states. Incidentally, England and also Russia are considered as being integral parts of Europe. It is this European state system that is now declining.

Pius II, we are informed, turned the word Europe into an adjective around 1450. Just what that term has meant and means today is difficult to state, for it is a matter of consciousness. Inability to define exactly this concept does not mean it does not exist or that the Europeans are not increasingly aware of it. It is good to have someone raise his voice against the post-World War II tendency to sell Europe short even though the rise of a European consciousness is still rather vague.

Considering the ground he covers, it is not surprising that the author makes some sweeping generalizations, a good number of which are debatable. For example: had Great Britain by 1900 "acquiesced in the Far Eastern and Pacific and perhaps even in the Atlantic primacy of the United States"; or what are "the increasingly cramped habits of the modern American mind"? But right or wrong, the broad observations do not detract, but rather add zest to his arguments. There are explanatory footnotes, so many and long at times that they interfere with the readability of the text. Here as in the text itself, the author includes numerous telling quotations without direct citation, a procedure hardly just to the author quoted or to the reader who might like to know the exact source of the quotation.

Bowdoin College

E. C. HELMREICH

CHARBON ET SCIENCES HUMAINES: ACTES DU COLLOQUE ORGANISÉ PAR LA FACULTÉ DES LETTRES DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE LILLE EN MAI 1963. Under the direction of *Louis Trenard*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Industrie et artisanat, Number 2.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1966. Pp. 465. 59 fr.)

It is easy to criticize a collection of interdisciplinary papers dealing with a single subject. Frequently, as with *Festschriften*, the articles contained therein are diffuse and of unequal quality. In this case, some are local history and therefore of little interest to the outsider; others deal with topics that have appeal primarily for the specialist, as, for example, a paper on the language of the miners and another one on their religious affiliations. For all the papers contained in this book coal is the common denominator. The colloquium that met at Arras in May 1963 was organized under this heading. Beyond it there was no particular unifying theme. If anything, the results of the conference—certainly the assessment of the present and the projection for the future—had a pessimistic tone to them. The coal industry everywhere is a sick industry.

In short, this was not a meeting dedicated only to the history of the coal basin of northern France. It covered a fairly broad expanse of topics, presented by a large array of personalities. Here academician met governmental official and industrialist, and historian, sociologist, geographer, and expert on literature

were asked to make their contributions to the understanding of a common phenomenon. Could one expect such a diverse group to tackle one single problem so that a coherent synthesis would emanate? This was obviously too much to expect. Instead, one must be grateful for some of the outstanding articles and, moreover, for the interesting comments that followed several of them. Among the articles of value is Claude Fohlen's piece on the relationship of coal to the Industrial Revolution in France between 1815 and 1850. There being a close correlation between coal and the rise of industry in the nineteenth century, the lack of this raw material and transportation difficulties operated as major constraints. Even more to the point is the fact that it was cheaper to import British coal than to make use of the coal mined in France, an important historical fact that François Crouzet in a subsequent article spelled out with great cogency. Bertrand Gille took up the question of size and the problem of mergers. That merging of firms was the tendency is not surprising; that the government stepped in to prevent further mergers about 1852 is indeed significant.

For the rest, a group of three articles under the heading of geography and demography proved most interesting. André Gamblin produced a fine piece in which he examined the localization of industry on the basis of several theoretical criteria. Pierre Bruyelle pointed to the concentration of population in coal districts, and Jacqueline Beaujeu-Garnier elaborated on migrations to and from the coal areas, emphasizing the employment of foreign labor. I should also not wish to omit Pierre Reboul's report on mines and miners in nineteenth-century French literature. Lastly, several bibliographical articles on French, Belgian, English, East German, and West German historical literature on coal are included.

Tulane University

HERMAN FREUDENBERGER

ACTA PACIS WESTPHALICAE. Series 2, Part C, DIE SCHWEDISCHEN KORRESPONDENZEN. Volume I, 1643-1645. Edited by *Ernst Manfred Wermter*. (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1965. Pp. xxxii, 960. Cloth DM 142, paper DM 138.)

In 1957 the *Vereinigung zur Erforschung der Neueren Geschichte* was founded in West Germany with the goal of encouraging research on problems of general modern history from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. They chose to do this by following the venerable German tradition of the careful collecting, editing, and publishing of historical sources. The first major project undertaken has been the *Acta Pacis Westphalicae*, which appears in three series: "Instructions"; "Correspondence"; and "Varia." The first volume in Series One appeared in 1962, and one volume has appeared in Series Three. The present volume of Swedish correspondence on the preliminaries to the Peace of Westphalia is the first in its series. Taken as a whole, this promises to be one of the most important collections of sources published since World War II and answers a need most recently pointed out in Fritz Dickmann's *Der Westfälische Frieden* (1959). Although a few letters are in French, German, or Latin, most are in Swedish and were exchanged between Stockholm, the Swedish resident in Münster, Schering Rosenhane, and the Swedish ambassadors in Osnabrück, Johan

Oxenstierna and Johan Adler Salvius. They illustrate effectively the complexity of the peace negotiations, European diplomatic activity of the period, and the rather impressive political sophistication of the Swedish representatives, especially Adler Salvius. His sensitivity to public opinion on the matter of the Swedish war with Denmark is outstanding as is his ability to isolate the distinctive characteristics of the foreign policies of the various negotiating states. Occasionally amusing side lights occur as when he wrote home in November 1645 recounting conversations with the Spanish ambassador, Saavedra, who had told him to watch out for the French and to remember that Spaniards shared with Swedes the same Gothic ancestors.

At the end of the volume there are a chronological index, including references to materials not printed here, and a very good index of names. Ernst Manfred Wermter, the general editors of the series, Max Braubach and Konrad Repgen, and the publishers are to be congratulated on a difficult job well done. Every respectable research library should possess this work.

University of California, Riverside

ERNST EKMÁN

POWSTANIE PALATYNACKO-BADENSKIE 1849 ROKU ORAZ UDZIAŁ W NIM POLAKÓW [The Revolution in the Palatinate and Baden in 1849 and Polish Participation]. By *Anna Owsieńska*. [Polska Akademia Nauk, Oddział w Krakowie, Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, Number 14.] (Cracow: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1965. Pp. 209. Zł. 36.)

AMERICAN scholars have somehow by-passed this long-forgotten and little-known revolution, although it certainly has importance in the evaluation of the struggle of democracy versus reaction in Germany. Early in 1849 the Frankfurt National Assembly passed a democratic constitution for a new German Empire (*Kaiserreich*) that was strongly opposed by German monarchists and reactionaries. King Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia refused to accept the crown as Kaiser of a constitutional Germany. The Prussian government supported all rulers of particular *Länder* in their opposition to change and intervened with armed forces to preserve the *status quo*.

The social structure of the western and southern German states, their closer contact with French and Italian liberalism, and their traditional opposition to the Prussian upstarts favored the adoption of the new constitution in these areas. After the democratic enthusiasm of 1848 had evaporated and the Frankfurt Assembly started to disintegrate, the Left Wing came, quite belatedly, to the conclusion that words should be followed with deeds. In May 1849 local revolutions broke out that were intended to replace the existing order by the Frankfurt constitution. The revolution in Dresden lasted four days; in other cities, it was even shorter.

The "democrats" were most successful in the Palatinate and Baden where the local armed forces (except for their officers) immediately sided with them. In Baden, Siegel, an able, democratically inspired lieutenant became commander in chief. But he had no military ability, and his army of some twenty thousand lacked officers. The new government approached the Polish Democratic Associ-

ation in Paris for officers. This association represented the Left Wing of the Polish *émigrés* and included a large number of well-trained officers from the army of the Polish Kingdom (1815-1831) established by the Congress of Vienna in personal union with the Russian Empire.

Both the Palatinate and Baden nominated Polish generals as heads of their armed forces, and about two hundred Polish officers led the ranks. Lack of time and a dangerous "fifth column," which at critical moments sided with the Prussians, caused defeat of the "democrats."

Anna Owsieńska has used well the available archival material and vast memoirs of contemporaries. Kept in scholarly form, with an abundance of footnotes, her monograph still makes interesting reading. She added a useful name index, but neglected to include a bibliography. Her map of day-by-day operations was certainly a good idea, but it is crowded and lacks a scale and unit symbols; hence, it is not very useful. These technical deficiencies mar, but do not reduce the value of this piece of good historical writing.

Hoover Institution

WITOLD S. SWORAKOWSKI

SCHICKSALSJAHR 1866. By *Adam Wandruszka*. ([Graz:] Verlag Styria. 1966. Pp. 304. Sch. 118.)

THE hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Königgrätz has inspired a number of reassessments of the significance of 1866 in Central European history. Adam Wandruszka, Austrian by birth and professor of modern history at Cologne, modestly rejects any comparison of this memorial volume with the major works by Friedjung, Srbik, and Wilhelm Schüssler, or the recent study of the battle by Gordon A. Craig. Although there are no footnotes, the scholarly quality of the work is revealed in many paragraphs that summarize an important work of recent scholarship or examine critically a still-debatable issue.

The author's theme and purpose are conventional: to show how 1866 was a turning point in German unification, an important step in building the Italian state, and a shift of major significance in the power relationships of Prussia, Italy, and France, largely at the expense of Austria. The structural features are likewise simple: the treaty system of 1814-1815, the lessons of the 1848 Revolutions, the success of the Italian unification movement and the repercussions in Germany, Bismarck's "blood and iron," the Austro-Prussian power struggle in Central Europe, and the diplomatic and military events of the critical year 1866.

The book is avowedly written for a younger generation of Germans for whom the knowledge of these events of a hundred years ago have all but vanished from historical consciousness. In general, the tone of the book is more *Grossdeutsch* than *Kleindeutsch*, more Europe centered than Prussian or Bismarck centered, and more calmly objective than partisan.

An appendix, occupying a third of the space, presents extracts from the unpublished diary of Austrian General Karl Moering for the year 1866. Moering commanded a brigade at the Battle of Custoza and served as Austrian commissioner in the transfer of Venetia to the kingdom of Italy. A liberal, but staunchly loyal to the Habsburgs, he quoted a Vienna pasquinade on the causes of the Austrian defeat:

Freiwillige ohne Knöpf,
Minister ohne Köpf,
Ein Kaiser ohne Hirn,
Da müssen wir verlier'n.

Wandruszka ably summarizes a critical year in Europe's political history and the diplomatic developments leading up to it. A translation would make this worthwhile study available to a wider circle of students and general readers, an audience that it greatly deserves.

University of Virginia

ORON J. HALE

DIE RUSSISCHE EMIGRATION IN DEUTSCHLAND, 1919-1929. By *Hans-Erich Volkmann*. [Marburger Ostforschungen, Number 26.] (Würzburg: Holzner-Verlag. 1966. Pp. 154. DM 34.50.)

IN the 1920's Hans v. Rimscha published surveys of refugees from Bolshevik Russia. Now, proposing to treat only Germany, Hans-Erich Volkmann brings information from later accounts and scholarship as well as from private and public German manuscript collections, especially from the political archives of the Foreign Office at Bonn.

"The Structure of Russian Emigration," first and briefest of the six topical chapters, leaves me puzzled about the number of refugees, said always to have averaged at least 150,000-250,000 in Germany between 1919 and 1929. But the author declares that exact evidence is wanting. Chapters II-IV give incidentally some glimpses of the miseries of refugees. "With only minimal protection of human rights, largely without work, and thus robbed of every regular foundation for life, most carried on a desperate struggle for their existence." For reasons that are neither evident nor explained, Chapter V, "The Political Activity of the Monarchists," fills almost half the book. The author is obviously interested in the subject, has published articles on German efforts in the Baltic States in 1918-1919, and is at work on a large study of the latter subject. While he thus leaves Germany for the activities of Bermond-Avalov, he shows at least some connections of the Russian monarchists with German nationalist, antidemocratic groups at home, especially in Bavaria, such as in the Bad Reichenhall conference of 1921. But his exclusion of Germans who were formerly Russian citizens keeps him from examining associations with the Nazis as Walter Laqueur has done in English in *Russia and Germany* (1965). Volkmann follows the activities of the Russian monarchists into France; so, too, outside Germany he follows the conflicts over the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church and the efforts of Rome for union. He points out problems that Rapallo brought Russian refugees in Germany and shows continued close connections with German extremist groups of the Right. Although he suggests that the Russian refugees created problems similar to the more massive ones after 1945, he neither explains nor follows that theme. For all the wealth of detail in less than 154 pages, scholars can hardly be cheered that such a paperback book is priced at DM 34.50—more than eight dollars.

University of Washington

D. E. EMERSON

THE GREAT POWERS, LITHUANIA, AND THE VILNA QUESTION, 1920-1928. By *Alfred Erich Senn*. [Studies in East European History, Number 11.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1966. Pp. x, 239. 40 gls.)

THE decade 1920-1930 produced such quaint devices for preserving peace as the Washington Conference, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, and the Maginot Line. France and Britain rested their hopes upon the Versailles system, depending largely on Poland to police Eastern Europe. A lack of contact with reality, however, was not a monopoly of the Allies. Hysterical nationalism was rampant in most of Europe. The war itself had been testimony to its strength, and that, in the post-war period, was further amplified by the disposition of power symbols to weak nations like Lithuania. That nation, like others, became intoxicated by the wild hopes for international morality aroused by Woodrow Wilson, the League of Nations, and the utopian concept of national self-determination.

As this book progresses it repeats the ever-recurring motif of Lithuanian frustration, of a nation trying to be something it was not in a world that never was.

Even though the Poles treacherously violated the Suwalki agreement of October 7, 1920, by seizing Vilna two days later, France and eventually Britain blessed the Polish possession of Vilna, as did the Council of the League by indirection. Power politics was of course a major factor, but it is true, as Senn points out, that Vilna, Lithuania's historical capital, was ethnically Jewish and culturally Polish. As the years passed, Lithuania was warned ever more urgently to cease threatening the peace and to stop leaning on anathematized Russia for support. This advice remained quite beyond the emotional acceptance range of Lithuanian nationalism.

Professor Senn has admirably depicted the psychotic and self-destructive patterns that the Lithuanian people and statesmen manifested as they reacted to the cruel loss of their spiritual capital at the very moment of their national resurrection. This book, although rather cramped for all the author tries to say and therefore tedious reading in parts, bears a timely message to a world again deluded and divided and beset with Vilna-type problems from Berlin to Taiwan. The focus is rather one-sidedly on Lithuania, Senn complaining that the Polish sources were not "cooperative." A subject index was definitely called for, and a bibliography should also have been included.

City College of New York

STANLEY W. PAGE

1940. By *Laurence Thompson*. (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1966. Pp. 256. \$5.95.)

LAURENCE Thompson, a journalist of rather unusual sensitivity, presents here a book for the lay reader that will well repay the four or five hours it may require to read it. Combining an ability to write well-paced prose with a willingness to use the recollections of others, he has produced a diverting and instructive account of the year 1940. It was a year of pivotal importance in which several matters were brought to a stage of full or partial completion and in their out-

come gave a tilt favorable to Great Britain as it faced—for the most part alone—the mounting fury of the war.

The book is like a dozen beads on the string of the year. Beginning with the intrigue and narrowing of political and military arrangements in late 1939 and early 1940, the work goes quickly to the campaign in Norway, the overthrow of Chamberlain, the emergence of Churchill, the battle in northern France, Dunkirk, the question of "peace," and finally the *Blitz*. Each episode has an identity of its own, but there are unity and coherence in the lot. Many readers will want to go through the book at one sitting.

This feeling of pace and movement comes in part from Thompson's willingness to move around as his narrative requires it. London is the focal point, but Washington and Berlin come in as they are needed. Good use is made also of the rather rich store of personalities available, and many characterizations and insights will strike the reader's fancy. One is pleased with the deftness of several of these (Halifax is a good example) or startled by their acerbity. Occasionally the author falters in his effort to create atmosphere, but on the whole the craftsmanship is good.

Could not one just as easily do 1939 or 1941? Almost certainly—and there may be efforts. Done with the proper touch it is a form of historical writing that may appeal to a rather wide reading public. The span of time is not too long, and the possibility of letting the main characters take over not too remote to result in popular history of a good sort. More of it would not be bad.

University of North Carolina

JAMES L. GODFREY

DIPLOMAT IN WIEN: ERLEBNISSE, BEGEGNUNGEN UND GEDANKEN UM DEN ÖSTERREICHISCHEN STAATSVERTRAG. By *Sven Allard*. (Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik; distrib. by P. A. Norstedt & Söner, Stockholm. 1965. Pp. 246.)

IN the form of a partial memoir, the former Swedish ambassador to Austria (1954-1964) sets himself the task of explaining the sudden willingness of the Soviets to conclude the Austrian State Treaty in early 1955, after almost a decade of recalcitrance. Allard enjoyed a close, personal relationship with the representatives of the three Western Powers and the Austrians (especially Bruno Kreisky) and, for this reason, was occasionally used as a sounding board by Soviet diplomats as well. He therefore claims to have had an intimate behind-the-scenes acquaintance with and understanding of the diplomatic developments that led to the treaty. His account does not bear this out, however. The few private conversations he records do little more than embellish the testimony of the published, widely available sources, especially official pronouncements and newspapers, upon which he chiefly relies. Allard's analysis of the evidence, like his long, pedantic background lectures and digressions on the theory and conduct of Soviet foreign policy, does not rise above that of a college instructor or political journalist. He arrives at length at the generally accepted interpretation of the Soviet decision: having lost hope that Austria might become another "satellite," and having failed to couple an Austrian settlement successfully with the exclu-

sion of West Germany from the Western defense alliance, the Soviets (specifically Khrushchev) decided to use the Austrian treaty to launch a new diplomatic offensive. The neutralization of Austria was to serve as an object lesson on the principles of coexistence and to hamper the growth of Western military power by illustrating the advantages of neutralism and demilitarization. The whole thing has been done better by an American Foreign Service officer, William B. Bader, in his *Austria between East and West, 1945-1955* (1966). Bader explains the Soviet decision against a backdrop of East-West competition within as well as without Austria and draws upon a much more comprehensive collection of sources, including the Dulles Papers.

Though of little value to scholars, Allard's account may have some appeal to that stratum of the European intelligentsia which is always titillated by the clubby reminiscences of professional diplomats, even those confined to the periphery of power.

University of California, Los Angeles

JOSEPH FREDERICK ZACEK

CATHERINE OF ARAGON AND HER FRIENDS. By *John E. Paul*. (New York: Fordham University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 263. \$6.00.)

IN nineteen short chapters Dr. Paul sketches the lives of those who made up the circle of Henry VIII's first queen. He has not attempted to write another biography to place beside the masterpiece of Garrett Mattingly. Rather he intended to keep Queen Catherine in the background, while concentrating on her friends and associates. The Queen's friends, as chosen by Paul, include both the famous and the obscure. The familiar stories of Thomas More, John Fisher, and the Nun of Kent are retold. Among the more interesting minor characters is the mischievous Doña Elvira Manuel, Catherine's duenna. Catherine's shyness and inability to adjust to life in England gave Doña Elvira the opportunity to dominate the court. After five years in England Catherine was still unable to speak English, and, consequently, she remained dependent on the Spanish ladies at court. Doña Elvira's intimacy with Catherine was of a degree that permitted her to inform Ferdinand and Isabella that their daughter's marriage to Prince Arthur had not been consummated, but it was diplomatic meddling, not inquisitiveness, that ruined her. Her rash scheme to align Henry VII with Archduke Philip miscarried. A well-timed illness compelled Doña Elvira to retire to Flanders, and neither Catherine nor England mourned her departure.

Although published in the United States by a university press, Paul's study is primarily for the general reader. It is written in an engaging style and makes full use of recent secondary works as well as the standard printed sources. For the scholar there is little new, and the absence of footnotes does not inspire confidence. The critical reader cannot help but be skeptical about Paul's certainty that Catherine was deprived of the bare necessities and forced to borrow money lest she face starvation. Her complaints about poverty and neglect can scarcely be taken at face value. On the other hand, a rereading of the tragic stories of More and Margaret Pole shows how savage life in Tudor England could be.

University of New Mexico

BARRETT L. BEER

CALENDAR OF THE PATENT ROLLS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. ELIZABETH I. Volume V, 1569-1572. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1966. Pp. vii, 725. 189s.)

IN reviewing the initial volume of Elizabethan patents (*AHR*, XLVI [Apr. 1941], 627) Conyers Read complained mildly about the tardy pace of the publication of the series. More recently, Robert Johnson noted the progressively higher prices demanded for succeeding volumes (*AHR*, LXX [July 1965], 1174). A necessary third comment is that concerned with the ever-mounting debt we owe to the skillful and meticulous artists of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. In this work they have produced another magnificent addition to the documentation of English history.

This volume calendars Patent Rolls entries from November 17, 1569, to November 16, 1572. Concerned with nonpolitical domestic affairs, this synoptic compilation presents little of the drama that characterizes statutes of the realm, royal proclamations, or acts of the Privy Council. Yet as instruments conveying vital historical information, and because of the interdependence of evidences in historical studies, the patents are of fundamental importance, and they are drawn in the multiple forms necessary to their purposes: licenses, pardons, grants, commissions, and dispensations.

Many relate to land grants, denizations, and pardons and contain a wealth of names and locales that will contribute to the study of genealogy and local history. The commissions for discovery of concealed lands, patents for monopolies, and grants of royal properties include hitherto unprinted materials relevant to the provenance of subsequent constitutional problems, with particular reference to the House of Commons' search for the power to remedy grievances of the Commonwealth in the next century. The licenses for manufacturing, importing, and exporting of consumer goods will increase our knowledge of Elizabethan mercantilism, while the lists of offenders pardoned after the northern rebellion, and the simultaneous methodical spoliation of its attainted prime movers to the enrichment of courtiers and favorites, help define certain of the Queen's administrative policies.

Wisconsin State University, Whitewater

PAUL L. HUGHES

CAST OF RAVENS: THE STRANGE CASE OF SIR THOMAS OVERBURY. By *Beatrice White*. (New York: George Braziller. [1967.] Pp. ix, 260. \$6.00.)

THIS volume is concerned with some of the scandals of James I's reign. Sir Thomas Overbury was one of the victims of the divorce between Frances Howard and Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, and her marriage to Robert Carr, earl of Somerset. After years of intimacy with Carr, Overbury became a threat to the Carr-Howard marriage. Overbury was imprisoned in the Tower, where he became the target of at least two intrigues. Carr, James, and others worked for Overbury's disgrace and detention until after the marriage. Frances Howard sought his death through witchcraft and poison. His death brought relief to some and suspicion and fear to a few.

Two years after Overbury's death and hasty burial and the Carr-Howard marriage, the Earl and Countess of Somerset were the center of another scandal. One of the lesser persons involved in the attempt to murder Overbury confessed. Sir Edward Coke, who investigated and prosecuted most of the cases, soon had evidence against several, including the lieutenant of the Tower and the Earl and Countess of Somerset. The lesser persons were executed, but Carr and Howard, though convicted, escaped severe punishment. Carr's punishment was banishment from the company of James, who had replaced him with George Villiers even before the trial. Howard's punishment was her exclusion from the court and all of its intrigues.

Dr. White has concentrated on scandals and intrigues, rather than the literary efforts of Overbury or the policies of James. Only two of the characters, Lord Ellesmere and Francis Bacon, escape with anything approximating morals, ethics, honesty, integrity, or normality. Infirmary prevented Ellesmere from playing an active role. Bacon was appointed as a counter to Coke in order that Carr and Howard not be pressed into divulging too much and that they not be subjected to the treatment accorded the lesser lights by Coke. This volume does not modify current interpretations, but it does fill in and confirm parts of the picture. White is to be commended for producing a sound piece of historical scholarship and for presenting her material in such a way as to make it valuable and interesting to the specialist and the layman.

University of North Carolina, Charlotte

GEORGE R. ABERNATHY, JR.

THE FIFTH MONARCHY MEN. By P. G. Rogers. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 168. \$4.80.)

THIS is the story of that Puritan sect of Cromwellian England that had the deepest commitment to millennialism. Although there have been several articles about the Fifth Monarchy Men in recent American periodicals, mostly unused by the author, this is the first book-length treatment since Louise Fargo Brown's *Baptist and Fifth Monarchy Men* (1912). Unlike Brown's study, to which it adds very little factual information, it rightly does not stop before the climactic Venner uprising of 1661; nor does it argue that Fifth Monarchy Men were closely related to the Baptists.

First introduced to the Fifth Monarchy Men by Harold Laski thirty-five years ago, Rogers warmed up to this well-written study with two books on nineteenth-century millennialism. Consequently, he does not fit the Fifth Monarchists into the total picture of Cromwellian Puritanism, but his deep knowledge of English millennialism does permit him to treat his subject as "primarily a religious movement." The first chapter deals with the seventeenth-century English precursors of Fifth Monarchism; the next eight chapters trace the narrative through the 1850's and early 1860's with extensive quotes garnered from all the important pamphlet literature except for the writings of John Tillingshast; only in the last chapter do we get an analytical statement, and, for what it is worth, a moral judgment about these "Stiff-Necked People."

Rogers correctly stresses Fifth Monarchism's heterogeneous nature as it ranged from "peaceful dreamers to bellicose fanatics," its aversion to religious

toleration except for the Jews whom they welcomed as "harbingers of the long-awaited Kingdom of Christ," and its "anti-democratic" and theocratic political outlook which "would have riveted upon England a system as bigoted and intolerant as any" under James I and Charles I. Unfortunately, Rogers does not distinguish between those influential millennialists of Puritan England (like Cromwell's chaplains, John Owen and Thomas Goodwin), whose version of the Second Coming of Christ was inward and spiritual, and the Fifth Monarchy Men, whose version was outward and literal. Nor does he really make the case for the Fifth Monarchists as "left-wing" revolutionaries (the Laski influence?), but he does state unequivocally that in wishing to throw off the old yoke of oppression, they would, if successful, have imposed a new one.

Indiana University

LEO F. SOLT

NAVY BOARD CONTRACTS, 1660-1832: CONTRACT ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE NAVY BOARD. By *Bernard Pool*. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1966. Pp. xii, 158. \$9.00.)

THE contracts discussed here were for shipbuilding and repairs, timber, masts, and naval stores, together with services such as the removal of mud from docks and mooring sites. Victualing and guns and powder were the responsibility of other departments. Although the Navy Board was the largest government purchasing department, the subject has been only partly dealt with in earlier works, and the present study was well worth undertaking. The result is a concise and clear account, solidly based on the Admiralty Papers and other contemporary evidence, but with insights deriving from the author's experience as Director of Navy Contracts, 1948-1960. Modern scholarship is not neglected, although Daniel A. Baugh, *British Naval Administration in the Age of Walpole* (1965), appeared too late for its important findings to be employed.

Shipbuilding by private builders outside the royal yards was exceptional before 1660, but thereafter was frequently resorted to in order to fulfill the naval programs. The contracts are studied in detail and reveal much about the navy and about business methods. Navy yards were forced to compete with private builders for both labor and materials, and striking instances of conflicting interests arose. There appears to have been little competition in bidding on shipbuilding and almost none at all on the supply of materials such as eastern timber. Given these circumstances and contemporary standards of business morality, it is not surprising that the Navy Board came under heavy attack from reformers. Pool does not estimate the number or influence of Navy Board contractors in Parliament, the exclusion of whom was enacted in 1782. Reform of other abuses was steadily pursued after 1783 and receives much attention. Despite the author's evidence of gratuities to officials and administrative atrophy, he is convincing in his conclusion that the work of the board was "basically sound and well-administered." Confirmation is provided in the form of proof that after the abolishment of the Navy Board in 1832 the five successor departments began to compete with each other in purchasing the same items.

Vanderbilt University

P. H. HARDACRE

THE FIRE COURT: CALENDAR TO THE JUDGMENTS AND DECREES OF THE COURT OF JUDICATURE APPOINTED TO DETERMINE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LANDLORDS AND TENANTS AS TO REBUILDING AFTER THE GREAT FIRE. Volume I. Edited by *Philip E. Jones*. ([London:] William Clowes and Sons. 1966. Pp. xx, 320. 45s.)

ON the morrow of the Great Fire of London in 1666, responsible persons both in the City and in Westminster realized that litigation between landowners, prime tenants, and subtenants might delay rebuilding by years or decades. If the common law was ill-adapted to divide the loss equitably between the affected parties, Chancery was much too cumbersome and slow to act as expediter. In the end an emergency "Fire Court" was set up to settle such disputes, consisting of all the common-law judges using common-law oral procedures but free to employ such standards of equity as it saw fit. The present Corporation of the City of London has begun the publication of the entry books of decisions of this remarkable court.

The court was essentially successful in settling disputes and getting the burned properties rebuilt quickly. Generally, the tenant was given the first refusal of rebuilding, with the landlord usually required to compensate by extending leases or by making a contribution in cash or reduced rent. When the tenant was unwilling or unable to rebuild quickly, he was required to surrender his lease so that the landlord could rebuild.

For economic and social historians not particularly interested in these legal arrangements, this volume will nevertheless have great interest. The transactions of the court reveal with remarkable clarity ownership and tenurial patterns in urban real estate on the eve of the fire. Rents, particularly of public houses, were high, making urban real estate attractive both for investment and speculation. Subleasing was common, producing both capital and income gains. (Annuities were almost as common as mortgages, though both were surprisingly infrequent, as the risk on houses was much greater than on land.) All in all, a highly intricate and most interesting picture of the real-estate market emerges.

University of Michigan

JACOB M. PRICE

THE ARMIES OF QUEEN ANNE. By *R. E. Scouller*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 420. \$11.20.)

THIS book deals with British Army administration during Queen Anne's reign. Its chapters discuss the branches of army organization, the recruiting and treatment of soldiers, and the supplying of skills and materials. By supplementing authorities like Clode and Walton with material from the *Commons Journals* and the State, Treasury, and War Office Papers, Major Scouller has produced a thorough and valuable account of the regulations and establishments of the period. He is less thorough—but often interesting, especially in regard to recruiting and soldiers' living conditions—on the actual working of the regulations. Finance is not one of his strong points. His discussion of the paymaster, for example, deals largely with Ranelagh, who was dismissed in the first year of the Queen's reign; it does not even mention Brydges, who was paymaster abroad

from 1705 to 1713. Scouller cannot be blamed for overlooking the chapter on paymasters in J. G. Sperling's Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, done in 1954, "Godolphin and the Organisation of Public Credit, 1702-10," but the letters printed in the *Bakers' Life of Brydges* should not have escaped his notice.

Finance, however, is a crucial matter because so many problems of army administration in this period hinged on the fact that the colonels were in reality government contractors for troops. Hence they played a key role in administration, one that they were often ill-situated to perform and that offered manifold temptations for illicit gain. Scouller misleads us when he speaks of "patient officers" betrayed by corrupt London officials. The officers were part of the problem. If their requests for additional allowances were handled clumsily, it was partly because they were mistrusted. The history of army administration is largely a story of the gradual modification of the contractual relationship, but this book does not treat systematically the relevant developments of Queen Anne's reign.

There is throughout a disturbing discrepancy between the author's general statements and his evidence. He begins by stating that the army, under Marlborough, was among the most "brilliantly successful British armies in history"; this is true, but the whole tendency of his book is to instill disbelief. Even at lower levels of organization, the book seems aimless. Topic sentences are sometimes refuted by what follows, and too many concluding remarks have the flavor of guesses. The book provides much that is thought provoking, but it scarcely avoids any of the pitfalls of administrative history.

Princeton University

DANIEL A. BAUGH

THE COMPLETE LETTERS OF LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU.

Volume II, 1721-1751. Edited by *Robert Halsband*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966. Pp. xxv, 530. \$13.45.)

PROFESSOR Halsband has already presented us with a full, authoritative, and admirably readable biography of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. He is now more than halfway through a complementary work: a three-volume edition of her correspondence, which is to contain all surviving letters of her own and at least a sampling of the letters addressed to her. As her correspondents included Pope, Addison, Arbuthnot, Young, Congreve, Bishop Burnet, Lord Hervey, and Montesquieu, even the briefest sampling will certainly interest scholars.

Lady Mary's letters have always been highly esteemed. Like her occasional verses, they were passed around freely among her contemporaries. One series of them, the so-called "Turkish Embassy Letters" (describing her life in Constantinople when her husband was British ambassador there), was published in 1763, less than a year after her death, and became the principal basis of her literary fame. More were published in both the nineteenth-century edition of her *Works* by James Dallaway (1803) and that by Lord Wharnccliffe (1837), and still more emerged in the next 140 years. It was all but inevitable that some twentieth-century scholar should embark upon a complete series that would exploit the full value of so distinguished a collection.

It is hard to imagine a scholar better equipped for the task than Halsband.

He edits *con amore*. His interest in Lady Mary's world must be nearly as great as her own. Yet he is never a mere enthusiast. He faces up to the dullest and most insistent of his editorial jobs: the endless identifications, the "spotting" of difficult quotes, the untangling of confused and thankless minor incidents. Best of all, he does those jobs with an appearance of ease. If he has any fault worth mentioning, perhaps it is connected with the apparent ease. He can be just a little too cavalier about his own conjectural datings. Sometimes they require an argument that is not supplied. It is an absurdly small fault in one of the greatest of modern editions.

University of Massachusetts

THOMAS W. COPELAND

EDWARD GIBBON THE HISTORIAN. By *Joseph Ward Swain*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 161. \$5.75.)

ON December 31, 1775, an English astrologer could have made himself immortal by predicting the advent of an *annus mirabilis*. Although no one was so prescient, we may be sure that those persons who live by anniversaries will not neglect their opportunity in 1976. If the historian *may* leave the Declaration of Independence to the politician, the *Wealth of Nations* to the economist, and the *Fragment on Government* to the lawyer, he *must* pay homage to the first volume of a history that could survive them. That damned thick book, whose author was to scribble, scribble, scribble for another dozen years, was wonderfully timed, a discourse on the fall of the greatest empire of antiquity, coinciding with the felicitous elegy of the greatest contemporary one. Gibbon knew that he had scored, and toward the end of his life he acknowledged that his *History* had given him a name, a rank, a character to which he would not otherwise have been entitled: he would be read with honor by those who never saw him and whom he would never see. Even though his prescience exceeded that of any astrologer, he could scarcely have anticipated that an early nineteenth-century etiquette book would recommend the *Decline and Fall* to young ladies. Had he done so, how great must be our regret at the loss of the bon mot that would have followed his discovery of the injunction that they must solemnly promise not to read the footnotes. We can actually see him opening his mouth as he arranges his epigram.

The present essay is well named. Without assuming an inevitable march toward the *Decline and Fall* Swain has accompanied Gibbon along the way imaginatively and learnedly, a journey made easier by Gibbon's own *Memoirs* and letters. No great historian has more freely written his historiographical autobiography, and Swain has taken full advantage of it. Apart from a chapter on the "lover," the whole essay concentrates on the Gibbon we wish to know, the historian. His debt to the captain of the Hampshire Grenadiers has perhaps too often been acknowledged, but the debt to his "cursed political life"—the offer of a parliamentary seat came just as he had destroyed an army of barbarians—has never been so fully set forth. Nor has the saunter of the *littérateur*: whatever his fulfillment, Gibbon was not born to be a historian. There can be no doubt, however, that he became one, one whose critical power matched his narrative genius. If this perceptive volume excites one regret above any other,

it is its neglect of Gibbon's concern with recovering England's past. Had he lived out his Biblical span—he died at fifty-seven—he might have raised another arch no less worthy to be celebrated.

University of Missouri

CHARLES F. MULLETT

MAKERS OF MODERN ENGLAND: THE FORCE OF INDIVIDUAL GENIUS IN HISTORY. By *Giovanni Costigan*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xii, 334. \$6.95.)

ALTHOUGH these essays were, I suspect, written with the general reader in mind, they can be read by professional historians with profit and enjoyment. Professor Costigan's eight or nine subjects (do Sidney and Beatrice Webb count as one or two?) are not only figures of major importance; most of them would come irresistibly to mind in discussions of the building of modern England. More than that, they are individuals whose careers raise tantalizing questions and whose personalities, with all their differences, were not lacking in color, though in the case of some, admittedly, it comes in muted shades. The members of the cast—Jeremy Bentham, J. S. Mill, John Henry Newman, Benjamin Disraeli, the Webbs, David Lloyd George, and Sir Winston Churchill—are united only by the fact that all have been, in one way or another, architects (or saviors) of the British way of life.

Costigan has relied chiefly on familiar printed works for his material. Biographies and special studies have been read carefully and thoughtfully, and they have yielded a series of well-written, discriminating biographical essays. The majestic abilities, political and intellectual, of his subjects give no warrant for concealing their shortcomings, and Costigan does not attempt to paint out the warts. Only Mill, whom the author obviously admires enormously, escapes this analysis. The final essays turn out to be absorbing sketches of the two great twentieth-century war leaders. In spite of the enormous disparities in background and mental habits, Lloyd George and Churchill reveal astonishing similarities in their defects, as in their virtues, and both were clearly indispensable.

The essays are, of course, uneven in merit. Some are more substantial, and some more sophisticated than others. One should not, by the way, take Costigan's introductory rationale for his studies of English leaders too seriously. His sketches have to do with the personalities of the great rather than their achievements, and they do not attempt to make a considered case for individual genius as against impersonal force in history. Yet, all that aside, this book can enlighten as well as entertain.

Harvard University

DAVID OWEN

MERTHYR POLITICS: THE MAKING OF A WORKING-CLASS TRADITION. Four lectures originally delivered to the Merthyr branch of the W.E.A. during the winter session: 1964-5. By *Gwyn A. Williams et al.* Edited, with a foreword, by *Glanmor Williams*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1966. Pp. 109. 10s.6d.)

MERTHYR is an appropriate selection for these studies by four Welsh historians because, more than any other town, it has been central in the rise of a Welsh

working-class political tradition. They deal with the emergence of a popular movement, the Liberal supremacy, the spread of socialism, and the recent decades of economic depression. The vivid portrayal puts life into some of the generalizations of British history. A bibliographical note follows each essay.

"The Merthyr of Dic Penderyn" by Gwyn A. Williams takes its title from the nickname of a young miner, unimportant except as a martyr in a rising that marked a turning point in South Wales. In Merthyr there had been radical workers, but no working-class movement. Within days of the rising of 1831, however, Owenite unions spread over the coal fields. "The Merthyr of Henry Richard" by Ieuan Gwynedd Jones deals with the period of the Second Reform Bill, when the middle class of Merthyr became effective politically and trade-unions improved their organization. After 1868 these forces combined to return Henry Richard, a radical Nonconformist, as a Liberal M.P. in six successive general elections. "The Merthyr of Keir Hardie" by Kenneth O. Morgan explains the hold this Scottish socialist secured on Merthyr. The decline of the iron industry brought depression, unemployment, and wage cuts, followed by stoppages which, in the case of the great coal strike of 1898, lasted for six months. The defeated miners turned to politics. It was then that Keir Hardie established his connection with Merthyr, where the miners responded to his identification of socialism with the ethics and ideals of Nonconformity. "The Merthyr of the Twentieth Century" by J. W. England deals with the vicissitudes of Merthyr when the mineral basis of the town's prosperity approached exhaustion and Merthyr became officially a distressed area. Merthyr was saved, however, by the policies of the postwar Labour government. Armed with the Distribution of Industry Act and the Town and Country Planning Act, it steered expanding firms away from the overcrowded regions and into the development areas with some dramatic results. The nineteenth-century growth of Merthyr was due to private enterprise, but the twentieth-century rehabilitation owed much to governmental action.

Stanford University

CARL F. BRAND

THE RISE OF THE MIDLAND RAILWAY, 1844-1874. By E. G. Barnes.
(New York: Hillary House. 1966. Pp. 317. \$8.50.)

E. G. BARNES has written a labor of love: a descriptive history of the first thirty years of the Midland Railway. After a brief but useful introductory chapter on early canal and railroad activities in the Midlands area, the narrative takes up the story of the creation of the Midland amalgamation (1844) during the "Railway Mania"; its aggressive leadership by that prototype Victorian entrepreneur, George Hudson, the "Railway King"; Hudson's subsequent financial collapse in 1849, which reduced the company to near-bankruptcy; the emergence of John Ellis as the Midland's savior and the years of expansion that followed in the heyday of British prosperity—the 1850's and 1860's; and the extension of Midland lines to London, accompanied by the building of that startling show-piece, Saint Pancras station, in 1867-1868.

Barnes makes the death of Superintendent Matthew Kirtley in 1873 a final break with the railway's pioneer past (the days of personal dominance of great

figures like Hudson and the Stephensons). Although 1874 also saw the first introduction of Pullman service, the author's case for breaking off his narrative at this point in time does not seem justifiable. Perhaps his second volume, planned to carry the story down to 1922, will show fuller support for 1874 as a significant year.

Concerned mainly with administrative history and, sketchily, with equipment changes, this book is built around personalities. Barnes is not helpful to business or social historians in making meaningful general statements based on the Midland as a case study. He eschews generalizations, ignores any question of revisionist reinterpretation of railway history in general, and makes no mention of secondary or interpretive sources in his rather quixotic, one-page bibliography. The skimmed index, the poor illustrations, the illegible and cramped maps, and the complete absence of footnotes will not make his work easy to use. It is, nevertheless, a readable and interesting account, which contains much important factual material; it will be read by future railroad and transportation students.

Smith College

PETER D'A. JONES

MANCHESTER MEN AND INDIAN COTTON, 1847-1872. By *Arthur W. Silver*. ([Manchester, Eng.:] Manchester University Press; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1966. Pp. xi, 349. \$11.00.)

LANCASHIRE cotton manufacturers had long been concerned about their heavy dependence on the United States for raw material. If, some of them reasoned, the quality of Indian cotton could be improved and the supply increased, it would not only afford the security of an alternative source, but would bring down the price of the American product to a "normal" or "natural" level of 4d. a pound—really a dream price though Professor Silver refrains from saying so. In 1857 the more eager among them formed the Manchester Cotton Supply Association to pressure the government into action, and the cotton famine during the Civil War brought their campaign to a peak. Many of their proposals showed little knowledge of Indian conditions and were hardly compatible with the laissez-faire doctrines either of the Manchester school or of the Secretary of State for India, Sir Charles Wood. The latter could agree to promoting improvement in quality and to more vigorous building of railways and public works as fast as government finances would safely permit. He approved, too, an increase in the Indian tariff on cotton manufactures to provide additional revenue, a measure opposed by the Manchester Association. But he drew a line, often sharply, against anything involving compulsion of the ryots or reduction in Indian food production or otherwise against the welfare of the Indian people. In fact, government did much, and, if it was slow and cautious, it knew better the limits of Indian potentials and had no wish to repeat past mistakes, as Peter Harnetty has pointed out in a recent article, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," in the *Journal of British Studies*, VI (Nov. 1966), 70-96. How widely or wholeheartedly the association was supported among the cotton manufacturers is not clear. When the Manchester Cotton Company was organized in 1861 to buy cotton in India, only 7 per cent of the proposed capital was subscribed, and the company failed in 1863. Few mills were willing to adapt their machines to the

short, coarse fibers or to derange their markets with lower quality products, and a considerable part of the increased supplies from India were re-exported. American supplies resumed slowly after 1864, and the importunities of the association correspondingly diminished; it disbanded in 1872.

This is an interesting story, told in detail from ample records. One could wish for more critical analysis, especially since the reader is not given many data with which to check the reiterated and often grossly exaggerated claims of the activists. The tables and charts are not, by modern standards, well designed, captioned, or defined. A potentially useful table showing annual price ranges and imports, but not re-exports, stops, curiously, at 1849. Two slips noticed are odd enough to mention. Lord William Bentinck is identified as "the first Governor General of India, 1833-5," without explanation, thus denying Warren Hastings his title and Bentinck his full dates (1828-1835). I cannot, as biographer, accept credit for the words attributed to me as a judgment on the India Bill of 1858. They were explicitly quoted as Lord Ellenborough's hopes for the bill. There are useful appendixes, a good bibliography, and a commendably detailed index.

Tufts University

ALBERT H. IMLAH

BRITISH MEDIATION IN THE DANISH-GERMAN CONFLICT, 1848-1850. Part 2, FROM THE NOVEMBER CABINET UNTIL THE PEACE WITH PRUSSIA AND THE LONDON PROTOCOL (THE 2ND OF JULY AND THE 2ND OF AUGUST 1850). By *Holger Hjelholt*. [Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser udgivet af det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Volume XLII, Number 1.] (Copenhagen: Munksgaard. 1966. Pp. 251. D. kr. 40.)

THIS volume completes Mr. Hjelholt's study, which adds substantially to our knowledge of the Schleswig-Holstein question. It has often been assumed, because British public opinion was pro-Danish, that the British government also favored Denmark. The evidence in this work testifies exhaustively to Palmerston's impartiality. Writing from a Danish point of view, the author suggests that the British Foreign Minister was a bit pro-German. The effectiveness of British mediation was diminished by its refusal to consider even a naval demonstration, let alone the use of force. It was Russian pressure and the constitutional struggle with Austria that eventually impelled the Prussians to back down. One theme developed especially well is the conflict of interests involved in Bunsen's representation of both the Frankfurt and Berlin governments in the negotiations with Palmerston.

Such a study has long been needed to fill the gap prior to Lawrence D. Steefel's classic (*The Schleswig-Holstein Question* [1932]), but Hjelholt's work has serious deficiencies. His research was obviously carefully done, and the sources used were excellent. Unfortunately, however, he has cast his study in a restrictive mold. What purports to be an investigation of British mediation deals only in the most cursory way with British politics, public opinion, or differences of opinion within the cabinet. The general European situation, and its obvious impact on the developing mediation of the Danish-German conflict, is dealt with

perfunctorily. Even such obviously central matters as the struggle about the structure of Germany and the growing pressures applied by Russia against Prussian policy are poorly developed. As a result, motives are seldom clear and often completely neglected. Masses of details pour forth with little analysis. Scarcely any references are made to the literature in the field, and even the original sources are quite narrowly selected, primarily from the correspondence of the Danish, German, and British diplomats. Despite a four-page conclusion, Hjelholt's views remain more implicit than explicit.

It is unfortunate that the index omitted all major personalities in the mediation and that the standard abbreviation for the British Parliamentary Papers (P.P.) was used to refer to the Palmerston Papers. This work will be useful to specialists in European diplomacy and their graduate students, but of very little value to anyone else.

Indiana University, South Bend

PAUL H. SCHERER

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL. Volume I, YOUTH, 1874-1900. By *Randolph S. Churchill*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1966. Pp. xxxviii, 614. \$10.00.)

THIS first of a projected five-volume biography deals with Churchill's youth. In addition, for each volume there will be one or more "independent appendix" volumes that will contain some of the "raw material" as well as fuller details on "subordinate" characters. Thus, we can look forward to a library shelf of ten or more volumes.

Indeed, the material at the disposal of the biographer seems almost unlimited, and he is faced with an embarrassment of riches. Many of the letters written by, to, or about Churchill even during his early childhood have been preserved. Some day, we are promised, the archives will be open to students. In the meantime, Randolph Churchill, aided by a team of researchers, will exploit the rich treasure trove.

Although the period covered in this first volume has already been dealt with by Winston Churchill in his *My Early Life* (1930), the present volume supplements, if it does not entirely supplant, that account. Randolph Churchill quotes liberally from *My Early Life*, but he enriches it with far more details. Nor is he inhibited in dealing with his grandparents. The picture of Lord Randolph Churchill that emerges differs from the far more flattering portrait painted by Winston Churchill in the biography of his father. Randolph Churchill also presents a savage indictment of Winston Churchill's parents for neglecting their children. The pleading requests of young Winston while at school for letters and visits and the cold replies of his mother are heart-rending to read even now.

Randolph Churchill also takes issue with the "legend partly fostered" by Sir Winston himself that he was a "preternaturally stupid little boy." On the contrary, the biographer contends that his father early showed "originality of mind." His "mutinous outlook" at school combined with his parents' neglect "early compelled him to stand on his own feet and to make his way by his own exertions and his own methods." The methods involved, among other things,

unabashedly making the utmost use of family connections and friends. At the same time, possessed by a "daemon," Churchill was also prepared to risk his life in order to attain fame and success.

In 1932 Randolph Churchill had wanted to write a "filial and objective" biography of his father, but had been deterred by Winston Churchill's advice that "some day you will make thousands instead of hundreds." The present biography, which will most likely bring the author many thousands, is filial rather than detached. Filled with respect and admiration for his father's "genius and noble character" Randolph Churchill can find no warts to paint. While we look forward to the subsequent volumes of what promises to be a distinguished biography, it seems evident that it will be less than an objective evaluation. This first volume contains some excellent photographs, genealogical tables, short biographies of the principal characters, and a comprehensive index.

Brooklyn College

SAMUEL J. HURWITZ

THE BRITISH AND THEIR SUCCESSORS: A STUDY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT SERVICES IN THE NEW STATES. By *Richard Symonds*. (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 9-286. \$8.00.)

IN searching for a term that would cover the process known in India as "Indianization" the Colonial Office settled upon "localization" as a word applicable to all situations and yet devoid of any racial overtone. It is this process that Richard Symonds has chosen to study in three areas of British rule: India and Ceylon, West Africa, and East Africa. Although he does not spell it out very explicitly, his theme is the dilemma that British liberalism posed for itself in the late nineteenth century: the creation of constitutional forms of government based on British parliamentary experience, yet at the same time the preservation of the political control that was the necessary function of imperial power.

In his longest section, Symonds examines the history of localization in India and Ceylon. The failure of the British to effect a compromise with the educated classes led to the formation of the Indian National Congress. But localization did take place in the civil service, and, although with great resistance, in the Indian Army, so that by 1947 a cadre of civil and military officers was available to staff the bureaucracies of the successor states.

In West Africa, British control began with Africans employed in almost all government posts; this was reversed from 1898 to 1940, when few Africans had senior posts. Finally, in the last days of British rule, there was a program of rapid Africanization. Symonds' explanation of these changes encompasses many factors: improvements in medicine that made it possible for Europeans to live in tropical Africa, new standards of efficiency, and, undoubtedly, social Darwinism, which replaced earlier views of Western religious and cultural superiority with ones based on race.

In an interesting chapter, Symonds makes a series of brief comparisons between British colonial institutions and those of the French in West and Equatorial Africa, the Belgians in the Congo, the Dutch in Indonesia, and the Ameri-

cans in the Philippines. Differences of great importance for national development are noted. The French, for example, unlike the British, never encouraged education in the vernaculars; all education was in French. The fact that Africanization was less advanced in the civil services in the French colonies than it was in the British, but more so in the armies, has interesting implications.

Many of the issues raised in Symonds' book deserve fuller treatment, especially the influence of the Indian civil service tradition on Africa and the role of education in creating responses to pressures from the West. The principal merit of this work is that, with a graceful style and easy command of the history of the period, it provides one of the first synoptic views of a topic of absorbing interest.

Columbia University

AINSLIE T. EMBREE

APPEASEMENT ON TRIAL: BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS CRITICS, 1938-1939. By *William R. Rock*. ([Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books, 1966. Pp. xii, 365. \$10.00.)

THIS book's main purpose is to disprove the "widely-held assumption" that there was "no significant opposition to appeasement in Britain aside from the prophetic warnings of Winston Churchill." This may well surprise English readers who had quite a surfeit at the time of popular front, Left Book Club, and similar propaganda, followed later by the machine-gun fire of the "Guilty Men" pamphlets with which the firm of Gollancz enlivened the wartime political truce. Dr. Rock makes no use of these sources, but he certainly proves, by ample quotation from Hansard and the London and provincial papers and reviews, that there was a steady flow of criticism other than Churchill's from February 1938 onward.

Whether this criticism decisively influenced policy would, however, be hard to prove without a more searching evaluation than Rock offers here of the other influences on Neville Chamberlain's mind. The book attempts a general assessment of the whole period but on the traditional lines that make Chamberlain the scapegoat for everyone else's hesitations and delinquencies. According to this view a boundless credulity on his part as to Hitler's good intentions ended abruptly with the occupation of Prague. If the change was owing to such disillusionment, the pressure of back bench and opposition criticism was presumably less important.

But, indeed, much other evidence ought to be considered. The book does not mention Chamberlain's strong denunciation of Germany's intentions as early as March 26, 1937, in his letter to Henry Morgenthau, or the efforts of both Chamberlain and Eden later in 1937 to persuade the United States to play a more active part in the Pacific. American influence on the crisis is almost entirely ignored, and the British government's preoccupation with Japan right down to September 1939 is omitted altogether. The French role, particularly in 1938, is seriously undervalued. Nor is the significance of the strong advice from the service departments against war before the spring of 1939 given proper attention.

The rearmament program seems to me a much better guide to the fluctuations in British policy than any form of popular pressure. This, however, does not lessen the value of Rock's analysis of opinion, which is supported by a full survey of press affiliations in Appendix II.

London School of Economics

W. N. MEDLICOTT

EXPLAINING MUNICH: THE SEARCH FOR MOTIVE IN BRITISH POLICY. By *Donald N. Lammers*. [Hoover Institution Studies, Number 16.] (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University. 1966. Pp. vii, 73. \$2.00.)

THE title of this brief essay is misleading: Professor Lammers is not "explaining" Munich, though beyond this simple assertion it is difficult to describe exactly what he is doing. The essay is divided into two sections: In Part I, Lammers launches into a discussion of "bad" history, pointedly the "profoundly unhistorical" polemics that have been written about the motives of the British appeasers in the Munich crisis of 1938. The chief, though not the only, offenders here are the Marxist (or "Stalinist") historians whose interpretations of appeasement ("deductions from a rigid world-view") have been built on one foundation: the theory that it was the product of Western hostility to the Soviet Union, of the Western hope that a German "free hand" in Eastern Europe would obliterate Communism. Part II is Lammers' alternative case study, offered as an example of "Western" critical analysis; it is an attempt to come to grips with the "anti-Red hypothesis," to subject it to the dispassionate examination of one searching only for "historical truth."

Thus the task that Lammers undertakes is the mostly negative one of disproving or at least qualifying the "anti-Red hypothesis," a project that develops, unsurprisingly, into very much the kind of history he deplors. For in presenting his case he commits his own scholarly sins of deduction and supportive selectivity. On the point, for example, that the appeasers might have gone to war during the May crisis of 1938 (thus joining the hated Soviets in alliance against Hitler, their supposed "bulwark against Communism"), Lammers concentrates on the hard line coming out of the British Foreign Office; that is, he neglects altogether the reaction of the key figure, Neville Chamberlain, who was so appalled at this rare and reckless initiative of the Foreign Secretary (Halifax) that he completely took over the direction of foreign policy. Or, in arguing that Chamberlain was not blinded to the barbarities of Nazism by his anti-Communism, Lammers uses an item from Anthony Eden, which finds Chamberlain "deeply impressed" with a current exposé of Hitler's Germany; had he gone to Feiling, Chamberlain's biographer, Lammers would have found a postscript on the matter: Chamberlain saying, "if I accepted the author's conclusions, I should despair, but I don't and won't." Omissions and misreadings, which dot the text, may be simply unfamiliarity with the sources, but they create something less than confidence in Lammers' professed "meticulous regard for truth."

University of Illinois, Chicago

MARGARET GEORGE

THE PASSING OF THE IRISH ACT OF UNION: A STUDY IN PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS. By *G. C. Bolton*. [Oxford Historical Series, Second Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. vi, 239. \$6.10.)

THE Revolution of 1798 in Ireland, inadequately and belatedly supported by the French, was a failure, but it convinced the British Prime Minister, William Pitt the Younger, that a union between Ireland and Britain was essential to the security of the latter. A faction-torn Irish Parliament seemed to lack sufficient public support or financial resources to pacify or defend the country against a possible French invasion. A number of Irish Protestants, frightened by Jacobinism and popery, endorsed the idea of union. Other Protestants were convinced that an Irish Parliament was a more certain guarantee of Protestant ascendancy and Irish prosperity than a single legislature for the two kingdoms. Catholic opinion, just emerging as a force in Irish affairs, inclined to the view that Catholic emancipation would get a more sympathetic hearing at Westminster than in Dublin, and British leaders encouraged this opinion. In 1799 the union was frustrated in the Irish Parliament, but the next year it won majority support, and in 1801 the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland became a reality. This union would fail because Britain delayed settlement of Catholic claims and Parliament subordinated the interests of agrarian Ireland to those of industrial Britain.

Bolton attacks the traditional thesis that the union was a product of corrupt practices: the use of patronage and the gift of peerages to win a unionist parliamentary majority. He insists that the alleged corruption was accepted practice in Irish politics, and he offers evidence to show that few antiunionists were persuaded to change sides in 1800. For the most part, the unionist majority came from the ranks of the 1799 neutrals. He argues that most Irish M.P.'s voted their opinions in 1800 and that there is no reason to believe that the antiunionists as a group were more patriotic or less selfish than the unionists.

Bolton's writing style is not exciting, but his research is exact, and his thesis is provocative and well defended. The importance of the act of union, the quality of Bolton's research and his original thesis, the careful analysis of Irish opinion on the union by class, religion, and area, and the description of late eighteenth-century Irish political life make this book a significant contribution to both Irish and British historical literature and to an understanding of the relationship between the two countries.

Marquette University

LAWRENCE J. McCAFFREY

LES COMPAGNONNAGES EN FRANCE: DU MOYEN ÂGE À NOS JOURS. By *Émile Coornaert*. ([Paris:] Éditions Ouvrières. 1966. Pp. 435. 39 fr.)

THIS study provides valuable information for a student of any aspect of artisanal life since the late Middle Ages. It sums up most of the known material on the *compagnonnages* and adds consideration of newly released documents on organization and ritual, portions of which are published in the lengthy appendix.

M. Coornaert writes as a sympathetic outsider to the *compagnonnage* movement. His most interesting chapters seek to convey the spirit of the *compagnons*,

their attitudes to their own organizations, to the Church, and to the state. The structures and evolution of the *compagnonnages* are treated clearly, but the central concern is always with the *mystique* and the mystery of the movement.

For all its value, however, the book as a whole is disappointing. The documentation comes mainly from within the movement, and many sections simply reproduce the studies of Perdiguier; relevant police and provincial records are inadequately used or not used at all, and the list of secondary materials is shockingly limited. Partly as a result, the relations of the *compagnonnages* to the broader society are barely suggested. The agitation of the *compagnons* is sketched, though too briefly for most periods, but its importance is not assessed; the economic significance of *compagnonnage* operations is not fully evaluated. Also, the nature of the documentation leads to a very limited treatment of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, precisely the period about which we need to know more.

The other main fault of the book is organizational. A first large section outlines the chronological narrative, mainly in terms of state policies toward the *compagnonnages*. But after this the groups are treated as constants, without a steady sense of historical change. In thematic chapters such as that on the *compagnonnages* and the Church, examples for the sixteenth and late nineteenth centuries are bewilderingly juxtaposed, leading to repetition and lack of clarity. Information on the size of the *compagnonnages*, inadequate in any event, is presented in two separate sections.

The result, then, is a book that collects a variety of useful information and is animated by a perceptive sympathy for its subject. It is a book, also, that must be reorganized and re-evaluated by any historian seeking to use it, even on topics central to the study of the *compagnonnages*.

University of Chicago

PETER N. STEARNS

BORDEAUX DE 1453 À 1715. Under the direction of Robert Boutruche. With the collaboration of J. Bernard et al. [Histoire de Bordeaux, Volume IV.] (Bordeaux: [Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest.] 1966. Pp. 562.)

AMONG the many studies that the current vogue of local history has produced in France, this work is one of the more successful. Under the editorship of Robert Boutruche, a group of specialists have pooled their knowledge of the history of Bordeaux and have published a volume of studies on all major phases of the city's development from 1453 to 1715. The quality of the contributions inevitably varies, but is sufficiently expert throughout to command the attention of any reader who seeks information regarding the urban growth of Bordeaux and its significance in the age. Although Boutruche admits that this period was not as dramatic or productive as those that preceded and followed it, he and his collaborators have succeeded in presenting a series of well-delineated analyses of the social, intellectual, institutional, religious, artistic, and, above all, the commercial life of the city, both from the standpoint of local developments and their place in the life of the French people.

In the introductory section Boutruche treats the condition of the city from 1453 to 1483, the generation after its reconquest by the French monarchy, with

emphasis upon commercial problems that resulted from the shifting policies of the French and English kings. The body of the work is divided into topical treatments of the various phases of urban growth during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Economic and social developments in the sixteenth century are ably treated by Jacques Bernard who stresses the importance of the wine trade, the basis of local prosperity, and analyzes the structure of local society. The same general areas are examined in the seventeenth century by Françoise Giteau who shows the continuing struggle for commercial success and the evolution of social classes. Francis Loirette and Louis Desgraves analyze intellectual and religious developments during both centuries, showing in detail the impact of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations upon the life of the city. The authors note that its specific contributions to the intellectual life of the age were minimal unless one includes Montaigne, but he belonged to humanity generally rather than Bordeaux. On the other hand, they carefully note the intellectual situation in which Montaigne produced his famous works. Loirette also analyzes in considerable detail the political and institutional evolution of the city during both centuries. To me, these appear to be the ablest portions of the book. Paul Roudié examines the artistic life of Bordeaux, showing how it benefited from contemporary achievements in the field, but made few original contributions.

In a work that is both as narrow and as broad as this, the problem of originality is understandably acute. The method of the contributors has been to build upon well-known secondary sources with additional information of varying significance from manuscript materials in local archives. The resulting analyses are never entirely original, and the reader often finds himself wishing for more complete treatment of key developments. The book will, however, be a valuable contribution to knowledge of a major French city and the vicissitudes of provincial life.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

THE DEVELOPMENT OF 'TECHNICAL' EDUCATION IN FRANCE, 1500-1850. By *Frederick B. Artz*. [Monograph Series, Number 3.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Society for the History of Technology and the M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1966. Pp. x, 274. \$7.95.)

THE appearance of this work is doubly welcome. It is first a pleasure to see still another volume emanating from Professor Artz. It is equally satisfying to know that an often neglected side of intellectual history is receiving some of the attention that it merits. For too long historians have failed to render a cogent interpretation of the role played by science and technology.

Artz has written one chapter of a much-needed story. He has turned his attention to technical education in France for a period of 350 years. He has not concerned himself greatly with science, as distinguished from technology; nor has he devoted much attention to scientific training within university confines. For each period within the 350 years (1500-1700; 1715-1789; 1789-1815; 1815-1848) he has described the development of technical education at the elementary and secondary levels and within specialized institutions, of technical training administered for the army and technical instruction directed by the navy. Some-

one now needs to do this for other European areas, to add an accurate account of university contributions, and to tie the description of technological education more carefully to the general development of the sciences during this period.

The reader will better understand the Enlightenment, the Revolution, the reforms of Napoleon, and the early nineteenth-century monarchy after completing this volume. The empirical, practical interests of the eighteenth century, the material emphasis of the Revolution, the persistent thrust of nineteenth-century technology—all these become clearer. The period 1500–1700 is not quite so satisfactorily handled. Although Artz is less concerned with university science, he is a little too willing to subscribe to the thesis that “the universities were hostile or indifferent to science.” There is now much evidence to suggest that historians have erred in insisting that university education, especially in the seventeenth century, was designed solely for the theologian, the lawyer, and the physician. Artz suggests in both text and footnotes that such earlier scholars as Preserved Smith, G. N. Clark, M. Caullery, and Martha Ornstein were correct in their assessment of seventeenth-century university science. Citations for the period 1715–1848 are quite current, whereas the documentation for the period 1500–1700 does not include references to the scholarship of the past two decades.

Anyone interested in the history of science and technology will want to read this work. We await its companion volumes.

University of Missouri, St. Louis

GLEN R. DRISCOLL

CAHIERS DE DOLÉANCES DES PAROISSES DU BAILLIAGE DE TROYES POUR LES ÉTATS GÉNÉRAUX DE 1614. Published with a presentation and notes by *Yves Durand*. Preface by *Roland Mousnier*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Paris—Sorbonne. Series “Textes et Documents,” Number 13. Travaux du Centre de Recherches sur la Civilisation de l’Europe moderne, Number 4.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1966. Pp. viii, 361. 35 fr.)

THIS book reflects the continuing interest of Professor Mousnier’s *Centre de Recherches sur la Civilisation de l’Europe moderne* in the social stratification of the old regime. Following on the heels of his publication of two *cahiers* of the nobility for the Estates-General of 1651, Yves Durand now gives us sixty-six parish *cahiers* and *procès-verbaux d’assemblées* of the *bailliage* of Troyes for the Estates-General of 1614. Only one of this number has been previously published, and that somewhat imperfectly. The original documents were uncovered by Durand in the communal archives of Troyes. In view of the rarity of such basic *cahiers* for all the Estates-General, but especially for that of 1614, it is to be hoped that this publication will start a trend. But as Durand notes, historians able to make use of the *cahiers* of the *bailliage* of Troyes are particularly well off, since a large number of preliminary *cahiers* for this region dating from the Middle Ages to 1789 have already been printed. It would be fruitful, however, to have the *cahiers* for the same villages printed in chronological order over the centuries to facilitate comparison.

Over-all, these *cahiers* reflect a very conservative society. Not a hint is to be

found of any demand for fundamental social or political reform. Probably the most consistent grievance found in these documents, alongside the inevitable complaints about taxes, crop failures, and vagabonds, concerns the deplorable state of the clergy. One can only hope that the budding Catholic revival mitigated clerical abuses in Champagne because the picture of the rural clergy presented herein is indeed a dismal one. As Durand observes in a lengthy and scholarly introduction, these complaints about the clergy contrast strikingly with those of the *cahiers* of 1789. In the first instance, they emanate from people who appear genuinely interested in worshiping God and are highly resentful of the numerous obstructions placed in their way; in the other, the main concern appears to be the reform of an institution only incidentally religious in nature. The editor has done an excellent job of introducing the documents, modernizing their language where necessary, and providing the necessary appendixes, glossaries, and other scholarly apparatus necessary for their appreciation.

University of Notre Dame

LEON BERNARD

PROBLEMS AND POLICIES OF MALESHERBES AS *DIRECTEUR DE LA LIBRAIRIE* IN FRANCE (1750-1763). By *Edward P. Shaw*. ([Albany:] State University of New York; distrib. by Antioch Press, Yellow Springs, Ohio. 1966. Pp. x, 164. \$6.00.)

ONE must take the title of this small book literally. Professor Shaw has focused sharply on Malesherbes's dual responsibilities as director of the book trade and chief of royal censors, serving under his father, the chancellor. An account of even the most rudimentary facts about Malesherbes, or about the book trade in general, outside the narrow compass of this volume will have to be sought elsewhere. While much interesting information is presented on the devious ways of publishers and censors at a critical period in French intellectual history, nothing really new emerges from this study. The attitude of Malesherbes and most other censors of his time toward the writers of the Enlightenment is well known, particularly in so far as it made possible the circulation of the *Encyclopédie*. The author solidly shores up traditional beliefs about the happy inadequacy of French censors and literary supervision around the middle of the eighteenth century. His perusal of the Collection Anisson of the Bibliothèque Nationale has yielded much hitherto unpublished material testifying to the inability or unwillingness of a society to defend itself from the attacks of the philosophes. No one, either among writers or government officials, seemed to know precisely what the law intended, and they cared less. The author concludes that Malesherbes was "prone to forget, to forgive, to tolerate, rather than to punish." No book was supposed to be printed without his permission, but he persistently obliged questionable authors with *permissions tacites* and, in truly delicate cases, with *permissions très tacites*. He would permit a few copies of works of the latter category to be published simply to judge the reaction. If it were not too strong, authorization for full-fledged publication would ensue. Widespread book sales *sous le manteau* met mainly with official winks.

While Shaw's book could hardly qualify as a pioneering effort, it is an interesting and illuminating monograph. The author, however, might well have

organized his material more carefully. His 150-odd pages are divided into 16 chapters ranging in length from 3 to 25 pages. Even more disconcerting than this lack of symmetry is the use of chapter titles as verbose (often several lines of print) as some of those eighteenth-century tomes that passed across Malesherbes's desk.

University of Notre Dame

LEON BERNARD

ROLAND DE LA PLATIERE: A PUBLIC SERVANT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Charles A. Le Guin*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LVI, Part 6.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1966. Pp. 129. \$2.50.)

THIS study traces the career of a provincial civil servant who worked for thirty-five years to modernize French textile production before becoming entangled in the revolutionary drama. In describing Roland's prerevolutionary activities, as inspector of manufactures, author, and savant, Le Guin covers new ground and displays his subject to advantage. Later sections of the book, where Roland's fate merges with that of other Girondists, seem less successful on both counts. More competent as technician than politician, more at home in the provinces than in Paris, Roland was better suited for the posts he held under the old order than under the new. In portraying the Girondist minister, Le Guin tends to underrate the incapacity for high office of a man who handled production charts more skillfully than people. That Roland has been unfairly caricatured, first by political rivals and then by later romancers, is well demonstrated, however.

Le Guin's treatment is sufficiently dispassionate to leave Roland's disagreeable personality intact. He shows that this tactless, smug, pompous man was also an energetic, civic-minded public servant with the courage of convictions that were enlightened and humane. On behalf of workers as well as new manufacturers, he fought local merchant magnates and superior officials. An ambitious careerist, he risked his chances for promotion by adopting an uncompromising stance.

Throughout, the author provides detailed coverage, but does not probe in depth. Few clues are offered as to why Roland adopted views that were foreign to his family and milieu, or, later, aligned himself with the "popular" Lyonese faction. The analysis of Roland's ministerial performance contrasts unfavorably with M. J. Sydenham's more acute and succinct account in *The Girondins*. Le Guin's failure to exploit this relevant work is unfortunate. His attempt to set the stage for Roland's ministry is clumsier than need be, while the chance to question some of Sydenham's views has been missed. Finally, this study is gracelessly written and poorly organized. It does not draw to a conclusion, but simply peters out. An epilogue serves as a catchall for assorted leftover topics.

In sum, this is a typical scholarly monograph, densely packed with raw data that can be used in other monographs, but cannot get assimilated into broader syntheses or surveys. By sticking closely to the evidence, Le Guin has demolished a stereotype and undermined many clichés. But news of his findings will not travel far.

American University

ELIZABETH L. EISENSTEIN

HISTOIRE DE LA MAISON ROTHSCHILD. Volume I, DES ORIGINES À 1848. By *Bertrand Gille*. [Travaux de droit, d'économie, de sociologie et de sciences politiques, Number 39.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1965. Pp. 493. 36 fr. S.)

PROBABLY no business enterprise has been the object of so much attention, popular and scholarly, as the House of Rothschild. It was already a legend in the lifetime of its founder, Meyer Amschel. From the middle of the nineteenth century its wealth and power made it a favorite target of anti-Semitic polemicists; and, beginning with an anonymous two-volume history in Leipzig in 1857, histories of the bank have come forth in a thin but steady stream that shows no evidence of drying up. Most of these publications have been composed largely of anecdote, for the Rothschilds have been systematically hostile to any outside scrutiny of their personal or business records. But anecdotes are the stuff of popular mythology, and the Rothschilds have more often than not been the kind of people anecdotes are made of.

Pioneer exceptions to this anecdotal tradition include Christian Wilhelm Berghoeffer's biography of Meyer Amschel Rothschild and Egon Corti's two-volume history of the *Rise and Reign* of the House of Rothschild. More recently (1960) Jean Bouvier did a little-known history of the Rothschilds, which is particularly informative on their role in the payment of the French indemnity of 1871. Bouvier did not have access to any Rothschild records, though he did make good use of the papers of the *Crédit Lyonnais*. By this time, however, the French house had broken with tradition and invited a professional historian, Bertrand Gille, to classify their records, and had given him permission to use these to write a history of the bank. This was not an easy decision, and the uneasiness of the house is evidenced by the conditions imposed: the first fruits of Gille's research gave no source references. Eventually, however, the bank gave Gille permission to announce his good fortune to the world of scholarship, and the announcement took the form of two substantial volumes of letters to the Paris house from its agents in Belgium during the years 1838-1853 (1961, 1963).

In the meantime, Gille began writing his history, this first volume of which takes the story to the threshold of the great crisis of 1848. It is an extraordinarily rich and detailed story, based not only on the records of the firm but also on public and private archives in a half-dozen countries. Even so, the author has been handicapped by destruction of early records in some areas and, most serious of all, the unwillingness of London to open its doors. What we have is a history of the first half century as seen from Paris, just as Corti's was a history as seen from Vienna.

Within the limitations imposed by the evidence, Gille's study is a revelation. For the first time we have details of the finances of the bank, if only at widely spaced intervals. These confirm the general impression of a firm that rose with astonishing rapidity. We can now follow in detail the history of state finance and international capital in the first half of the nineteenth century. And a new dimension has been added to our understanding of the business crises of these years.

In spite of its abundance of documentation and detail, however, Gille's study

is far from definitive or complete, even within the scope of the Paris house and its records. The most astonishing thing about the Rothschilds was the range of their interests and relations. Much of this material can be read with profit by political and social historians, since the Rothschilds' financial operations illuminate certain aspects of European political and diplomatic history—aspects that Gille necessarily subordinates to the banking side.

In the meantime, the importance of this first volume makes one impatient for those to follow, the more so as the quality of the documentation improves after the 1840's. I, for one, should like to read relatively less direct quotation, however, and more of Gille's enlightening analyses and comments, which are indispensable to an understanding of the kind of elliptical letter that business intimates could afford to send one another. One more wish: the presentation could well be improved by the introduction of iconographical material—drawings, photocopies of key documents, and the like.

Harvard University

DAVID S. LANDES

VICHY: ANNÉE 40. By *Henri Michel*. [*"L'histoire que nous vivons."*] (Paris: Robert Laffont. 1966. Pp. 451. 24 fr.)

HENRI Michel, author of nine books on the resistance movements during the Second World War, has now turned his attention to the other side of bifurcated France. His meticulous study of the Vichy regime in its formative months is an important contribution, for it confronts a number of highly controversial questions that have been badly distorted by partisan accounts. Since the Vichy government's archives are still closed, Michel has had to rely primarily on published documents and memoirs, though he has made some interesting discoveries in the files of German military intelligence in France. His analysis, organized in topical fashion, is the most thorough and dependable study of men, motives, and policies now in print.

This is not to say that Michel's view of the subject is bloodlessly objective. As a resistance historian and a former underground activist, he views the *ex post facto* excuses of Vichyites with a natural skepticism. He is particularly concerned to demythologize Pétain by demonstrating that the marshal was profoundly committed to the will-o'-the-wisp of collaboration. The famous Montoire conference with Hitler, Michel contends, was the fruit of Pétain's rather than Laval's efforts, and the dramatic dismissal of Laval in December 1940 was in no way intended as a repudiation of Laval's collaborationist schemes. As for the legend that Pétain sought a secret understanding with London, Michel demonstrates that it was the British who sought such an understanding and that they were consistently rebuffed by Pétain. Michel believes that collaboration, far from being necessary or useful for a defeated France, was a misconceived policy and that Vichy might have dealt much more effectively with Hitler by threatening to turn anti-Axis. The empire was a particularly valuable hole card that was wasted.

Michel's book is replete with piquant details about the men around Pétain, about the structure and doctrine of the emergent regime, and about the aims and conduct of the Germans in occupied France. A remarkable amount of in-

formation, half-forgotten and often hard to find, is contained in these crowded pages. One topic might perhaps have deserved more precise attention: the process and extent of German economic penetration of France.

Stanford University

GORDON WRIGHT

THE MARRANOS OF SPAIN, FROM THE LATE XIVTH TO THE EARLY XVITH CENTURY: ACCORDING TO CONTEMPORARY HEBREW SOURCES. By B. Netanyahu. (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research. 1966. Pp. vii, 254. \$6.00.)

It is generally assumed that the Marranos were cryptic Jews, that is, secret adherents of Judaism, even though they professed loyalty to the Church. The evidence for this assumption is almost exclusively drawn from inquisitorial sources, even though the procedures of the Inquisition were devised to extract confessions of guilt and not to determine the truth or falsity of the charges. The Spanish Inquisition was established in 1480 to eradicate an assumed crypto-Judaism, not to investigate whether such a phenomenon existed. Although the workings of the Inquisition reveal that it operated so as to humiliate, pauperize, and destroy a prestigious and elevated class and that it fashioned instruments of exquisite cruelty to demoralize and break its victims, both Christian and Jewish scholars have condemned the inquisitorial procedures, even as they have acknowledged that the Marranos were covert followers of Judaism.

Professor Netanyahu's *Marranos of Spain* represents a healthy corrective to the prevailing notion. He argues that crypto-Judaism was the exception rather than the rule and that it would have disappeared altogether had not the Inquisition itself stirred a temporary resurgence. For evidence, Netanyahu turns to the legal, philosophic, polemical, homiletic, and exegetic literature written by professing Jews who either lived in Spain during the heyday of alleged crypto-Judaism or had some direct knowledge of what was transpiring. The findings, as far as I am concerned (see my article, "The Utilization of Non-Jewish Sources for the Reconstruction of Jewish History," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XLVIII [Oct. 1957], 183-203) are decisive: the overwhelming majority of the Marranos were indeed "New Christians" or "Conversos" who abandoned Judaism and sought complete assimilation within the Christian community. Even those who may at first have contemplated a covert loyalty to Judaism were unable to withstand the assimilative pressures. When, therefore, the Inquisition was launched to eradicate the alleged menace of crypto-Judaism, their victims were thoroughly assimilated Christians. Netanyahu's quotation from the Spanish-Jewish statesman and scholar, Don Isaac Abravanel, underlines the tragedy of the Marranos: "although they and their descendents . . . endeavored to be like complete gentiles, they did not achieve this aim. For the native peoples of the land will always call them Jews, mark them as Israelites *against their will*, consider them as Jews and *falsely accuse them of Judaizing* in secret. [Indeed,] they will burn them for this in fire. . . [Netanyahu's italics]."

Netanyahu's study deserves careful consideration, for it is grounded in sources that do not suffer from the taint of inquisitorial procedures. It thus points to the possibility that the Inquisition, in seeking to destroy the prestige,

power, and wealth of a class of Christians, falsely accused them of Judaizing in secret.

Hebrew Union College

ELLIS RIVKIN

DE KRIMPENDE HORIZON VAN DE HOLLANDSE KOOPLIEDEN: HOLLANDS WELVAREN IN HET CARIBISCH ZEEGEBIED (1780-1830). By *Theo P. M. de Jong*. With a foreword by *H. Baudet*. [Anjerpublicaties, Number 9.] (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. N. V. 1966. Pp. 352. Cloth H. fl. 28.50, paper H. fl. 25.00.)

FROM about 1780 to the middle of the nineteenth century the economic life of the Netherlands was stagnant. Britain and France had pushed the Dutch into the background as world traders. With the establishment of the kingdom, King William I labored desperately to restore the old staple trades and revive Dutch shipping, but to little avail.

In this study, *The Shrinking Horizon of the Dutch Traders*, a Netherlands scholar seeks to find the reason for the inability of the Dutch to revive their trading activities and thus improve their welfare. Dr. de Jong examines this problem with respect to the Caribbean region. The study is divided into two parts: first, he examines the changing views in England and Europe on colonial welfare and the economic conditions, political movements, and international rivalries in the region; second, he traces and discusses Dutch policy in the Caribbean region in promoting commercial development during the half century under review. King William, who hoped to restore his country to the level of the glorious days of the seventeenth century, established the Netherlands Trading Company in 1824, and he hoped that by making Curaçao a free port, it would become the general trading center of the Caribbean region. The company sent commercial agents and the government diplomatic and consular agents to key points in the area, but without significant results.

De Jong concludes that the chief cause of the slow economic recovery of the Netherlands was the lethargy and negativism of its traders. The Dutch nation, and especially its traders, as a result of their eighteenth-century experience, was "fettered to the demon, 'Poor Holland,'" as other Dutch historians have similarly concluded. De Jong's study is based on intensive research in Dutch archives, and the book contains an excellent bibliographical essay.

University of Kentucky

AMRY VANDENBOSCH

BESCHIEDEN BETREFFENDE DE BUITENLANDSE POLITIEK VAN NEDERLAND, 1848-1919. Second Period, 1871-1898. Volume II, 1874-1880. Edited by *J. Woltring*. [Rijks geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Major Series, Number 118.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1965. Pp. xxvi, 918.)

BEGUN a decade ago, a scholarly project aimed at furnishing full documentary coverage of Netherlands foreign policy from 1848 to 1919 has been making rapid progress. For the twenty years before the end of the First World War, five fat volumes are now available, and a second series on the later nineteenth century is well under way. With a companion volume published in 1962, this present

work deals with the 1870's. Like its predecessors, it is massive, excellently foot-noted, and edited in nearly impeccable fashion. The documents are given in chronological order, but full indexes are provided, for quick location of any items dealing with, say, Bismarck, or the Sultan of Brunei, the King of Dahomey, or any other personage referred to. The project's exhaustive documentation is making available a mass of data that will undoubtedly result in numerous minor revisions in accounts of Dutch foreign policy, even though its general outlines are fairly clear (as in Amry Vandenbosch, *Dutch Foreign Policy since 1815* [1959]).

In Europe in the 1870's, as befitted the policy of a small neutral nation, the Department of Foreign Affairs kept a close and anxious watch on any threat to the peace; thus, many dispatches and reports deal with the Russo-Turkish War, the sudden rise of German power, and other sources of anxiety. Elsewhere, a more independent course of action was possible. When Venezuela protested against smugglers and political exiles operating from Curaçao, the irritated department finally broke diplomatic relations in 1875. In the East Indies, where conflicts of interest with the British in the straits area had been settled not long before, the Dutch sent a punitive expedition against the sultanate of Achin (Atjeh). Several dispatches to and from the department relate to this affair. To calm uneasy opinion in the homeland (a group of "doves," including the rising anti-Liberal leader A. Kuyper, questioned the government's course), the generals on the scene promised a "speedy conclusion" to the war. It was to drag on for thirty years and will turn up many times again in later volumes of this fine series.

Calvin College

DIRK W. JELLEMA

TURKU KAUPPAKAUPUNKINA RUOTSIN VALLAN LOPPUKAU-
TENA. Volume II, ULKO- JA KOTIMAANKAUPPA. By *Aimo Wuorinen*.
[Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Volume L, Part 2.] (Helsinki: Suomen Histori-
allinen Seura. 1966. Pp. 626.)

DURING the last half century of Swedish rule, the approximate period Wuorinen's study covers, the city of Turku was Finland's most important commercial center. An expanding economy, a flourishing shipbuilding industry, good connections with foreign commercial establishments, and a favorable location (these and other factors were the subject of Volume I) made possible the attainment of a truly extensive foreign trade. To Turku merchantmen "the trade routes of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean were as familiar as the Baltic." Leading commodity imports were salt, tobacco, sugar, and coffee; suppliers were located in Holland, France, Italy, and Spain. Exports, destined chiefly for Italy, France, Portugal, and Spain, included forest products, tar and pitch, foodstuffs, and handicrafts. Turku's internal trade with coastal settlements, offshore islands, and the rural hinterland was likewise brisk; its own fairs and markets were well developed and subjected to much regulation.

The scope of Wuorinen's book is encyclopedic: virtually every commodity, every channel of trade, even the names of leading merchants, appear in its pages, where there are 144 tables of trade data and nearly 1,400 footnotes. Even such

matters as smuggling and market place thievery and fraud are discussed. It appears, at least to me, that Wuorinen has provided answers to any questions one might ever raise about Turku's trade in the late eighteenth century.

Heidelberg College

JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

J. C. H. FISCHERS POLITISKE DAGBØGER, 1852-56, 1872-75. Edited by *Ib Gejl*. [Skrifter udgivet af Jysk Selskab for Historie, Number 15.] (Århus: Universitetsforlaget. 1966. Pp. xvi, 283.)

JOHAN Christian Henrik Fischer, who for some three decades participated modestly in Danish political life, left a diary covering narrow portions of his experience during the years indicated. This is now published with a modest scholarly apparatus that includes a helpful index of persons and thirty-six pages of notes. It will make no great splash in scholarly circles. Those historians sufficiently steeped in Danish political history to profit substantially from the diary have long had access to the manuscript. For all others, even the printed book will be heavy going.

An intellectual and former schoolteacher, Fischer was an acute and realistic, as well as a principled, observer of the political scene he participated in. He also fancied himself something of a literary talent and studded his manuscript with little gems of Dickensian-type description. He may have intended to enlighten his countrymen some day with a polished exposition of what actually happened in their political history. In this diary, however, we have only cryptic, fragmentary, and often almost shorthand notes for such a history. Fischer kept a rich, often very nuanced, record of "cloakroom" politics as he observed them in the Danish *Rigsdags*, of which he was a member. Factional meetings, private conversations, planted newspaper articles, parliamentary tactics, informal arrangements, and the deals that moved the political machinery are set down in much detail. But even with the thirty-six pages of notes nothing very coherent comes through. The big issues with which parliament struggled (such as the royal succession and the Schleswig-Holstein complexities) are illuminated only in the way one blind man might describe his particular part of the elephant. Elections and electioneering receive no attention. The extrapolitical "life and times" is also virtually ignored. Fischer was no Pepys. His diary is a valuable but narrow source of historical material.

California Institute of Technology

HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK

DANSK HISTORISK BIBLIOGRAFI, 1913-1942. Volume I, INDLEDNING, POLITISK HISTORIE SAMT STATS- OG KULTURFORHOLD TIL OG MED ERHVERVSLIV, NR. 1-11830. Edited by *Henry Bruun*. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger. 1966. Pp. xvi, 641. 45 D.kr.)

ONLY a small country could attempt such bibliographical thoroughness, and probably only the Danes could produce the quantity of publications represented here. The first volume of 11,830 titles will grow to six volumes and 52,000 titles, and it will span the three-decade gap between Erichsen and Krarup's three-volume *Dansk Historisk Bibliografi* (1929), which covered through 1912, and

the already published first of the projected five-year volumes (*DHB* 1943-47 [1956]). All are issued under the auspices of *Den Danske Historiske Forening* and subsidized by one or another of Denmark's generous funds from beer or lotteries. While following the basic organization of its predecessors, this volume now has a section on archaeology; also, in this first volume, there are bibliographies on general and political and cultural history, and the economy (40 per cent of the total).

Dr. Bruun has succeeded admirably in his vast task, but the accumulations of thirty years are large, and sometimes the editor has wearied. While the long section on individual crafts and industries is well divided into alphabetized subgroups, and elsewhere sections are small and well defined as with nine items on stenography, other sections list seventy to one hundred titles with no attempt at grouping either topically or chronologically. In one section a dozen items on social democracy are scattered among a variety of other works (4353-4398). Treatments of the constitution of 1915 appear in two separate places (4362-4363 and 5843-5856), and the meager number makes one doubt the completeness of listings in this case. Book reviews are mentioned occasionally, not consistently.

Anyone who has tried to be a bibliographer knows the difficulties in mustering his materials to fit the minds of varied researchers. Here the parallel pattern of the whole series facilitates handling, occasional cross references are helpful, and both the thoroughness and the typography are a delight. Even so, as Bruun wisely remarks in his foreword, any such work requires a dose of "thought and imagination."

Northwestern University

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

DIE DEUTSCHEN REICHSTAGE IN DER STAATSLAHRE DER FRÜHEN NEUZEIT. By *Friedrich Hermann Schubert*. [Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Number 7.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1966. Pp. 625. DM 74.)

THERE has been a long-standing need for a history of the German *Reichstag*, the Imperial Diet of the Holy Roman Empire. This is not such a history. Instead, it is the best introduction presently available to the contemporary political literature of the period from about 1450 to about 1650 that was primarily concerned with the *Reichstag*.

With commendable thoroughness, Dr. Schubert has included all the significant sources: over 170 individual authors, ranging from Nicholas of Cusa to Samuel Pufendorf, plus three dozen or more anonymous and collective works. These bibliographical analyses are preceded by general discussions of the political problems of the time, which so often found concrete expression through the *Reichstag*. Among these may be mentioned the repeated, albeit unsuccessful, attempts by both emperors and Estates to change the *Reichstag* into a more effective instrument of government and the tragically divisive impact of the Reformation. Sometimes the author gets carried away by his enthusiasm for his subject. For example, it may be doubted that the *Reichstag* "upheld the unity of the Empire" (what unity?) or that it served as a significant counterbalance between the particularism of the princes on the one hand and the power of the emperors on the other. The book would also have benefited by some tighter

editing. The lengthy quotations from the original sources are rarely justified. Nor are the frequently interspersed analogies of the *Reichstag* with other contemporary assemblies, such as the Spanish Cortes, the French Estates-General, the Swedish, Hungarian, and Swiss Diets, or the English Parliament, which, perhaps because of their brevity, often lead to questionable generalizations (in the case of the English Parliament, for example, particularly in the seventeenth century, the dissimilarities far outweigh the similarities).

Yet these shortcomings should not detract from a singular achievement. It is to be hoped that the author, with his extensive knowledge of the sources, will now proceed to write the long-needed history of the *Reichstag*.

University of Missouri, Kansas City

HERMAN N. WEILL

KLEINE GESCHICHTE PREUSSENS. By *Richard Dietrich*. (Berlin: Haude & Spenersche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1966. Pp. 303. DM 19.80.)

PROFESSOR Dietrich of the Friedrich-Meinecke-Institute of the Free University of Berlin presents in this book a concise scholarly survey of the development of the Prussian state from the fifteenth century to its *de facto* disappearance in the twentieth century. After a cursory exposition of the early centuries before 1600, he broadens his narrative from the rule of the Great Elector onward, recognizing that Prussia is "das Werk der Hohenzollern."

Dietrich's objective is to delineate not wars and battles but the salient internal developments—the constitution, the administration, the economy and society—since these are so intimately connected with the process of the phenomenal rise of Prussia, a process that to Dietrich seems to have taken place continuously under a law of dualism, of conflict and rivalry, with neighbors for leadership. This dualistic conflict, a basic structural component of the narrative, is evident first in the case of Prussia versus Saxony, then in the case of Prussia versus Austria from Frederick the Great through the nineteenth century to unification, then in the case of Prussia versus the *Reich* in the German Empire and the Weimar Republic, where the law of dualism appears in a different form, and, finally, in the case of the disappearance of the law and Prussia under National Socialism.

Within each of these periods of dualism the author analyzes and elaborates the developments not only of Prussia but of a number of other German states as well, sketches succinctly the necessary external relationships of each, explains briefly the reasons for various significant developments, illuminates controversial points objectively, assesses fairly the positive and negative sides of Prussia as well as of its neighbors, and criticizes and corrects other misinterpretations and misunderstandings of Prussian and German history.

Excerpts from primary sources are incorporated in the narrative with great skill, giving the whole a special flavor and the reader a sense of the historical reality. Charts of the Prussian, Saxon, and Austrian rulers, of elections to the Prussian *Landtag* in the Weimar Republic, and of the territorial acquisitions of Prussia, as well as an excellent bibliography and index, enhance the value of this well-written book, a first-class contribution to Prussian and German history.

University of California, Santa Barbara

H. M. ADAMS

CORPUS EVANGELICORUM UND CORPUS CATHOLICORUM AUF DEM WESTFÄLISCHEN FRIEDENSKONGRESS: DIE EINFÜGUNG DER KONFESSIONELLEN STÄNDEVERBINDUNGEN IN DIE REICHsverFASSUNG. By *Fritz Wolff*. [Schriftenreihe der Vereinigung zur Erforschung der neueren Geschichte E.V., Number 2.] (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff. 1966. Pp. xx, 231. DM 42.)

It is well known that the Peace of Augsburg of 1555 contained provisions such as the *Reservatum Ecclesiasticum*, which were to the disadvantage of the Protestants. Enjoying a strong majority in the house of princes at the Imperial Diet, the Catholics successfully resisted all Protestant demands to abolish or modify these provisions. Therefore, in 1598 an aggressive Protestant party under the leadership of the Palatinate began to reject sentences passed by the courts and majority decisions of the Imperial Diet in religious disputes, insisting on a settlement through mutual agreement between the two parties. It was not until the end of the Thirty Years' War that this procedure was adopted. At the peace negotiations at Münster and Osnabrück, the imperial estates were represented, not in the traditional form of three houses, but along confessional lines by two assemblies, the *Corpus Evangelicorum* and the *Corpus Catholicorum*. More than that, Article V, Paragraph 52 of the peace settlement enjoined the *utro in partes*, as it was called, in all future quarrels of a religious nature. The principle of majority decisions in religious matters had been discarded.

Mr. Wolff is the first modern historian to investigate this momentous development. Having traced the effect of the emerging confessional blocs on the institutions of the Empire up to 1618, he discusses the organization of the Catholic and Protestant corpora during the time of the peace negotiations, their functioning, their legal incorporation into the imperial constitution, and the position of the emperor versus the new institutions. A final chapter, which should have been more detailed, relates the working of the corpora during the latter part of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Strangely enough, it was not until the early eighteenth century that the role of these new assemblies was analyzed in the constitutional literature.

Wolff's study is largely based on unpublished transcripts, reports, and diaries in the archives of Vienna, Düsseldorf, and Cologne. Though it deals with a difficult matter, the presentation is lucid and clear. It is a valuable contribution to the history of the Peace of Westphalia and the constitutional history of the Empire in the seventeenth century.

University of California, Los Angeles

CLAUS-PETER CLASEN

NUREMBERG IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By *Gerald Strauss*. [New Dimensions in History: Historical Cities.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1966. Pp. vi, 305. Cloth \$5.95, paper \$2.95.)

BECAUSE of growing interest in the role townsmen played in the important events of the sixteenth century, historians will welcome Professor Strauss's excellent study of Nuremberg. He wrote the book for the "New Dimensions in History: Historical Cities" series, edited by Norman F. Cantor, with the purpose of providing as complete and accurate a picture as possible of the life of this

important free imperial city during its golden age, hoping thereby to stimulate an interest in the richness and fertility of its history. Having familiarized himself with the vast literature concerning virtually every aspect of life in the city and having probed the sources preserved in the city and state archives, he has produced a fascinating account in which he depicts the spirit of the city's inhabitants living in an important center of significant world events.

After tracing the history of Nuremberg and explaining its unique position in the Holy Roman Empire and in Europe in the sixteenth century, Strauss provides a lucid description of the political organization and the way it functioned under a strong, conservative patrician leadership; discusses the various social groups and their respective roles in the political and the economic life of the city, showing the wide extent of their commerce and the special skills of the artisans; adds a well-reasoned chapter on ecclesiastical and religious developments, explaining the role of the city council in the introduction of the Reformation; gives us a fascinating account of the everyday life and work of the people; and concludes with a chapter on learning and the arts.

The author is correct in portraying the Nuremberg patricians as industrious and successful in building up their family fortunes, paternalistically conscientious in managing political affairs, faithful in providing for the well-being of the people under their care, and sincere in introducing Luther's Reformation emphases upon a simple, readily grasped Christianity. Although he occasionally seems to underestimate their intellectual and cultural originality, he credits some of them with noteworthy achievements along these lines. The book contains a few well-selected maps, city plans, and illustrations, an unusually good bibliography, and an index.

Ohio State University

HAROLD J. GRIMM

PREUSSEN: GESCHICHTE EINES STAATES. By *Hans-Joachim Schoeps*. (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag. 1966. Pp. 422. DM 19.80.)

PROFESSOR Schoeps once again advances the thesis that he has been propounding in most of his other works. German history, so the argument runs, has been enriched for more than five hundred years by the Prussian spirit. The virtues of sobriety, obedience, hard work, and devotion to duty exalted by that spirit arose out of the experiences of the Teutonic and the Cistercian Orders in the Middle Ages. They made the Hohenzollern state a model of efficient administration and religious toleration. Not blind to the shortcomings of his latter-day Sparta, the author acknowledges its tendency toward provincialism and authoritarianism, for example. But these weaknesses are in his mind outweighed by an idealistic selflessness that he feels has been sadly lacking in his country since 1871. While recognizing that he is the champion of a lost cause, he seeks consolation in the thought that it is at least a noble cause. Those who share this view of the Prussian state will find a source of comfort in the book.

Except for its unusual approach, the account is straightforward and undistinguished. It is a textbook of the sort that was popular in Germany prior to the First World War. Schoeps devotes two-thirds of his work to the years between the accession of Frederick the Great and the establishment of the German

Empire—the heroic era of Prussian history. What came before merely prepared the way for the fulfillment of a historic mission; what came after was only the disintegration of a proud tradition. The author is too good a scholar to swallow uncritically the line of the Hohenzollern court historiographers. His political tastes are, as a matter of fact, rather unorthodox. He prefers Frederick William IV to William I, the Gerlachs to Bismarck, Stahl to Treitschke. He admires the fundamentalist piety and legitimist statecraft of the 1850's more than the military victories of the 1860's and 1870's. There was indeed a rugged honesty about the defenders of the old order lacking in the idolaters of success who displaced them. Yet the Prussian tradition even at its best failed to prepare the nation for the crucial problems of industrialization, urbanization, and democratization. The passing of the Hohenzollern kingdom was more than a tragic accident of history; it was the nemesis of an abstemious but narrow civic outlook that could not cope with the complexities of modern society.

University of Wisconsin

THEODORE S. HAMEROW

DIE REVOLUTIONÄRE BEWEGUNG IM RHEINLAND AM ENDE DES ACHTZEHNTEN JAHRHUNDERTS. Volume I, DIE ANFÄNGE DER REVOLUTIONÄREN BEWEGUNG VON ETWA 1770 BIS ZUM BEGINN DER REVOLUTIONSKRIEGE. By *Kyösti Julku*. [Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Series B, Number 136.] (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia. 1965. Pp. 326. 16 F. Mk.)

THE basic thesis of this book is that the Rhenish revolutionary movements at the end of the eighteenth century, while belonging to the general movement of the "World Revolution of the West" described by Godechot and Palmer, were responses of specific persons to local problems and not merely the result of the expansion of the French Revolution. This seems clear enough, and not particularly new. Julku has, however, provided a healthy corrective to the interpretations of those who write from a standpoint that emphasizes the primacy of foreign affairs.

This first volume of a projected larger work stands as a complete unit and may be criticized as such. The author writes that the ideal of the Rhenish, as of all other contemporaneous, revolutions was the establishment of political freedom. He argues for the influence of the Enlightenment on the movement, but he also recognizes the role of a complex socioeconomic situation in leading to revolution. Early in the book he suggests that the Enlightenment became truly revolutionary when it lost its aristocratic and pseudoaristocratic followers to pre-Romanticism and gained the allegiance of a more popular segment of the population. This he calls a *Vulgäraufklärung*. Similarly, in his conclusions he writes that a desire to return to the old traditions and laws of the medieval *Reich* or to play the game of enlightened despotism were *Vorformen der Revolution*. These are fascinating insights that ought to be, but are not, developed. The trouble lies in the author's failure to analyze in a rigorous manner the social situation of the Rhenish states. He devotes a total of fifteen pages to these matters, and that is grossly inadequate. Without more information gathered from archival sources, the use of which is sparse, it is difficult to accept or to reject some of the author's assertions. One example will suffice: he writes that the basic social

problems of the Rhineland resulted from the fact that a feudal structure had been allowed to subsist while feudal nobles had been deprived by absolute princes of the reality of power. In the light of our knowledge of the old regime in other countries, this is not a radical statement. It may even provide a key to interpretation, but we cannot use it, for lack of its being sufficiently developed.

Julku has begun to study seriously a series of often neglected episodes in German history. There is much in his work that is informative and useful. In the end, however, I find the whole unsatisfactory, because it is impossible to explain a revolutionary movement by concentrating four-fifths or more of one's attention on ideology alone.

Columbia University

JEFFRY KAPLOW

THE GENESIS OF GERMAN CONSERVATISM. By *Klaus Epstein*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 733. \$17.50.)

KLAUS Epstein's volume is only the first part of an ambitiously planned history of German conservatism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that is social history in the broadest sense. Elaborately researched, it is designed to be a work of synthesis. Mr. Epstein may have found it impossible to write a mere monograph on his subject because conservatism before the French Revolution remained somewhat short of clear definition and self-consciousness, and indeed before 1830 it had not crystallized into a specific party. He therefore had to deal with what he calls the "preliminary history" of conservatism, entailing an elaborate investigation of the challenge of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution that brought about the manifold conservative responses. At the same time, given the disunity of Germany, Epstein had to work his way through the elaborate labyrinth of German politics and society. The result is a remarkable, monumental work, almost overwhelming in its inclusiveness and encyclopedic range.

In terms of a thesis, then, Epstein largely accepts and builds upon Fritz Valjavec's pioneering work, *Die Entstehung der politischen Strömungen in Deutschland, 1770-1815* (1951), which saw conservatism arising in answer to the Enlightenment well before 1789. His method is singularly impressive: he traces the major political developments of the late eighteenth century in magisterial fashion; he draws expert portraits of the major representatives of early German conservatism; and he also has been able to tap "public opinion" by making extensive use of a pamphlet and periodical collection at the University of Cologne. The cumulative effect of this quantitative information is staggering. The author has managed to overcome the absence of statistical information and of public information surveys and has wedded, successfully, the "old" interpretive and the "new" quantitative history.

Considering the amorphous character of conservative thought and action in the late eighteenth century, however, is he justified in his consistent use of the capital C? After all, not even the very word and concept "conservatism" were used in the Germanies before the 1830's. Furthermore, the pattern of the (conservative) response to the (progressive) challenge, while on the whole fitting, is somewhat too rigid.

The one criticism of this work is its excessive length. The scholarly equivalent of the *res judicata* simply does not exist for Epstein. He unearths arguments on every conceivable issue, thoughtfully and judiciously. But the art of foreshortening would have served his convenience as well as it would have enhanced the reader's pleasure. It might, moreover, have freed him for further synthesis, such as a chapter on the sociology of German conservatism. It might be premature to raise this dimension now, since such a chapter will, no doubt, appear in the concluding volume.

The greater the book, the more the comments; hence, the above remarks. Epstein has succeeded in writing a worthy counterpart to Leonard Krieger's *The German Idea of Freedom* (1957). *The Genesis of German Conservatism* is a rare scholarly achievement that will serve as challenge and inspiration to his fellow scholars.

Smith College

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

DIE GEISTLICHEN STAATEN UND IHRE AUFLÖSUNG IM URTEIL DER ZEITGENÖSSISCHEN PUBLIZISTIK. By *Peter Wende*. [Historische Studien, Number 396.] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag. 1966. Pp. 102. DM 11.20.)

PETER Wende has written an exemplary, but very concise, account of the publicist debate over the secularization of the German ecclesiastical states (1785-1803). The Holy Roman Empire dissolved when the clerical estates were secularized. In actual fact this seemed to be the result of French demands made at the Rastatt peace congress in 1798 and realized in 1803 as a consequence of the Peace of Lunéville (1801). In reality, however, the continued existence of the ecclesiastical states had ceased being acceptable to German public opinion so that their dissolution remained a formality.

In order to demonstrate the validity of this argument Wende analyzes in detail two main groups of pamphleteers who wrote on the problems of the clerical states between 1785 and 1803. The first includes a small number of writers who participated in a famous prize essay competition of 1785. It had been suggested by Herr von Bibra, a high councilor of the bishop of Fulda, and resulted in open criticism of the administration of such states. Informed public opinion came to agree that the economic and administrative backwardness of the clerical territories was such that their future viability as states seemed precluded.

The second group of writers appeared between the Rastatt congress and 1803. The chief defenders of the ecclesiastical states were a group of publicists in the service of the bishop of Würzburg. Wende finds it significant that they used philosophical rationalism (ingredients of the social contract theory, sovereignty of the people, and so forth) to defend states and interests later identified with Restoration conservatism. The ecclesiastical territories, however, also had their historically minded, traditionalist defenders. The case of those who favored secularization proved easier to make and was more popularly received. Here the influence of the Enlightenment and of Kant was obvious. A state lost its reason for being when the ideas that justified its existence ceased being generally accepted.

Since the willingness to dissolve the clerical territories arose mainly after 1785 and did not find widespread support until 1800, one wonders whether intervening influences should not also have been considered. Nothing is said about the possible influence of Josephinism which certainly enjoyed considerable popularity among German publicists between about 1787 and 1793. Wende has demonstrated effectively, nonetheless, that neither the French Revolution nor the might of French arms was primarily responsible for the secularization of the ecclesiastical states and, with that, for the fall of the Empire. The ideas within Germany were not as predominantly conservative as is usually believed. Informed opinion had already adjusted to the idea of a more modern confederation of secular states.

University of Alberta

HELEN P. LIEBEL

DEMOKRATISCHE STRÖMUNGEN IN HAMBURG UND SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN ZUR ZEIT DER ERSTEN FRANZÖSISCHEN REPUBLIK.

By *Walter Grab*. [Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte, Number 21.] (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag. 1966. Pp. 275.)

THIS workmanlike study, based largely on hitherto unused material, traces the activities of a small group of democratic publicists in and near Hamburg during the 1790's and also analyzes local unrest in this connection. Grab makes extensive use not only of Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein records, but relies also on Austrian, Danish, and former Prussian archives and on a large number of little-known pamphlets and journals. He has welded this mass of material into an informative account, which will serve as a major contribution to our knowledge of this period, especially since he spares no pains in establishing the large body of facts on which this study rests.

Grab's general approach is, however, sufficiently limited to raise serious questions about his over-all contribution. He omits several democrats, such as Voss, because they have been treated before. He shows that some of the leading democratic publicists were under French protection or in French pay, yet he fails to evaluate them in terms of French policy objectives on the basis of French records. By concluding, moreover, that democratic publicists were frequently motivated by economic interests, he tends to impeach the sincerity of this movement. Grab is also inclined to minimize liberal and other reformist programs and policies.

Altogether, however, the work makes a welcome addition to other recent efforts to extend our view of modern German political developments into the eighteenth century.

Library of Congress

ARNOLD H. PRICE

DIE DEUTSCHEN LANDESKIRCHEN IM 19. UND 20. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Karl Kupisch*. [Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte, Volume IV, Section R, Part 2.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1966. Pp. 50-176. DM 13.80.)

GERMAN church and secular history is so intricately interlaced that it poses considerable problems for the historian to select the "church" strands of the fabric

and weave out of them a coherent narrative. Thus the Wartburg Festival of 1817, while marking an anniversary of the Reformation, turned into a demonstration of political protest. It is a tribute to the skill and scholarship of Mr. Kupisch that, despite this inherent problem, his handbook, with its excellent source listings, is a lucid history of the state churches in Germany from the time of Napoleon, when the Protestant churches emerged as limited entities, to the struggle of the Confessional Church against submergence in the totalitarianism of Hitler.

The restorative efforts of the Vienna Congress did not attempt to re-create the defunct church states. Otherwise, according to the author, the churches were rather effectively harnessed to restored absolutism. In Prussia especially they became increasingly orthodox and conservative. The revived Pietism, while distinctly nationalistic, also supported restoration. Its nationalism was channeled into social work, the founding of delinquent homes, and nurses' centers. The politically liberal element in turn became indifferent to religion, but had its brief day in 1848 when the Frankfurt Assembly declared itself in favor of separation of state and church.

German unification and the *Kulturkampf* appeared to some as harbingers of a new day for Protestantism. On the whole Protestantism remained conservative, increasingly so with the advent of Wilhelm II. The author quotes Friedrich Naumann and describes the attitude of the churches as a blend of "Bethlehem and Potsdam."

A third of the book is devoted to the struggle of the Protestant churches during the Third Reich, which was also a bitter interchurch contest. The reader discovers that Hitler's Minister of Church Affairs, Hanns Kerrl, may have been sincere in attempting to bridge the differences between party ideology and church doctrine, but neither Hitler nor the party heads were inclined to pursue a policy of conciliation. This is an excellent handbook but not without shortcomings. The latter part abounds with abbreviations that have little meaning to the reader unless he grew up with them. Another weakness, so common to German works, is the absence of an index.

Moorhead State College

VICTOR PETERS

STAATSSSEKRETÄR GRAF HERBERT VON BISMARCK: AUS SEINER POLITISCHEN PRIVATKORRESPONDENZ. Edited with an introduction by *Walter Bussmann*. With the assistance of *Klaus-Peter Hoepke*. [Deutsche Geschichtsquellen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, Number 44.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1964. Pp. 598. DM 54.)

As the only major published collection of documents from the private papers of Herbert von Bismarck, the older son and heir apparent of the Iron Chancellor, this book is an important source. The editor has contributed a long summary introduction, and the editing itself has been competently done, with all documents arranged chronologically. There is a name index but no subject index, so that scholars searching for information about any limited problem will have to go through considerable material.

Much of the volume consists of correspondence between Herbert and the

three men who served most often as his father's private secretary: his brother Bill, his brother-in-law Count Rantzau, and Holstein. There is also an extensive correspondence with Bernhard von Bülow, later Chancellor, but almost nothing from Chancellor Bismarck himself. Whether the editor omitted documents of historical importance or otherwise deleted compromising material is impossible to determine. It is more likely that the Bismarcks themselves removed anything they did not want published from the archives before any historian was allowed to work in them. The documents in this collection contain no revelations that could lead to a substantial re-evaluation of any aspect of the Bismarck era. "Yet," as the editor remarks in his introduction, "they are of interest because they frequently reveal the motives and tendencies of German policy in a more candid, direct and occasionally also less discreet manner [than official documents]." They are of interest for other reasons as well. Like all collections of letters, they convey a sense of immediacy, of personal contact with personalities and problems of the period, and, in their description of daily routine, they transmit a fascinating picture of how the Bismarck family conducted politics. Letters also generally reveal much about the men who write them, and in this case the historian is given added insight into the personalities of the future William II, Bülow, Holstein, and the rest of the cast of characters.

In one critical respect the volume is disappointing, for even this collection of his personal papers fails to provide a firm basis for evaluating Herbert Bismarck's own qualities as a diplomat and statesman. His father, although represented directly by only a few documents and marginal comments, once again dominates the scene.

Michigan State University

NORMAN RICH

DER KAMPF UM DIE PREUSSISCHE WAHLREFORM IM ERSTEN WELTKRIEG. By *Reinhard Patemann*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, Number 26.] (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1964. Pp. 275.)

OF all the odious consequences of the unsuccessful Prussian Revolution of 1848, none was probably more bitterly resented or more detrimental to the development of a healthy political life in that state than the imposition of the three-class system of voting. First decreed by Frederick William IV in May 1849, after successive *Landtage* (though elected by indirect vote) had proved too liberal for that conservative monarch's taste, the three-class system was formally incorporated into the Prussian Constitution of 1850, and, despite a number of efforts to reform the system, it remained in effect, with slight and unimportant modifications, until the collapse of the Hohenzollern state in November 1918.

Following a brief introductory chapter that, perhaps because of its brevity, fails to convey the great bitterness engendered by the system before 1914, Dr. Patemann's dispassionate volume plunges straight into the thicket of parliamentary debate and the maze of behind-the-scenes maneuvering that served as the stage for the increasingly frenzied efforts to maintain, abolish, or reform the system. Based on important new material, including the records of the Prussian Ministries of State and Justice, the papers of Max Bauer and Adolf Heinrichs,

the files of the National Liberal party, and upon a thorough study of newspapers and other contemporary literature, Patemann's account takes us considerably beyond the revealing study of Ludwig Bergsträsser, *Die Preussische Wahlrechtsfrage im Kriege und die Entstehung der Osterbotschaft 1917* (1929).

Most of Patemann's volume is devoted to the period from July 1917 to November 1918, and what he has to say about the role of William II and Bethmann Hollweg and especially the *Oberste Heeresleitung* is not likely to increase their reputations. For anyone interested in the tortured course of Prussian politics in the last years of the Empire, and especially the doctrinaire unwillingness of the privileged parties (including the National Liberals and the Center) to make substantial concessions before it was too late, this book will be invaluable.

Much has been written recently about some of the wildly expansionist schemes that were discussed, and that apparently found increasing favor in influential circles in Berlin, at the beginning of the First World War. It is not too much to suggest that this new radicalism in foreign policy may well have been a partial reflection of the increasing deadlock, tension, and frustration that marked German domestic politics in those years; and nothing contributed more to this unhappy and dangerous state of affairs, perhaps, than the continued existence of the electoral system imposed upon Germany's largest, most liberal and dynamic state in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Rice University

FRANCIS L. LOEWENHEIM

DIE DEUTSCHE ZENTRUMSPARTEI, 1917-1923. By *Rudolf Morsey*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, Number 32.] (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1966. Pp. 651.)

PUBLICATIONS of the *Kommission für Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien* in Bonn are known for the significance of their subjects and the high caliber of their research. This study is no exception. Its author is already known from several earlier works published by the *Kommission*. With careful attention to important, and some unimportant, detail, Professor Morsey takes us step by step through the crucial years of the Center party's transition from empire to republic. His task was made difficult by the almost total lack of official party records. He has overcome this handicap, however, by diligent and imaginative research in a wide range of other sources, many of them unpublished, and the result is an impressive book that substantially deepens and in many respects changes our views of the Center party.

Among all the parties of the Empire, the "tower of the Center" (*Zentrumsturm*) is generally considered the one edifice that survived the Revolution virtually unscathed and unchanged. But this impression is only superficially correct. Already before 1918, the *Zentrumspartei* was beset by inner tensions which, if anything, increased under the republic. Most of these were inherent in the party's transition from Confessional to political party, a process never satisfactorily completed. Whenever the Center's unity was threatened, the Confessional bond helped avoid an open break. The only serious defection from the ranks was the separation of the Bavarian People's party in 1920. Efforts to broaden the

Center party's basis by appealing to Protestant as well as Catholic voters never got very far. On the whole its electorate remained remarkably stable, although some voters, dissatisfied with the party's coalition with the Social Democrats, wandered off to the Right. The Center party was loyal to the republic, of course, but its younger members were more enthusiastically so than their elders.

The majority of the Center party, led by "men of the old Reich," carried "the old flag into the new age." Given its own internal differences on almost every major issue, the keynote of its political behavior, if it wanted to survive, had to be compromise. More than ever the Center now was the "party of the middle." This key position gave it a disproportionate influence in national affairs. A larger and more unified party might have used this influence to provide leadership and direction, but the most the Center could offer was a measure of stability. Its policy often was pragmatic rather than creative, opportunist rather than consistent. Yet to have helped preserve the existence of the republic when it was threatened from within and without was no mean contribution for the Center party to have made.

Yale University

HANS W. GATZKE

DER DEUTSCHE INDUSTRIE- UND HANDELSTAG ALS POLITISCHES FORUM DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK: EINE HISTORISCHE STUDIE ZUM VERHÄLTNIS VON POLITIK UND WIRTSCHAFT. By *Dieter Schäfer*. [Veröffentlichungen des Hamburgischen Welt-Wirtschafts-Archivs.] (Hamburg: Verlag Weltarchiv GmbH. 1966. Pp. 76. DM 14.50.)

Mr. Schäfer has written a study of the political role of the *Deutsche Industrie- und Handelstag* (DIHT) in its relation to national and international problems from 1918 to 1933, including a useful survey of its origins and history from 1861 to 1918. Intended from the beginning to function as a political organization, the DIHT had as members more than 120 chambers of commerce, industrial and retail branch organizations, and industry and trade chambers. Its president from 1919 to 1932 was Felix von Mendelssohn, and Schäfer emphasizes his role almost to the point of the biographical approach.

Schäfer did a considerable amount of sound research for his book. It is unfortunate that his conclusions at least partially negate his initial premise anent the need for such a study. He says the influence of the DIHT on the Weimar Republic rested primarily on the personal influence of Mendelssohn, competent staff work in the organization, and zealous development of politically effective techniques of work and organization. If we eliminate the verbiage, we have only the influence of Mendelssohn. Schäfer has told us little more than that there was a close consultative relationship between the state and the representatives of commerce. While he admits the role of the *Reichsband der Deutschen Industrie*, he leaves the impression that the DIHT was a comparable power. Few scholars will agree with him, even after reading his book.

The organization is weak, and the writing suffers from lack of transitional sentences. Much is made of various kinds of organizational ties, but the relation of these ties to public and private economic policy too often is not shown. Unless it

stimulates the production of other works on this and similar topics, Schäfer's book will add little to our understanding of the role of commercial organizations in the Weimar Republic. Although he has added to our general knowledge of the topic, his conclusion implies that the DIHT followed rather than formulated policy.

University of Southwestern Louisiana

AMOS E. SIMPSON

THE REICHSWEHR AND POLITICS, 1918 TO 1933. By F. L. Carsten.
(New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 427. \$8.00.)

F. L. CARSTEN, whose important contributions to earlier periods of German history are well known, has now provided us with a splendid study of the political activities of the *Reichswehr* from 1918 to 1933. The author has assembled and assessed the significant findings of previous scholarship, but his judgments are supported primarily by extensive research in the archives. The book contains important new information, particularly on the *Reichswehr* under Seeckt's first successor, Heye, on the *Reichswehr*'s Russian policy, and on the frequently neglected developments in Weimar's virulently reactionary navy.

The first section of the book deals with the period between the Revolution and the defeat of the Kapp *Putsch* when, Carsten contends, the prorepublican forces missed their opportunity to create a republican army. Instead of playing upon the divisions within the *Reichswehr* and promoting the small but important group of officers led by General Reinhardt, the Socialists turned the army over to Seeckt who, in contrast to Reinhardt, was unwilling to use the army against Right-wing putschists. Unfortunately, Carsten does not really explain why the opportunity was lost, and the exploration of his suggestive thesis must await the publication of sorely needed studies on the military policies of the prorepublican parties.

Carsten's chief emphasis is upon the fateful role played by the political generals: Groener, Seeckt, and Schleicher. The section devoted to Seeckt's leadership of the *Reichswehr* is a convincing refutation of Harold J. Gordon's contention that Seeckt was a positive force in the republic. Seeckt's neutrality in the Kapp *Putsch*, his intrigues against Stresemann in 1923, and his frequent toying with dictatorship schemes were conducive neither to the stability of the republic nor to the discipline of the restive *Reichswehr*. In his interesting discussion of the post-Seeckt period, Carsten shows that many military leaders, including Schleicher, were aware of the need for a more positive and honest relationship between *Reichswehr* and republic. Efforts to reform recruitment, enforce minimal respect for republican symbols, and keep the civil authorities informed about rearmament activities failed because of resistance within the *Reichswehr* and Socialist suspicions, and were brought to an abrupt halt by the Great Depression.

The story of how Schleicher's effort to preserve the "unpolitical" character of the *Reichswehr* compelled him to play an increasingly open and disastrous political role is familiar enough thanks to the works of Thilo Vogelsang and Wolfgang Sauer. Carsten's most important contribution is to show Schleicher's effort to find "a solution which took account of the enormous growth" of the National Socialists as a logical consequence of the policies pursued by the *Reichswehr* since 1918. Carsten does not share J. W. Wheeler-Bennett's proclivity to exaggerate the *Reichswehr*'s responsibility for Hitler's success, but he does insist that "If the Re-

public after 1918 had possessed an army entirely loyal to it, the great crisis would have taken a different course."

University of California, Berkeley

GERALD D. FELDMAN

HITLERS MEIN KAMPF: ENTSTEHUNG, AUFBAU, STIL, ÄNDERUNGEN, QUELLEN, QUELLENWERT, KOMMENTIERTE AUSZÜGE. By *Werner Maser*. (2d ed.; [Munich:] Bechtle Verlag. 1966. Pp. 345.)

THIS much-needed study will interest the specialist in modern German history rather than the general student. It is not an easy book to read, but no future student of the *Führer* will be able to ignore it.

The importance of *Mein Kampf* was recognized early. Now, forty years after its appearance, Maser reminds us that Hitler adhered to his political philosophy consistently and tenaciously from 1925 to 1945, that he was able to achieve and extend his powers on the basis of his philosophy, and that he was further able, despite his well-publicized views, to lead the German people into the abyss. This seems to Maser to be adequate proof of the influence of *Mein Kampf*.

The value of the study is threefold: first, the author compares Hitler's statements in *Mein Kampf*, particularly those concerning his early life, with the documentary evidence in the party and governmental archives. In so doing, he uncovers several myths that have been perpetuated by biographers and historians alike. Next, Maser traces Hitler's views, and the influence that shaped these views, on government, propaganda, religion, race, domestic, foreign, and military affairs, and compares them to his policies from 1933 to 1945. On some issues—race, religion, and propaganda—Hitler's statements in *Mein Kampf* and his policies as *Führer* and *Reich* Chancellor coincided to a very large degree. In others, particularly in foreign affairs, his early views and later policies differed. The treaty with Great Britain and the avoidance of a two-front war, for instance, were not realized, but the anti-French policies and the alliance with Italy were carried out, by and large, as originally envisaged. Finally, through textual and stylistic comparison, Maser notes the many changes and variations in the numerous editions of *Mein Kampf*.

Some of this has been known, in a general way, for a long time. What is new is the detailed and scholarly treatment, the careful comparison of documents and text, and the wide knowledge of the author. Revisionists will not be encouraged by this study.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE O. KENT

ENTSCHEIDUNGSJAHR 1932: ZUR JUDENFRAGE IN DER ENDPHASE DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. Edited by *Werner E. Mosse*. With the assistance of *Arnold Paucker*. [Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts, Number 13.] (2d rev. ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]. 1966. Pp. xx, 615. Cloth DM 48, paper DM 43.)

THIS formidable book contains fourteen essays, each a thesis and several anchored in inaccessible sources. The subject is the Jewish situation in Germany at

the "turning point" in 1932. It is thus a description of beleaguerment, the threats perceived by the Jews, the alliances they attempted to form, the defenses they erected down to the last feeble gestures before the "curtain" fell.

Although massive, *Entscheidungsjahr* is not exhaustive. There is a recapitulation of the Jewish economic position in detailed figures, but no article to tell the story of individual enterprises. There are accounts of feelings toward Jewry in the political Left and the political Right, but no separate treatment of attitudes in the bureaucracy and the army. The essays are therefore actualized fragments floating out of a theoretical whole. Fortunately, some of these fragments are large chunks—powerful reflectors of the period, complete with fact and flavor.

Karl Thieme's contribution is such a pictorialization. Exploring the Catholic encyclopedias, he finds in the *Staatslexikon* of the late 1920's statements about Jewry's "domination of economic life" and its "restless, upsetting, revolutionary" spirit in literature. George Mosse tells of a classroom in a German university in 1907 where the students applauded when they heard that a Jewish jurist had been murdered. Hans-Helmuth Knütter emphasizes the nationalist strain in the Communist movement when he reminds us that in 1930 a Communist leader rejected "fratricidal war with the National Socialists" while the *Red Flag* promised that the "people's revolution will finish off the Jewish exploiters just as much as the Christian ones." Finally, Arnold Paucker reveals how German Jewry prepared for battle, its *Abwehrkampf*, according to the rules. In that long essay, a book within a book, he shows how the *Central-Verein*, German Jewry's principal organization, distributed tons of literature opposing anti-Semitism through its local network, the *Ortsgruppen*; how it went to court against Streicher; how it instructed Jewish students to fight duels in answer to anti-Semitic insults. He describes the listing by the Jewish war veterans of the names of 10,623 fallen comrades. The list, in book form, was the ultimate argument presented to the German people in 1932. Hindenburg received a copy on his eighty-fifth birthday and, expressing his thanks, put it on his shelf.

Entscheidungsjahr is an indispensable source for historians of Jewry and of Germany. No well-equipped library should be without it.

University of Vermont

RAUL HILBERG

DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918-1945. Series C (1933-1937). THE THIRD REICH: FIRST PHASE. Volume V, MARCH 5-OCTOBER 31, 1936. [Department of State Publication 8083.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1966. Pp. lxxxii, 1208. \$4.75.)

POSTWAR Anglo-American publication of captured German documents in translation was initially projected to cover the period 1918-1945 in some twenty volumes. It was soon found that more extensive coverage would be necessary. Therefore publication in English was limited to nineteen volumes covering 1933-1941. The thirteen volumes of "Series D" on the later years of this period have all appeared and, with this volume, five out of the six volumes of "Series C" on the years 1933-1937. "Series D" is being published in German and "Series C" is to be, as well as "Series A" and "Series B" on Weimar, and "Series E" on 1942-1945.

The current publication opens on the eve of Hitler's march into the Rhine-

land and closes shortly after the signing of the secret German-Italian Protocol and the initialing of the Anti-Comintern Pact between Germany and Japan. Documents on Austria and Spain since July 1936 are excluded, having previously been published in the first and third volumes of "Series D," but there is interesting material on the Austro-German *détente* and on the domestic deterioration of Spain during the spring and early summer of 1936. The analytical list of documents shows that in addition to documents on relations with individual countries ranging from Great Britain and Italy, with over ninety each, to Denmark and Luxembourg, with one apiece, there is extensive coverage of the occupation of the Rhineland in over forty documents and naval negotiations in thirty. Under the three headings of "Economic," "General," and "Military Policy" are listed several documents of considerable importance, including comprehensive assessments of Germany's political and economic situation and goals as of August 1936. The usefulness of the volume is enhanced by the generous use of editors' notes to explain references in the documents; thus one six-page note reproduces articles of the League Covenant and the Versailles and Locarno Treaties relevant to the Rhineland crisis. With its competent translation into mid-Atlantic (something between British and American) English, its judicious footnotes, and its useful appendixes, the volume will be invaluable for students of the period until eventually the German edition supplants it for scholarly use. Even then it will be most helpful for reference and pedagogical purposes.

Southern Illinois University

DONALD S. DETWILER

A CATALOG OF FILES AND MICROFILMS OF THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTRY ARCHIVES, 1920-1945. Volume III. Compiled and edited by *George O. Kent*. [Published as joint project of the United States Department of State and the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace.] (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution, Stanford University. 1966. Pp. 807.)

GEORGE Kent is maintaining the two-year interval between the volumes of his painstaking and invaluable *Catalog* of the files and films of the German Foreign Ministry Archives. The first volume appeared in 1962 (*AHR*, LXVIII [Apr. 1963], 741); the second, in 1964 (*AHR*, LXX [Oct. 1964], 142). At this pace the *Catalog* should be completed in 1968 with a volume including files of German missions and consulates for the years 1920-1945.

The present volume centers on the years 1936-1945. What might be expected to be the most important file, that of the Foreign Minister's secretariat, requires less than two of the more than five hundred pages of the *Catalog*, and the entries are obviously fragments. In other words, much of the Foreign Minister's file was not among the documents captured by the Allied armies.

Kent makes no reference to some ten thousand pages of documents from this file, which survive in the form of microfilm prepared by Ribbentrop's secretariat in 1943 as insurance against the destruction by bombing of the records in his file. This "F" series of films presents serious problems to the cataloguer. The short strips of captured German film were spliced together to make reels of conventional length, and duplicate films were run off in the Air Ministry in London.

The operation was done hastily because the originals were deteriorating from dampness and were already partly illegible. As a result of this splicing job, closely related documents, indeed parts of the same document, may be on different reels.

To describe this jumble in the laconic language of the cataloguer is impossible. A detailed description of the "F" series, however, should be included in Kent's fourth volume. These ten thousand frames of microfilm contain the only surviving documentation for some of the most important transactions of Hitler's diplomacy.

There are other oddities about the Foreign Ministry Archives. The manuscript of Erich Brandenburg's biography of Brockdorff-Rantzau was confiscated and remains unpublished in the archives. The inventory of Brockdorff-Rantzau's papers given by Kent is excellent. These papers are invaluable for the study of the Treaty of Versailles and for the history of German relations with Russia in the 1920's. Another rich personal file is that of Mackensen, the German ambassador in Italy from 1938 to 1944. Mackensen's official dispatches were factual and colorless. His personal correspondence, particularly with his trusted friend Weizsäcker, gives many vivid pictures of life in Fascist Italy, and of the resentment, even of many Fascists, at the increasing subordination of Italy to Germany.

A few party files, and some miscellaneous files (notably those of Albert Speer), which for some reason found their way into the captured Foreign Ministry materials, are catalogued in this volume.

Occasionally, the necessity for brevity is misleading. There should be separate index entries for Ambassador Maltzan and Secretary of Legation Maltzan. Students will be perplexed to find that the entry for the State Secretary's file on Anglo-German relations begins with Volume II, with documents dating from May 1939, although most country files begin earlier. Actually, the first volume in this series is entitled "Halifax Visit and Its Results" containing documents from November 1937 to April 1939. Here, as so often, the secretariat began to keep copies of documents for use in connection with a particular episode; once begun, the file was continued and expanded.

These are details. What is important is that with each volume scholars are more deeply indebted to Kent for the uniform excellence of his *Catalog*.

University of California, Berkeley

RAYMOND J. SONTAG

CLAUS GRAF STAUFFENBERG, 15. NOVEMBER 1907-20. JULI 1944:

DAS LEBEN EINES OFFIZIERS. By *Joachim Kramarz*. (Frankfurt am Main: Bernard & Graefe Verlag für Wehrwesen. 1965. Pp. 245. DM 24.80.)

TECHNIK UND MORAL EINER VERSCHWÖRUNG: 20. JULI 1944. By *Dieter Ehlers*. (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum Verlag. 1964. Pp. 250. DM 9.80.)

THE officers' revolt of July 20, 1944, against Hitler has been treated in numerous books and articles, but a full-length biography of its leading spirit, Count Claus von Stauffenberg, has so far been lacking. Partly this is owing, no doubt, to the paucity of sources, for the Gestapo seized and apparently destroyed all of Stauffenberg's documents it could find. It is gratifying, therefore, that a young West Berlin scholar has undertaken the difficult task of gathering the shreds of evidence

from published and unpublished sources to reconstruct the life of the young General Staff officer who perished in his thirty-seventh year on the very day he placed the bomb in the *Führer's* bunker in East Prussia. Among the unpublished materials used by the author are microfilmed German Army documents, chiefly war diaries, from the National Archives in Washington, D. C., and interviews and letters from surviving fellow officers, friends, and relatives. The author meticulously traces the influences that formed Stauffenberg's character and that eventually led him to identify himself with the active anti-Hitler resistance.

Kramarz has written a carefully researched, balanced, and detached biography, free from sensationalism and hero worship. The book conveys an authentic and convincing picture of the leading actors of July 20 and of the great difficulties they encountered in organizing a large-scale plot to overthrow the regime they had come to regard as anti-Christian and evil. An English translation of this fine biography would be welcome.

Dieter Ehlers' book also deals with the events of July 20, but it follows a different approach. It attempts to contribute to the nature and problem of resistance in a totalitarian state by analyzing the methods and moral attitudes of the opponents of Hitler's regime. The study is divided into two main parts that deal with the methods of passive and active resistance, respectively, and is further subdivided into topical sections in which the various methods available to or actually employed by the resistance leaders are analyzed in a detailed, penetrating fashion. After disposing of the various forms of passive resistance as being relatively ineffective in view of the very nature of a totalitarian regime, the study leads to the inevitable conclusion that only active resistance—physical destruction of the dictator and open, military revolt—could succeed. But the obstacles for an army revolt were almost insuperable. To oppose a regime of violence like Hitler's, violent methods were necessary. But the leaders of the officers' revolt were inhibited by moral scruples and conflicting loyalties. They lacked the brutal determination and the material strength necessary to overcome the tremendous power of the Nazi regime. Conceived as a military *Putsch* that was to lead to the establishment of a temporary military dictatorship after the assassination of Hitler, the plot never had a chance to develop because a trivial technical mishap saved Hitler from the full impact of the explosion. Although none of the army commanders joined forces with the rebels on July 20, none of them denounced the plotters to the Gestapo when they had been approached to join the resistance.

This work is exhaustively researched and copiously annotated and should contribute to a better understanding of the true nature of the revolt of July 20 and of the regime against which it was launched.

American University

CARL G. ANTHON

FOREIGN LABOR IN NAZI GERMANY. By *Edward L. Homze*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xviii, 350. \$8.50.)

EDWARD Homze has written a workmanlike monograph on the Nazi foreign labor program during World War II. Most of his research was based on Nuremberg Trials materials and films of captured German records deposited with the National Archives. The author shares the views of others who have researched these

collections: Hitler's political planning was aimed at war, and he was willing to risk a major one, but his understanding of the economic side of modern warfare was amateurish to say the least.

Homze's work deals primarily with the administrative history of the recruitment and allocation of labor for German war industry. He argues that the Nazi leadership was so convinced that total and instant victory would be theirs that they were reluctant to approve total economic mobilization for war. War production actually declined, and it was not until Speer's appointment as Minister for Munitions and War Production in February 1942 that any real effort was made to put the economy on a wartime footing. Homze's work makes clear, however, that even during the "Speer era" the level of organization Speer thought necessary could not be achieved because allocation of labor had been put into the hands of a "political" appointment, Fritz Sauckel. Sauckel and the Nazi stalwarts believed that the Nazi party would enjoy the confidence of the German people, despite the war, if some semblance of a peacetime economy could be maintained. They viewed Speer's demands for a greater war effort with suspicion, believing them to be inspired by motives of personal gain.

Sauckel had Hitler's ear as long as he succeeded in filling the requisite labor quotas. During 1942 and early 1943 he was brilliantly successful, primarily because he used force to recruit over a million Eastern European workers. His brutal methods increased active resistance to the German occupation, however, and during 1943 when the Russian armies swept back the Germans, Sauckel's chief source of supply vanished, and his power crumbled. Recruitment in Western Europe had been more voluntary, and treatment of Western European workers was considerably more humane than that of *Ostarbeiter* (a term that permeates the documents, but one that Homze neglected to use). Conscription also occurred in the West, and heavy pressures were put on Vichy France to yield its most skilled workers.

Although Homze describes the poor housing, food shortages, and low social status of the foreign workers rather well, one is surprised to find him doubting that the term "slave laborer" applied, even to the *Ostarbeiter*. The author is unaware that some Jewish labor was also used toward the end of the war and seems rather naïve in supposing that 750,000 foreign laborers refused to return home because they had in some way been assimilated to German conditions, rather than because the Russian armies had occupied their native countries!

On balance, Homze's work provides useful information on the economic history of the war, a still relatively unexplored subject. The bibliographical essay is excellent.

University of Alberta

HELEN P. LIEBEL

LES RESCAPÉS DE NUREMBERG: LES "SEIGNEURS DE LA GUERRE" APRÈS LE VERDICT. By *Michel C. Vercel*. With the documentary collaboration of *Laurence Bastit*. [Histoire du xx^e siècle.] (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1966. Pp. 250. 18 fr.)

THIS is an account of the lives of the ten survivors of the Nuremberg Trials in the period since those trials. It is concerned with the seven defendants who were con-

victed and sentenced to terms of imprisonment in Spandau Prison—Dönitz, Hess, Schirach, Raeder, Neurath, Funk, and Speer—and the three defendants who were acquitted at Nuremberg, but spent terms of confinement as a result of de-Nazification procedures—Papen, Schacht, and Fritzsche.

Written in journalistic style, the work is based on considerable research, both through interviews with several of the survivors or their relatives and through use of archival material. Appendixes contain lists of the archives consulted (the Berlin Document Center is not listed) and brief biographical sketches of the survivors.

The author presents a generally sympathetic view of the former prisoners, though noting that public sentiment toward them has altered somewhat in the course of the last twenty years. Considerable detail has been assembled regarding the conditions of life of the prisoners, their relations with families and friends, and the circumstances surrounding the release of certain of the prisoners. The author was able on one occasion to visit the interior of the prison, which he describes, and he contributes some interesting details on prison administration and routine.

The accounts given of the reflections of Schacht, Papen, and Dönitz are especially noteworthy. The last, the former naval head and *Reich* Chancellor, when asked if he regretted anything about his wartime conduct, replied that, in looking back at 1944 with the same degree of knowledge he possessed then, he would act as he had at the time, but that if, as in the cases of many of those who prepared the events of July 20, he had had knowledge of the crimes that had been committed, he would assuredly not have remained passive.

The author notes also that the joint administration of Spandau Prison has provided one of the few remaining regular means of contact between the four occupying powers in Berlin.

Westminster College, Pennsylvania

JAMES S. BEDDIE

DIE IDEE DER EUROPÄISCHEN INTEGRATION IN DER WEST-DEUTSCHEN BÜRGERLICHEN GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG. By Gy. Mérei. [Studia Historica, Number 57.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1966. Pp. 206. \$7.00.)

At first glance Professor Mérei's monograph appears to present three disconnected essays, the first two of which, on postwar economic integration and the crisis in recent German historiography, seem to be mere oversized introductions to his subject. After reading the volume from cover to cover, however, one concludes that they constitute a cohesive polemic whose components mesh effortlessly.

The first chapter propounds that postwar Western capitalism has merely donned the new mask of integration to hide its unchanging imperialist nature. The same holds for Mérei when he next considers German historiography after 1945. His villains here are the "old Prussian and Burckhardtian counterrevolutionary historical concepts" whose salvaging he considers to be the major objective of West German historiography. After World War II "the American concept of

equality, and integration" becomes the tool with which bourgeois historians attempt to preserve their society from the onslaught of socialist truth.

The third chapter attempts to show how this spurious negation of the national state is applied to specific historical problems by historians such as Rassow, Ritter, Rothfels, and Schieder. Mérei concludes that these scholars reject reunion with the DDR because their society can only be preserved as part of a supranational order, not in a united Germany.

In the course of his 205-page brief, the author does not fail to touch sensitive spots. In the last chapter he properly ridicules the overeager "Europeans" who claim such diverse and dubious precursors as Charlemagne and Stresemann.

But Mérei has his weak moments, too. German power politics are sinful, Soviet power politics nonexistent. His volume presents the astounding spectacle of a Hungarian denying that the USSR will ever "enter the path of subjection and exploitation of other peoples." He is not above associating his opponents with views to which they nowhere subscribe. His attack on the Austrian Socialist Otto Bauer likewise indicates that his chief concern is the manhandling of straw men, whether their presence be relevant to his subject or not.

The fact remains, however, that the views presented in this volume sway much of the world. If we are to oppose them effectively, we must become acquainted with their factual and dialectic content. It is not enough to tell Communist historians at international congresses that they should know better. We must learn what makes them tick. Reading Mérei's book makes an interesting contribution to this pursuit.

Tulane University

HANS A. SCHMITT

PARLIAMENT IN THE GERMAN POLITICAL SYSTEM. By *Gerhard Loewenberg*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1966. Pp. xviii, 463. \$10.00.)

WELL-DOCUMENTED and comprehensive, this treatment of the German *Bundestag* is a major contribution to the study of German *Zeitgeschichte*. Loewenberg set himself a dual and difficult task: to analyze the lower house of the West German parliament both as an institution with certain constitutional powers and formal procedures and as a body of individuals who singly and collectively constitute major components of the German political culture. The result is an institutional analysis of the *Bundestag* that is effectively fused with a description of how this framework molds and is molded by the *Bundestag* members. The sections on membership recruitment, organization of parliamentary groups, and particularly on the relationship between the *Bundestag* and the cabinet are singularly well done.

Unfortunately, space considerations seem to have precluded an equally comprehensive analysis of the actual passage of legislation. Loewenberg illustrates the interaction of men and procedures in this area by tracing the course of five representative bills through parliament; the treatments are too brief, however, to utilize effectively the wealth of material presented earlier. There are some minor flaws as well, notably a large number of members' names not always accom-

panied by sufficient characterizations, and, once or twice, the jarring use of the CDU-approved "Soviet Zone of Germany" for East Germany.

Although the author focuses his analysis on the *Bundestag* as it functions today, his approach throughout the book is valuable to the historian. Not only does he delineate the evolution of various personnel and procedural trends since 1945; he often cites Bismarckian or Weimar precedents as well. In addition, Loewenberg raises and intermittently deals with a major historical problem that transcends the *Bundestag* itself: the cross-generational transfer of values in a modern political culture. He finds the incidence of such transfer extremely high. Despite the rapid succession of governmental forms in Germany since 1870, the attitudes of most Germans toward parliamentary politics have not changed significantly since the times of Bismarck. Elected politicians still have a relatively low social status, parties remain composed largely of representatives sent to parliament by various interest groups, and somehow a *Herr Abgeordneter* changes into a superior being when he becomes *Herr Minister*. Neither Weimar, Hitler, nor the Allies were able to tarnish the tremendous prestige that the "apolitical" German civil servant enjoys. Since 1945 these attitudes have undergone some change, but Germany will obviously need a far longer period of political stability if the *Bundestag* is really to become the central focus of German democracy.

Syracuse University

DIETRICH ORLOW

DIE NATIONALE FRAGE IN DER ÖSTERREICHISCH-UNGARISCHEN MONARCHIE 1900-1918. Edited by Péter Hanák. With the assistance of Zoltán Szász. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966. Pp. 358. \$8.50.)

THIS volume consists of five main reports on various aspects of the national problems in the Habsburg monarchy, with emphasis on social problems in Hungary. Added to the papers are the interventions in the subsequent discussion. The reports were read by East Central European scholars who adhere to a Marxian-Leninist philosophy, though with varying emphasis. Western discussants viewed the problems from different angles. Not all papers are of equal quality. Zwitter (Yugoslavia), a knowledgeable student of the over-all topic, contributes a stimulating account of basic concepts. Unfortunately it is somewhat impaired by a misunderstanding of the position of Western scholars on the issue of nations with and without history, and an overrating of the strength of the German position in Austria. Less distinguished is the study presented by the Rumanian team headed by Constantinescu. It combines a doctrinaire party-line approach with Rumanian national tendencies. Of great interest, on the other hand, are the data of Katus (Hungary) on the socioeconomic foundations of the national problem in Hungary. Valuable also is the essay by Gross (Yugoslavia) on the national crisis in Croatia and that by Dolmányos (Hungary) on the intransigent Magyar educational policy in 1907. These three essays, like that of Zwitter, are genuine contributions to the subject.

The statement of Turok (USSR) that a major sector of Western public opinion glorifies the uncritical handling of the national problem in the Habsburg Empire is highly questionable. In regard to the weight of scholarly contributions in

the West, this statement is certainly doubtful. Neither is it correct that Western historical opinion widely perceives the nationality policy of the USSR as complete failure. What Turok and others fail to note is that the ethnic and geopolitical structure of the USSR offers possibilities for solutions that never existed in the Habsburg realms. Yet Turok deserves credit for correcting unwarranted attacks launched by the Rumanian team against the Austrian Social Democrats and for his skeptical evaluation of the concept of an Austrian nation. Of other particularly interesting interventions in the discussion, the ones by Hanák (Hungary), Mommsen (Federal Republic of Germany), and Valiani (Italy) should be mentioned.

I disagree with the ideological premises in the over-all interpretation of this interesting and important volume. Yet I welcome the fact that it moves closer to a pluralistic approach to the subject than previous publications in the same setting.

Rutgers University

ROBERT A. KANN

LA DISSOLUZIONE DELL'AUSTRIA UNGHERIA. By *Leo Valiani*. [La cultura. Biblioteca di storia contemporanea, Number 8.] (Milan: Casa editrice Il Saggiatore. 1966. Pp. 505. L. 2,700.)

VALIANI's analysis of the breakup of the Habsburg monarchy emphasizes the tremendous impact of World War I. After a relatively brief survey of centrifugal nationalistic forces between 1907 and 1914, he utilizes his brilliant command of languages and of sources to recount the diplomatic exchanges between Vienna and Rome in 1914-1915 and the consequent development of the various committees working for self-determination through the "Congress of Rome" of April 1918. Quite sure that there was a minimum of sentiment aimed at destroying the venerable Empire during the first stages of the war, whether in *Entente* circles or among the non-Germans of the multinational state, he carefully delineates the factors that increasingly worked against its survival.

The author's most important conclusions center upon the Treaty of London of 1915 and Sonnino's refusal to consider modifications of its terms through a compromise peace in 1916-1917. The Italian Foreign Minister dreaded the disappearance of a power that would bring the German Empire to the Brenner and the Russians to the Adriatic, yet he insisted upon cessions in Istria, Dalmatia, and the Tirol that no Habsburg ruler could make and still survive. Such territorial amputations would have stripped the dynasty of strategic mountain positions and of Pola. Inevitably the irate Magyars would have secured a purely personal union, with complete military and financial independence. The Austro-Germans would have gravitated toward Berlin, and, far more dangerous, the Slovenes and Croats to a future Yugoslavia. If Italy had been satisfied with the Trentino, Gorizia, Trieste, and the Istrian Italian towns save for Pola and if Serbia had received Bosnia-Herzegovina and a port on the Dalmatian coast, Austria-Hungary could have lived on as a democratic and peaceful federation or confederation of its peoples, he concludes. The war was virtually lost when the Italians intervened, and, despite Emperor Charles's dabbling with mediators, the government actually expected salvation only through the success of the German Empire's armies.

Every student of the Dual Monarchy's collapse faces almost unmanageable materials. Valiani's notes indicate a superb knowledge of archival, documentary, and monographic sources as well as of significant newspaper items. He devotes more space to Italian, Rumanian, and Yugoslav affairs than to events in Polish and Czech circles. At times one vaguely senses the miseries of civilian life and of the battlefield and the management of Cisleithania's internal affairs. Arthur J. May's *The Passing of the Hapsburg Monarchy* is more attuned to such considerations, and it is good fortune indeed to have such masterful and complementary treatments appearing almost simultaneously.

Washington and Lee University

WILLIAM A. JENKS

PROTOKOLLE DES GEMEINSAMEN MINISTERRATES DER ÖSTERREICHISCH-UNGARISCHEN MONARCHIE (1914-1918). Compiled with an introduction by *Miklós Komjáthy*. [Publikationen des Ungarischen Staatsarchivs, Second Series. Quellenpublikationen, Number 10.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1966. Pp. xi, 723. \$15.40.)

EXCELLENTLY annotated, this documentary collection is preceded by a long introduction on the government of the Dual Monarchy and the problems of political decision making. Mr. Komjáthy is an archivist; his interest is institutional history, and he is fascinated by this extraconstitutional institution that was the Common Council of Ministers. The *Ausgleich* of 1867 did not provide for a common Austro-Hungarian government, and it defined the functions of the three Common Ministers only negatively by legislating on what they ought not do. In practice, the Dual Monarchy could not subsist without a central executive, nor the monarch without a group of advisers; therefore the establishment of a Common Council of Ministers as supreme government became inevitable. Furthermore, as the parliamentary "Delegations," this supreme constitutional supervisory agency, were doomed to impotence because the Hungarian framers of the Compromise Agreement were reluctant to relinquish Hungarian power, the Common Council had virtually free rein in major foreign political decisions. Thus in 1878 and 1908 the Delegations were circumvented by the Council and the Foreign Minister. By 1914, however, even the Council proved to be too unwieldy, and all important steps against Serbia were undertaken by Berchtold and Conrad and not by the Council of Ministers. For instance, while Prime Minister Tisza's objections to a war against Serbia at the July 7 meeting of the Council were far from being categorical—one cannot therefore talk about Tisza's later "conversion"—Tisza wished to soften the ultimatum to Serbia. His reservations were ignored by Berchtold who subsequently presented Tisza with a *fait accompli* to which the latter could only add a few belated remarks. The constitutional irresponsibility of this government made it inevitable, Komjáthy rightly argues, that major decisions be made by individuals.

Because of the frequency of the Council's meetings—forty-one conferences between July 7, 1914, and October 22, 1918—and the multiplicity of the topics debated, the *Protokolle* provide a continuous and colorful history. They show, among other things, the passivity of Francis Joseph, who presided over only two

meetings during the war, and the commanding position occupied by Emperor Charles. They also show the Dual Monarchy's complete economic and political dependence on Germany and, finally, the inability of the government to appreciate the immensity of the disaster the monarchy was facing.

Columbia University

ISTVAN DEAK

CARTEGGI DI FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI. Volume XI (1 DICEMBRE 1526-15 GENNAIO 1527). Edited by *Pier Giorgio Ricci*. [Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1965. Pp. 340. L. 4,000.)

THE correspondence of Francesco Guicciardini was vast and as circumspect but forceful as the man himself; it remains a sea of information on Italian politics in the first half of the sixteenth century and a monument to a formidable statesman, political thinker, and perhaps the greatest historian between Tacitus and Gibbon.

Not surprisingly, the publication of Guicciardini's *Carteggi*, far from complete after nearly thirty years and more than 2,500 letters, has posed difficult problems for its editors. Roberto Palmarocchi (Volumes I-IV, 1938-51) and Pier Giorgio Ricci (since Volume V, 1954) agreed in principle that all surviving letters written by or to Guicciardini should be printed *in extenso*. This was a justifiable, if perhaps unrealistic, reaction to the haphazard and often defective form in which Guicciardini's letters had been edited previously. But how could such a goal be achieved when Guicciardini's own epistles, not to mention those of his correspondents, were widely dispersed, difficult to trace, and often extant in more than one version? Palmarocchi attempted, unfortunately without adequate preparation or critical framework, the most ambitious solution: a unitary edition of preliminary drafts, original missives, letters received, and so forth. In his seven volumes Ricci has confined himself quite reasonably to the copious autograph minutes preserved in the Guicciardini archive in Florence; the appropriate missives, responses, and indexes are evidently to follow the completion of this series. Moreover, while Palmarocchi modernized orthography and seldom indicated changes or variants, Ricci has wisely adhered to the manuscripts and has listed significant corrections and changes in notes. Both editors, however, have shared an essentially archivistic conception of their task, leaving philological and historical commentary to others.

Within the framework described, Volume XI brings the *Carteggi* to the hectic days in Modena and Parma when, as papal lieutenant, Guicciardini attempted in vain to rouse the forces of the League of Cognac against the *Landesknechte* who would sack Rome in May 1527. These letters were an integral part of this crucial moment in Italian history, one of the last opportunities for effective resistance to foreign domination. And, in one of Guicciardini's favorite phrases, *Magistratus ostendit virum*.

University of California, Berkeley

RANDOLPH STARN

INDUSTRIA E COMMERCIO DELLA REPUBBLICA VENETA NEL XVIII SECOLO. By *Bruno Caizzi*. [Studi e ricerche di storia economica italiana nell'età del Risorgimento.] (Milan: Banca Commerciale Italiana. 1965. Pp. 284.)

L'ECONOMIA DELLA PROVINCIA DI SALERNO NELL'OPERA DELLA CAMERA DI COMMERCIO, 1862-1962. Edited by *Giuseppe Santoro*. (Salerno: Camera di Commercio Industria e Agricoltura di Salerno. 1966. Pp. xii, 362.)

PRIVATELY supported publications, like commissioned biographies, often reflect the biases of their sponsors. Fortunately, these two studies show that private support is compatible with scholarly achievement. Professor Caizzi's publication is the sixth in a series sponsored by the *Banca Commerciale Italiana* to celebrate its fiftieth anniversary (1940) and to support research in the economic history of the *Risorgimento*. Caizzi contends that the commercial decline of the Venetian Republic could have been arrested by encouraging manufacturing on the mainland. Thus, the republic could have sustained its own commerce at a time when it could no longer play its traditional role as middleman between Europe and the East. As it was, the considerable economic potential of the mainland was repressed to preserve the hegemony of the capital city and of its nobiliar oligarchy.

Since the author believes that economic stagnation and administrative paralysis might have been averted by the adoption of economic *laissez faire*, a close study of the political and social context in which economic decisions were made would have been rewarding. The author states that there was a definite relationship between the desire to preserve the political *status quo* and the failure to adopt *laissez-faire* policies, but the characteristics of this relationship are not made clear. The loss of economic dynamism on the part of a noble class which in the past had displayed a strong entrepreneurial vocation remains an unresolved puzzle in this otherwise enlightening study.

The second book is a detailed account of the efforts made by the Chamber of Commerce to promote the economic development of the province of Salerno in southern Italy. This carefully documented study reveals, among other things, how a well-articulated network of local associations capable of collecting and transmitting statistical information can provide strong leverage on the formulation of national policies. A definite institutional slant seems to be present. The condition of labor in the province falls into the background, and little is said about the closely related problem of emigration. I would also have preferred a more forthright effort to deal with such national problems of local relevance as the plight of the southern manufacturer after the unification of Italy and the growing economic gap between North and South. But, perhaps, given the deliberately limited scope of this work, it would be unfair to criticize it for not being more inclusive. Anyone interested in Italian economic developments will find here a means of checking their repercussions at the local level.

LA CALABRIA: ECONOMIA E SOCIETÀ. REGGIO DINANZI ALLA PESTE DEL 1743; GLI UOMINI E LA TERRA DOPO L'UNITÀ. By *Domenico Demarco*. [Università degli Studi di Napoli, Biblioteca degli "Annali" dell'Istituto di Storia Economica e Sociale, Number 9.] (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1966. Pp. 106. L. 1,200.)

TIPICHE OPERAZIONI DEL BANCO DELLA PIETÀ IN ALCUNI ATTI NOTARILI DEI SECOLI XVI-XIX. Edited by *Antonio Allocati*. [Università degli Studi di Napoli, Biblioteca degli "Annali" dell'Istituto di Storia Economica e Sociale, Number 10.] (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1966. Pp. 223. L. 2,500.)

THESE two volumes have little in common except that they deal with one or another aspect of the economic problem of the Mezzogiorno, or southern Italy, which has been a depressed or underdeveloped area not only in recent years but for many centuries. One cause is misgovernment, which began under Spanish rule, if not earlier, and continued under that of the Bourbons; the unification of Italy did little to alleviate the problem and sometimes made matters worse. Of course, misrule is not the only cause; others, including climate, topography, soil, geographical location, malaria, land tenure, and social structure, have all conspired, and still do, to prevent normal development.

Professor Demarco of the University of Naples is one of the experts on the historical roots of this major problem, and he edits a series that deals mainly with the subject. The first volume comes from his pen and contains two essays on Calabria: one on the pestilence that hit Messina and Reggio in 1743 and the other on the economic conditions of this region during the first twenty years after unification. The epidemic in 1743 was severe, and, if it had been allowed to spread, it might have been as disastrous for Europe as the Black Death of 1348. Fortunately, the Neapolitan government took drastic measures by isolating the infected region and ringing it with a sanitary cordon. The cost, however, proved to be as high as that of a war and put a severe strain on the meager resources of the realm of Naples. The second essay, on agrarian conditions from 1860 to 1880, shows that Calabrian agriculture suffered from many ills, all of which compounded the evil of inadequate and badly allocated resources. For example, the unequal distribution of landed property and the iniquitous tax system fell on the poor and spared the rich. The suppression of many monasteries and the sale of their land holdings did nothing to increase productivity. Wages were as low as one lira or twenty cents a day for an agricultural worker.

Mr. Allocati's work is a detailed calendar of notarial contracts. He apparently has done a conscientious job, but his introduction is too brief to be significant. There are a useful glossary and an index of persons and places. The volume will be of use for research on the credit policy of the *Monte di Pietà*, a pawnbroking establishment that transformed itself into a deposit bank and, after many vicissitudes, still survives today as part of the *Banco di Napoli*.

IL REGNO DI SARDEGNA NEL 1848-1849 NEI CARTEGGI DI DOMENICO BUFFA. Volume I (28 SETTEMBRE 1847-18 DICEMBRE 1848). Edited by *Emilio Costa*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. Biblioteca Scientifica. Series 2, Fonti. Volume LIV.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1966. Pp. 437.)

ATTI DEL XLII CONGRESSO DI STORIA DEL RISORGIMENTO ITALIANO (RAVENNA, 2-5 OTTOBRE 1965). [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. Biblioteca Scientifica, Atti dei Congressi, Volume X.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1966. Pp. 189.)

THE Italian encyclopedia gives only thirteen lines to Domenico Buffa, Piedmontese journalist, politician, and administrator. On the basis of this initial sample from his correspondence, he can properly demand more. Buffa, born in 1818, contributed to the *Antologia* review, wrote on Giambattista Vico, ran a Genoese paper during the heady days of 1848, organized national guards, sat as deputy, and served as royal commissioner. He died at the age of forty. What is important is that he knew virtually everyone of consequence in northern Italian affairs. Included in the collection are frank reports to relatives, proclamations, minutes, and letters from Giovanni Berchet, Luigi Carlo Farini, and Giampietro Vieusseux, a virtual thesaurus of *Risorgimento* sources. A picture of a moderate Catholic advocate of Italian federal unity and freedom who was anxious to reconcile social progress with spiritual tradition emerges from these letters. Yet Buffa was an engaging person. Once he sought to borrow a watch for a trip rather than use public money, and another time he lamented: "Here in Turin minds are so sordid that I truly hide in shame. . . ." Editor Emilio Costa previously signaled the importance of the Buffa materials (*Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, LI [Oct.-Dec. 1964], 551-66). His useful eighty-five-page introduction gives proper background and guidance to the selections.

Coupled with the above are the proceedings of the Congress of History of the *Risorgimento*, gathered at Ravenna in 1965 to hear papers on "a narrow period," from the Villafranca armistice to the March plebiscites. Noteworthy were Ettore Passerin d'Entrèves's report on Piedmontese policy, Adam Wandruszka's on Austria after Villafranca, and Harry Hearder's on English policy and public opinion. Emilia Morelli covered the revolutionary Left, Augusto Torre, the Italian League, and Louis Girard, French policy. Among these, Hearder was perhaps most interesting to Americans. With the clarity he would shortly exhibit in his *Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, he showed how Lord Palmerston summarized British public opinion, how Queen Victoria's influence in this instance was unusually strong. He used unpublished sources to reaffirm points made by Derek Beales in *England and Italy, 1859-60* (1961). This matched the consensus of the congress: the far-reaching character of the *Risorgimento*, the duty of the young toward its review, and the need for recapturing the spirit of those times.

The *Risorgimento* specialist in the United States is likely to be a lonely scholar, meeting those he can properly talk with only on trips to Italy or at the annual sessions of the Society for Italian Historical Studies. If he finds his budget straitened, he should buy *Buffa* for his own shelves and make his college library order the Ravenna transactions.

University of Miami

DUANE KOENIG

L'UNIFICAZIONE ITALIANA VISTA DAI DIPLOMATICI STATUNITENSIS. Volume II (1848-1853). Edited by *Howard R. Marraro*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica. Series 2, Fonti. Volume LI.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1964. Pp. 369.)

THIS second volume of Professor Marraro's collection of American diplomatic dispatches from Turin to Washington during the *Risorgimento* covers the period from January 1848 to October 1853. The documents reveal more perhaps about the attitudes of the American diplomatic observers than about the dramatic events they were sent to observe. Very evident is American sympathy with the development of Italian constitutionalism, especially of that conservative brand which, in American terms, would be labeled Federalist or Whig. American approval of the movement for Italian national independence and constitutionalism is tied to a concern lest representative government under Italian conditions lead first to radicalism and then back again to absolutism, as in neighboring France.

As a preventive measure, Minister Nathaniel Niles, in a dispatch of June 24, 1849, urged the immediate construction by the European governments of a canal joining the Atlantic and Pacific "to divert the excited and distempered popular mind of Europe from the pursuit of those visionary and impractical political theories, so dangerous to the whole fabric of society now so prevalent in this part of the world." In a later dispatch Niles proposed instead massive emigration to the United States as the best "remedy for the social evils of continental Europe."

It is interesting in the light of more recent attitudes to see how Lombardy was viewed from Turin in 1848. In a dispatch of July 2, 1848, to Secretary of State James Buchanan, Niles wrote of the fears that "the civil, military and religious virtues of the Savoyards and Piedmontese might be lost in the perponderating [*sic*] influence of the passionate unbridled ignorance and social conceptions of the whole Lombardo Venetian population." Lombardy is seen as degraded and illiterate, a Naples before the fact, while "the population of Venetia is said to be still more depraved, effeminate, and less enlightened still." In contrast, Niles was almost lyrical in his praise for the Piedmontese: "The people of Sardinia are the Yankees of the Italian race, and the puritans of the Catholic faith. . . . Constitutional freedom may therefore work well here and yet fail in Tuscany, Rome and Naples."

University of California, Los Angeles

ROBERT C. FRIED

PROBLEMI DELL'UNIFICAZIONE ITALIANA. By *Carlo Pischedda*. [Collezione storica del Risorgimento e dell'unità d'Italia, Volume LIX, Series 4.] (Mucchi, Modena: Società Tipografica Editrice Modenese. [1963.] Pp. 338. L. 2,000.)

OF these four studies centering on problems of Italy's unification, the first two are the most important, for they deal acutely and interestingly with significant subjects.

Professor Pischedda first presents a fine study of the reform of the Piedmontese army under Alfonso La Marmora after its disastrous performance in 1848-1849. He is primarily concerned with the social effects of these reforms: whether, as La Marmora purported, they put into practice the juridical equality granted all

citizens of the state by the *Statuto* of 1848. He answers decisively in the negative. La Marmora chose to model the new army on the French system of a small, long-term professional army rather than on the Prussian system of a mass, short-term citizen army. Pischedda convincingly demonstrates that he and the established classes adopted the French system for selfish as well as military reasons. Not only did it allow many exemptions because of its low manpower needs; it also allowed the sons of the well to do, particularly of the wealthy bourgeoisie, to avoid military service by hiring substitutes. Many of those most interested in the liberal national cause did not thus bear arms for it, while to the peasant, on whom the brunt of conscription fell, the national war was bound in large measure to remain a war of the *signori*. Pischedda also demonstrates that La Marmora, and Cavour as well, refused from fear of lower-class social revolution, to establish a popular reserve army with, as the democrats desired, its own units and officers. All this, Pischedda shows, had serious consequences in the war of 1859. Only sixty thousand regulars could be put in the field, while the reserves, inadequately trained and equipped, could not be mobilized in time to count in the campaign. Louis Napoleon became suspicious of his ally, Cavour became alarmed over the political consequences of so meager an effort, and Victor Emmanuel well knew that he could not, as Cavour demanded, continue the war alone after Villafranca.

In his second study, on Cavour from his resignation after Villafranca to his reassumption of the premiership in early 1860, Pischedda unravels the intricacies of the King's intrigues to prevent Cavour's return to power in order to be free finally to follow a personal policy. The "king's secret" this time seems to have been the acquisition of Venetia. For this old objective of his dynasty he was apparently willing to renounce Tuscany and the central states. Quickly realizing after Villafranca that the central states were the critical issue and could be renounced only at the risk of losing the initiative to Mazzini, Cavour made the reopening of Parliament the hinge of his countercampaign. As Pischedda puts it, a decade of experience had shown him that only through Parliament could he bridle the King.

Pischedda's third study, "Tuscany and Savoy," while a useful reconstruction of the crisis over the annexation of the central states, goes to perhaps excessive lengths to affirm that Louis Napoleon, seeking Nice and above all Savoy in exchange for his approval of the annexations, did not favor Italian unification nor waver from his objective of aggrandizing France. The last essay explores Baron Ricasoli's activities as a Tuscan commercial or nascent capitalist farmer in the 1850's and follows his political evolution after 1849, when he became an early convert to unity under the Savoy monarchy and one of the moderates most ready to sacrifice liberty to unity and authority for good social order.

University of California, Santa Barbara

DONALD A. LIMOLI

ANTONIO GRAMSCI AND THE ORIGINS OF ITALIAN COMMUNISM.

By John M. Cammett. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 306. \$8.50.)

HUNCHBACKED and the son of a poor family of Sardinian peasants, Antonio Gramsci was one of several founders of the Italian Communist party at the Con-

gress of Leghorn in 1921. Supported by the Comintern, Gramsci emerged during the next few years as the acknowledged leader of the PCI, only to be arrested in 1926 by Mussolini's police. The remaining eleven years of Gramsci's tubercular life were spent in a Fascist prison, where he skillfully managed to fill numerous notebooks with reflections on the works of Marx, Croce, and Machiavelli, as well as discussions of the *Risorgimento*, the formation of an intellectual class, and other subjects. Since the posthumous publication of these notebooks, Gramsci has come increasingly to be regarded as one of this century's most important Marxist theoreticians.

Professor Cammett researched his subject at the *Istituto Gramsci* in Rome. His book is not intended to be a full-scale biography; instead, the author has tried "to expound and analyze Gramsci's chief ideas in the fields of politics and history during the two periods of his greatest creativity: first, as the leader in 1919-20 of the *Ordine Nuovo* movement in Turin; second, as the principal figure of Italian Communism, beginning with his rise to leadership in the Italian Communist Party in 1923 and ending with the composition of his 'Prison Notebooks,' written for the most part from 1929 to 1934."

Even with these limitations, Cammett must grapple with numerous important problems. Thus in the first section, "Early Years," he evaluates the extent to which Gramsci's mature ideas were influenced by the impact of his Sardinian boyhood and his youthful experiences in Turin. In my opinion, this is one of the author's most perceptive sections. In Part II, "*Ordine Nuovo*," Cammett selects and organizes the most important ideas from the more than two hundred articles that Gramsci wrote for *Ordine Nuovo* in 1919-1920. He devotes special attention to Gramsci's advocacy of *consigli di fabbrica* (factory councils) as the Italian counterpart of the Russian Soviets. Part III traces Gramsci's rise to a dominant position in the PCI. Cammett shows how Gramsci tried to steer an ideological course of his own between Amadeo Bordiga's Left-wing extremism and the Moscow-centered predications of the Comintern. Perhaps the most difficult task for Cammett was presented in Part IV, in which he seeks to plumb the broad range of material contained in the prison notebooks. Here the author finally decided to restrict his discussion to Gramsci's views on two major problems: the nature and tasks of the political party and the historical role of Italian intellectuals. An appendix contains a lucid analysis of Gramsci's interpretation of the *Risorgimento* as an opportunity that was missed for recruiting the peasantry into a Jacobinic revolutionary movement and a rebuttal by Cammett of Professor Rosario Romeo's recent liberal critique of this Gramsci thesis.

Though Cammett is obviously a sincere admirer of Gramsci, he has scrupulously kept his bias in check. The result is a well-balanced appraisal that illumines those aspects of Gramsci's dialectical materialism that were shaped by his humanistic education and Crocean background and that tended to deviate from the dogmas of Moscow.

Vanderbilt University

CHARLES F. DELZELL

DEATH IN ROME. By Robert Katz. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xvii, 334. \$6.95.)

On the afternoon of March 23, 1944, a group of Communist partisans attacked a marching column of 156 German SS police on the Via Rasella in the heart of German-occupied Rome. The partisans inflicted severe casualties among the Germans and escaped unharmed. As soon as they were informed of the attack, Hitler and Himmler decided to wreak Draconian punishment on Rome, as they feared that the city was preparing to rise in insurrection. Orders were handed down that within twenty-four hours ten Italians must be shot for every German killed. The victims were to be taken from those prisoners in jail who were awaiting the death penalty. Himmler wanted to go further and deport the entire adult male population of Rome.

What occurred hour by hour during March 23 and 24 is recounted in crisp, cinematic fashion by Robert Katz, a young American journalist and film maker who presently lives in Rome. Led by SS *Obersturmbannführer* Herbert Kappler, the Rome Gestapo worked frantically to carry out the *Führer's* orders. Meanwhile, other German commands in Rome, for reasons of their own, tried to stay Hitler's hand, calling on the highest levels of the Vatican for help. Still others sought to block Himmler's scheme for mass deportations from Rome. The victims of the bloodbath that soon took place in the Ardeatine Caves on the south edge of Rome were not restricted just to prisoners awaiting the death penalty; they covered the entire political and occupational spectrum, numbering both Jews and Christians—even a priest. When another German died, Kappler, acting on his own initiative, extrapolated ten more Italians for his list. In the general confusion, five additional Italians were erroneously herded into the cave, so that the cumulative total who were shot in the back of the head mounted to 335.

The violent, tragic event resulted in several important war crimes trials and gave rise to much passionate argument in Italy. Katz, whose sympathies are frankly on the side of the partisans, has gone farther than any previous writer in using all documentary material thus far available. He has also personally interviewed many surviving participants and witnesses, both Italians and Germans, though his attempts to elicit statements from key Vatican officials failed. Katz carefully footnotes his sources and includes an annotated bibliography. Although numerous Germans and Italians are sharply criticized, Pope Pius XII is Katz's major target. Like Rolf Hochhuth, the author feels that the bishop of Rome, who took pride in being acclaimed after the war as the *defensor civitatis*, could have done much more to prevent this and other atrocities. Katz argues that since various German officials in Rome during the course of March 23 and 24 were managing to pigeonhole Himmler's orders for the mass evacuation of the city, a strong intervention by the Vatican might well have led either to postponement or to attenuation of the reprisals. He contends that the Vatican declined to act because it preferred to have the Germans keep order in the city pending the arrival of the Allies. Recent newspaper dispatches from Rome indicate that the Vatican may be preparing a reply to Katz's charges.

POLAND & CZECHOSLOVAKIA. By *Frederick G. Heymann*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1966. Pp. viii, 181. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

THIS book and other volumes in this collection are presumably intended to give students of modern history a deeper background and adequate information on the causes of current frictions and conflicts. That is why Dr. Heymann does not deal, in the opening chapter, with the rise and organization of the two west Slavic nations, but covers the two decades since the Yalta Conference. His sketch of recent events in East Central Europe is concise and instructive, written without emotional involvement in the problems discussed. Chapters devoted to the earlier history have been written with the same care and detachment as the summary of postwar developments. The author has been careful in distributing space and emphasis; he not only put the stories of the Poles and the Czechs into their proper perspective, but also includes the Slovaks in his discussion whenever they played an active part in either political or cultural history.

It takes little time to realize that Heymann is well acquainted with the numerous controversies pertaining both to the early and modern history of the two countries. The size of the book and its purpose did not permit detailed analysis of any of the perplexing problems. Most of them are lightly touched upon so that the narrative has correct proportions and regular rhythm. Not more than a sentence was needed to reject the so-called Bretholz theory concerning the coming of the German settlers to Bohemia and Moravia. In about the same manner the author refuted the idea that the Moravian Empire of the ninth century was exclusively "the old kingdom of the Slovaks." There is, indeed, very little in this succinct outline that calls for either correction or more precise formulation. A brief account of the activities of the Czech and Slovak volunteers fighting on the side of the Russians would have gained in precision if chronological order had been observed and if the Brusilov offensive (1916) had been clearly separated from similar operations launched by Alexander Kerensky a year later, in the early summer of 1917.

Heymann has gained reputation as an author of two comprehensive monographs on problems of late medieval Bohemia. But he is just as familiar with Polish history as with that of the Czechs and Slovaks. When referring to sources of tension that marred the attempts to coordinate the foreign policies of Poland and Czechoslovakia between 1918 and 1938, he writes with discretion to balance conflicting points of view. His brief description of Poland under the Nazi heel and his sympathetic comment on Polish revival and reconstruction can be counted among the finest passages of this book.

University of Pennsylvania

OTAKAR ODLOZILIK

LODZ: EINE HISTORISCH-GEOGRAPHISCHE ANALYSE. By *Oskar Kossmann*. [Marburger Ostforschungen, Number 25.] (Würzburg: Holzner-Verlag. 1966. Pp. xv, 176.)

Lodz, situated in the watershed of the Oder and Vistula Rivers, was a village as late as 1820. Two generations later it had burgeoned as the "Polish Manchester"—an uncommon example of East European industrialization. This phenomenal

rise started when a post-Napoleonic depression afflicted Central Europe while the new Congress Kingdom introduced measures for attracting immigrant skills and enterprises. Privileges and immunities spurred an immigration of 35,000 by 1830, the majority being urban Germans from Prussia, Saxony, and Bohemia. Some with weaving crafts and entrepreneurial experience established textile works in the Lodz region, and subsequent developments stimulated continued expansion. Protectionism, mechanization, the abolition of customs with Russia proper, railroads, and the rural influx of new labor combined to push Lodz to the fore as a major textile complex before World War I, with a population exceeding 500,000 and production representing about 1 per cent of world textiles.

Kossmann's monograph, a refinement of a dissertation written in 1932, is inaccurately titled in so far as his primary focus is upon the role of the *Lodzer Deutsch* in this *polnische Wirtschaftswunder*. Three opening, short, and uneven chapters present some geographic and historical background prior to industrialization, something of a preface to the two central chapters in which he weaves together the origins of the German influx and their initiative in the formation of new industrial suburbs. Three additional chapters give truncated attention to architectural styles, transport, and the commercial sector developed in the nineteenth century, while the concluding chapter contains demographic analyses.

The specialist will regard Kossmann's study as having some limited value because he has meticulously illustrated the significance of the *Lodzer Deutsch* in the industrialization process. These elements constituted two-thirds of Lodz's population of more than 33,000 in 1864. Thereafter, as Polish rural elements and Jewish commercial activity were drawn into further expansion, the German preponderance faded into a minority of less than 20 per cent of the population by 1911. Although the data, illustrations, and excellent maps are of high quality, the narrow focus leaves a warped perspective of Lodz's industrialization, the nature of which the book's jacket erroneously describes as a striking example of class and ethnic harmony.

University of Kentucky

STANLEY J. ZYZNIEWSKI

EREIGNISSE IN DER UKRAINE, 1914-1922: DEREN BEDEUTUNG UND HISTORISCHE HINTERGRÜNDE. Volume I, STAND DER UKRAINISCHEN FRAGE IN DER ÖSTERREICHISCH-UNGARISCHEN MONARCHIE WÄHREND DES I. WELTKRIEGES—GRÜNDUNG EINES UNABHÄNGIGEN UKRAINISCHEN STAATES—DIE ZEIT DER ZENTRALRADA. By *Theophil Hornykiewicz*. [Publications of the W. K. Lypynsky East European Research Institute, Series I-IV, Volume I.] (Philadelphia: [the Institute.] 1966. Pp. xxxvi, 450. \$12.00.)

BECAUSE Ukrainian national aspirations conflicted with Russian and Polish interests and ambitions before World War I, "the Ukrainian problem" became one of the most controversial issues in Eastern Europe. Its real nature was complicated and obscured by the paucity of scholarly works and by the abundance of misleading literature. The Russians simply dismissed "the Ukrainian idea" as an Austrian or a German conspiracy to weaken the tsarist state, while the Poles in-

terpreted Ukrainian demands for greater autonomy in Galicia as machination by authorities in Vienna to keep Polish influence there in check.

In recent years a number of significant works on the problem have been published, and today no serious student of Eastern Europe subscribes to the simple deductions of earlier years. Much more, however, will have to be written to delineate the real nature of the Ukrainian national movement. The present work is a major step in that direction. This first of a projected four-volume series aims to present "the status of the Ukrainian question in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy during World War I" through "documents which for the most part have hitherto been unavailable." That task is fulfilled admirably.

The documents of this collection, which come from the Staatsarchiv in Vienna and appear in the language in which they were originally written, consist of official reports, memorandums, instructions, and letters. Many of them were written for "official consumption," that is, by and for high Austrian military or political officials. Many, however, were written by Ukrainians—leaders of the "Union for the Freeing of Ukraine"—and were intended to arouse interest in the Ukrainian cause among Austrian officials.

Perhaps because some thirty thousand Ukrainians volunteered to fight the advancing tsarist armies, Austrian military men were receptive to Ukrainian approaches. Austrian political leaders, however, were not so enthusiastic, probably because spokesmen for the "Union" envisaged an independent Ukraine as including large areas of the Dual Monarchy (Bucovina, Galicia, and the Chełm district). Support of the Ukrainian cause, therefore, implied endorsement of the idea of territorial dismemberment of Austria-Hungary.

The material of this collection does not provide all the answers to the Ukrainian problem in the Dual Monarchy during the First World War. It does, however, fill a significant gap, and Professor Hornykiewicz deserves gratitude for a task well done.

Portland State College

BASIL DMYTRYSHYN

MAGYARORSZÁG GAZDASÁGA AZ ELSŐ VILÁGHÁBORÚ UTÁN, 1919–1929 [Hungary's Economy after the First World War, 1919–1929]. By *Iván T. Berend* and *György Ránki*. [Marx Károly Közgazdaságtudományi Egyetem Gazdaságtörténeti Tanszék és Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, Gazdaságtörténeti Értekezések, Number 4.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1966. Pp. 498. Ft. 65.)

THIS attempt to describe the economic history of Hungary from the end of World War I until the advent of the Great Depression has five parts. The first part is a discussion of the unfavorable economic conditions in the country between the defeat of the Communist regime of Béla Kun in 1919 and the beginning of the period of rehabilitation in 1921. The second part analyzes the unsuccessful efforts of the Bethlen government in 1921–1924 to halt inflation and to balance the budget through monetary and fiscal policy measures. The third part is an account of the recovery brought about by the loan extended by the League of Nations in 1924 and by the private capital inflow that followed until the eve of the world financial crisis in 1929. The fourth part contains rather detailed

coverage of Hungary's economic development in the 1920's as reflected by national income statistics and their breakdown into sectoral shares. The final part treats changes in the social structure of the country in reference to the ten-year period.

In their examination of the dismal economic conditions of the postwar years the authors invariably blame the landholding and capitalist classes for creating such conditions, under the protection of the "counterrevolutionary" government. Only passing reference is made to the economic imbalance and the loss of sources of industrial raw materials and of formerly held markets for agricultural products, owing to the country's postwar dismemberment, as potential factors behind the predicament of the early 1920's. Further, they ignore altogether that soaring unemployment and decline in productivity may have been caused by the flight of about 95 per cent of the nation's private capital under the threat of the Kun regime.

Clearly, in their interpretation of historical data, the authors have a vested interest in ascribing all economic and social evils to the dialectics of class warfare, which thus becomes the central theme of their work. While it is undeniable that in postwar Hungary social problems had remained largely unsolved, its over-all economic performance was primarily contingent upon conditions abroad. This view has been amply confirmed by the stabilization and expansion that occurred only after the League's loan, as well as by the relapse that began in 1929 as a result of the Wall Street crash and the fall in the world price of wheat (Hungary's main export).

It is unfortunate that the objectivity and the documentation of the fourth part in appraising the sectoral development of the economy did not carry over to the rest of the book, which suffers from indiscriminate attachment to Marxian method and ideology.

Georgetown University

GEORGE KOPITS

WOJSKOWE ASPEKTY KRYZYSU CZECHOSŁOWACKIEGO 1938 ROKU
[Military Aspects of the 1938 Czechoslovak Crisis]. By *Marian Zgórnia*.
[Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Volume CXXIII. Prace
Historyczne, Part 14.] (Cracow: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
1966. Pp. 163. Zł. 28.)

THIS is a typical doctoral dissertation of the prewar German kind. The introduction in the form of a bibliographical essay and a brief chapter on Nazi Germany's plans of aggression are followed by six sketchy chapters on the military preparedness of the Axis Powers (Germany and Italy) and the "would-be coalition" (Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union) in 1938. Strangely enough, Poland, Hungary, and Rumania are omitted. The author visited no archives outside of Poland; he confined himself to the reports of the Polish military intelligence and to secondary sources. The result is very unsatisfactory. Except for one insignificant reference to the first volume of *La marina italiana nella seconda guerra mondiale*, the eight-page chapter on Italy bears evidence of the use of only one Italian work (G. Santoro, *L'aeronautica italiana nella seconda guerra mondiale*). The chapter on Czechoslovakia is based on

Polish intelligence reports, General Faucher's testimony before the special French parliamentary commission, and a *Denkschrift* of the German OKH. There is a three-page summary in very poor English.

This study concludes that in 1938 Germany was in a less advantageous military position than in 1939, that the West's policy of concessions to Hitler was not justified, and that some strengthening of the British and French Air Forces was not compensation for the loss of the well-armed Czechoslovak ally and of the powerful Red Army.

University of Hawaii

ZYGMUNT J. GASIOROWSKI

JOHN LEDYARD'S JOURNEY THROUGH RUSSIA AND SIBERIA, 1787-1788: THE JOURNAL AND SELECTED LETTERS. Edited with an introduction by *Stephen D. Watrous*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 293. \$6.50.)

JOHN Ledyard's *passion dominante* was travel. Jefferson remarked on the singularity of his character, his fearlessness, enterprise, extravagant imagination. He himself spoke of the "irregularity of my genius." "I never saw such a medley as in me." Desirous of fame, he died, tragically, at the age of thirty-seven, in Cairo, following a fit of anger. Without a vocation, anxious to see the world, he was a "habitual wanderer and walker." He walked in winter from Stockholm through Finland to St. Petersburg; he participated in Captain Cook's voyages; he was "the first American" in Siberia. Jefferson, hoping for Ledyard's continuing across the Pacific and hiking back across the American continent, furthered his plans. Catherine II objected and had him arrested in Irkutsk, perhaps as a security risk, and sent back.

Ledyard's account of Siberia was "too incomplete to answer public expectation." "I write without knowing whether it is of Importance or not." Thousands of miles he covered in a few pages; only during an involuntary stay at Yakutsk did he take time to investigate. Professing "interesting new views about the history of man," he concentrated his attention, unscientifically, on the natives' physiognomy, color, and facial features. He broad-mindedly related these to race, character, and civilization, and he drew analogies between Siberians, American Indians, and Negroes. He had nothing to say about Siberia's institutions, life, and countryside, except for the weather. He was prejudiced: "inhospitable Denmark," "honest Sweden," "churlish Finland." The Russians had "few virtues," "no particle of honesty or honour"; they were "arrant idolaters" and "thieves." Poland had "the poorest Peasantry . . . the poorest men I ever saw." Their domestic animals were "equally wretched." On the other hand, the Jews were "all handsome," especially the Jewesses. And in Prussia, "the Breath of Frederic [is] like a Dew of Heaven." When arriving there from the East with its "Servility, Indolence, Filth, . . . Knavery, Ignorance," he met "Industry, . . . Neatness, . . . good manners, Intelligence, . . . and above all Honesty."

The editor, desirous to make the publication worth while—we have many writings on Ledyard, among them two volumes by Jared Sparks (1828)—includes not only the *Journal* but also letters, correspondence, and reports pertaining

to Ledyard's Siberian trip. He provides a scholarly introduction and needed annotations; some additional identifying footnotes would have been desirable. Occasionally an error slipped in, and a few statements can be challenged, but the account holds our attention and provides interesting side lights on American and Siberian affairs, as well as on a remarkable personality.

University of Delaware

WALTHER KIRCHNER

CENTRAL ASIANS UNDER RUSSIAN RULE: A STUDY IN CULTURE CHANGE. By *Elizabeth E. Bacon*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 273. \$6.50.)

UNLIKE several scholars who have previously written books on Soviet Central Asia, Miss Bacon studies the indigenous cultures, Turkic-speaking except for the Iranian Tajiks, and how they have responded to Russian rule. She herself observed them for a time in 1934; she also uses reports of other observers and scholarly studies in Russian, French, German, and English. No Turkic materials are cited, but she explains a number of Turkic terms and comments on linguistic problems that have arisen out of relationships with Persian, Arabic, and Russian languages and cultures.

Much of the book deals with the pastoral nomads (Kazaks, Kirghiz, Kara-Kalpaks, and Turkomans) and settled oasis peoples ("Sarts," or Tajiks and Uzbeks) in turn by periods: prior to the Russian conquest in the mid-nineteenth century, under tsarist rule, and after 1917. The closing chapters treat "Russian Influence on Central Asian Languages" and "Central Asian Cultures as of 1965." There are notes, bibliography, index, twelve illustrations, and two maps.

Her story is full of ironies and curiosities. The Kazaks were converted to Islam as the result of a misapprehension by Catherine the Great that they were Muslims already; by their abolition of slavery the Russians nearly ruined the Turkomans, in whose culture it had played an important role; the Soviet policy of treating pre-Islamic religious elements as part of Islam has had a tendency to strengthen Islam as well as Central Asian resistance to Sovietization. The tsars did not seek to destroy the traditional cultures. Bacon is far too categorical when she writes that tsarism's "ultimate goal was Russianization." The Russian impact was not, however, always the same as the intention. For example, the Kara-Kalpaks were classified as nomads in order to protect them, but they still suffered through inability to share in new property rights. Since 1917 the Soviets have fought hard against Islam and pastoral nomadism; thus far they have been defeated by both. In Central Asia as elsewhere, what a government wants is one thing, and what happens is another. The book is chiefly useful for understanding what has happened during the last century, especially to the customs and habits of daily living. The author has made scant effort to use analytical categories to characterize the process of culture change she has studied, but she has organized much detailed information clearly and well.

University of Washington

DONALD W. TREADGOLD

MIKHAIL N. KATKOV: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY, 1818-1887. By *Martin Katz*. [Studies in European History, Number 6.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1966. Pp. 195. 24 gls.)

WITHIN limits imposed by Russia's social and political circumstances, Mikhail N. Katkov played a role similar to that of Girardin, Bennett, and Lord Northcliffe: he helped to create the mass circulation press in Russia and won for it a new social and political role. As a political journalist Katkov is best remembered for his intense nationalism, especially his virulent Polonophobia, his advocacy of the Franco-Russian alliance, his shrill demand for curbing the autonomy of universities and the teaching of natural sciences in schools, and for his strident reactions to most social and administrative problems of the reign of Alexander II. Katkov, like his more recent American counterparts Hearst and Luce, did not arrive at political ideas, social programs, and moral judgments through reflection and discursive analysis even though he had had formal philosophical training and began his career as a university lecturer; they were rather visceral reactions to specific events and emotional assessments of the cultural and moral condition of his times.

For this reason Mr. Katz's concentration, in spite of the subtitle, on an analysis of the basic ideas of Katkov seems misguided; it isolates Katkov's political attitudes and involvements from their historical context and fails to clarify them. True, even the limited task of cataloguing Katkov's notions might have been rewarding had Katz displayed greater analytical sophistication and historical understanding. But he merely juggles about with poorly defined and arbitrary categories, trying to fit his ill-shaped stones into prefabricated structures, as in his contradictory and confusing treatment of Katkov's "romanticism," "Westernism," liberalism, conservatism, and the useless conclusion that Katkov was a forerunner of Stolypin. In his vain efforts at finding in Katkov's writings a concrete and reasonably consistent system of ideas, Katz does not realize that he is dealing with emotions and not ideas. He succeeds best when treating Katkov's anti-Polish campaign, for here a visceral chauvinism that became an all-encompassing attack on Russian progressive and radical public opinion is recognized.

We learn nothing about the truly significant activities of Katkov as editor, publisher, journalist, molder of public opinion and of culture. The book is also poorly organized. The uninitiated is not given adequate background explanation, while the specialist looks in vain for clear analysis, coherent story, or new information. Katkov's biography, political and intellectual, remains to be written.

Columbia University

MARC RAEFF

POLITISCHE SOZIOLOGIE IM ZARISTISCHEN RUSSLAND. By *Klaus von Beyme*. [Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen, Series 4. Frankfurter Abhandlungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte, Number 1.] (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. 1965. Pp. 166. DM 20.)

By the middle of the nineteenth century European thought had synthesized the analytical methodology of eighteenth-century rationalism with a genetic mode to create a philosophical outlook that could claim the objective sciences as its model while explaining human history in normative terms. Russian intellectual develop-

ment followed this pattern and drew upon it, and in the later years of the nineteenth century the social sciences, with their immediate applicability to the political world, became the center of the new approach.

Klaus von Beyme has elected to study political sociology as one major theme in the new intellectual order, but he presents his work as something more than a dissection of academic political theory. "Die Bedeutung der russischer Soziologie für diese Arbeit," he writes in his prefatory statement, "liegt nicht nur im Eigenwert der Theorien, sondern auch in ihrem Einfluss auf die Bildung eines demokratischen Consensus." This does not mean that Russian political sociology developed an internally consistent ideology, but rather that over a period of more than half a century a common core of democratizing attitudes and conclusions emerged from contradictory theses. Two major philosophical orientations succeeded one another. The first, shaped in the positivist tradition, showed as well the direct influence of evolutionary thought, while the second marked a return to philosophical idealism and was epitomized in the Neo-Kantian movement. Neither orientation was monolithic, however, and Positivism penetrated the new idealism, while a continuing commitment to the mir as well as the religious interpretation of social ethics revealed the persistence of indigenous ideas. The political consensus that resulted formed a middle position between revolutionary totalitarianism and autocracy, a position that emphasized the rule of law and controlled or limited popular participation in governmental affairs, though stopping short of a republic. Von Beyme builds his arguments on a thorough analysis of individual thinkers ranging from Kovalevskii, Chicherin, Kistiakovskii, and Kareev to Roberly, P. B. Struve, Berdyaev, and Miliukov. The result is a rich fabric of ideas in which particular contributions may be seen in context, while the over-all pattern remains clear and consistent. This is not to say that this book will stand unchallenged, but rather to affirm that the author has produced a solid, provocative, and carefully reasoned contribution to the history of Russian thought and politics.

University of Missouri

RODERICK E. MCGREW

THE FORMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN REPUBLIC. By *Oleh Semenovych Pidhainy*. Preface by *M. Mladenovic*. [The Ukrainian Republic in the Great East-European Revolution, Volume I.] (Toronto: New Review Books. 1966. Pp. 685. \$10.75.)

In this work the author describes how the Ukrainian nation became a state in 1917-1918, how its leaders created a central government, declared its sovereign independence, and received recognition of this new status from France, Great Britain, the Central Powers, and, eventually, from Lenin's Bolsheviks.

Proving that the Ukrainian National Republic did receive recognition as a sovereign nation is Pidhainy's main interest. This issue has profound significance for millions of *émigré* Ukrainian nationalists scattered around the world who argue today that the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine is a captive nation held within the Soviet Union by force despite persuasive historical evidence that it should be free. While Professor Pidhainy scrupulously avoids enmeshing himself in the political overtones of this issue, he concludes his book with the statement that by early 1918 the Ukrainian National Republic had "consolidated its

sovereignty, had completed its period of formation and entered as an equal into the world community of states." The fallacy of this conclusion lies in its legalistic failure to give adequate attention to the realities of the Ukrainian situation in 1918. In February, driven from all the great Ukrainian cities by Russian Bolshevik troops, the government of the National Republic signed a separate peace treaty with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk and returned to Kiev supported by German military authority. In other words, even as Pidhainy's "equality" was achieved, the sovereign state became what would be called, in other countries and times, a puppet government. And though the fortunes of the National Republic rose and fell repeatedly thereafter, the Ukraine soon became a dependent part of a Soviet federation organized by Moscow. Recognition, whether *de facto* or *de jure*, does not make a nation an equal in the community of nations; there must also be the ability and the good luck to survive as an independent state. The National Republic lacked this ability, and it had no luck at all.

Pidhainy's work is exhaustive, detailed, and carefully documented. In some sections he employs hitherto unused German archives; in others he has usefully re-examined well-known sources. New and valuable detail is provided by his analyses of the processes of recognition, the Ukrainians' negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, and the brutal regime established at Kiev by Mikhail Muraviov, the Social Revolutionary commander of Bolshevik forces. It is unfortunate that this work is marred throughout by careless and ungrammatical writing.

Michigan State University

ARTHUR E. ADAMS

ISTORIIA VELIKOI OTECHESTVENNOI VOINY SOVETSKOGO SOI-
UZA, 1941-1945 [The History of the Great Fatherland War of the Soviet
Union, 1941-1945]. Volume VI, ITOGI VELIKOI OTECHESTVENNOI
VOINY [The Results of the Great Fatherland War]. (Moscow: Military
Publishing House of the Ministry of Defense of the USSR. 1965. Pp. 615.)

THIS sixth and final volume of the official Soviet history of the war resembles a political tract more than a work of scholarship. Characterized by a high level of generalization and abstraction, the study summarizes most of what has been written about the war in the Soviet Union over the past decade. The result is terribly dull and amazingly uninformative. The nation, the party, and the army share the laurels, but few leading individuals are singled out. Stalin and Beria are blamed for all the mistakes including extensive damage to Soviet industry caused by the purges of the late 1930's. Molotov and Malenkov are nowhere mentioned, despite their membership in GOKO. Military victories, organization of the defense of Leningrad, and so forth are attributed to leading party cadres and the general staff. Occasionally we catch a glimpse of administrative problems, the relation of GOKO to the general staff, or the reorganization of tactical units, but the broader implications of these relationships are never made explicit. A long chapter on the partisans de-emphasizes the spontaneous and nationalist character of the early bands and virtually ignores anti-Soviet and anarchistic movements. In one breath the Western Powers are denounced for having sought to prolong the agony of the Russian people, and in another they are reluctantly

credited with having provided 12 per cent of all Soviet aircraft, 10 per cent of the tanks, over 400,000 vehicles, and 2,500,000 tons of oil products.

More than two hundred pages are devoted to bibliography, the most useful part of the book, but the sections on American and French scholarship are woefully incomplete. The entire six-volume collection represents a much more blatantly nationalistic and uncritical attitude than some of the more important monographs on separate aspects of the conflict written by Soviet scholars.

University of Pennsylvania

ALFRED J. RIEBER

Africa

BOSTON UNIVERSITY PAPERS ON AFRICA. Volume II, AFRICAN HISTORY. Edited by *Jeffrey Butler*. (Boston: Boston University Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 337. \$7.25.)

THIS volume is the second product of the Boston University Seminars on African History, and, despite an occasional petty slip, the editor has put the collection of disparate papers together with thoughtful care and greater precision than characterized Volume I.

Substantively, the essays are well researched, well written, and well worth the consideration of all historians of Africa. Creighton Gabel's "Prehistoric Populations of Africa" is refreshing reading for historians often needlessly confused by the pedantic, racial typologies bantered about by their colleagues in the social sciences. By tough, perceptive examination Gabel refreshingly lays before the historian what is and what is not known about early man in Africa and what is myth and what is reality. Of the two essays by Ronald Cohen that follow, the first, "The Bornu King Lists," will remain an indispensable guide to present and future historians of that kingdom. In analyzing what was fragmentary, questionable, and confusing, Cohen has provided not only useful comparisons of king-lists but a demonstration of the sophisticated analytical techniques now employed in the search for the African past. Although Cohen's second essay, "The Dynamics of Feudalism in Bornu," attempts to prove that "fragmentation or centralization in feudal government is related to the manner in which succession disputes can be settled," he actually demonstrates the difficulties of using European models to discuss African "feudalism." Norman Bennett follows with another of his vignettes on East African history, and John D. Hargreaves' "The Tokolor Empire of Ségou and Its Relations with the French" raises questions rather than probing for answers. Hollis R. Lynch writes with verve and style in an excellent review of Pan-Negro nationalism in the New World and its failure, a subject already familiar to specialists. An Ethiopian trilogy is next, composed of two well-researched essays by Richard Pankhurst on foreigners in Ethiopia, useful to students of Ethiopia but with few wider conclusions, and a history of Anglo-Ethiopian negotiations, 1897-1914, over Ethiopia's southern frontier, which Harold Marcus offers as an example of Menelik's expansionist policies. Roger Louis' excellent analysis of the Congo Reform Movement of 1905-1908 should have included a brief reference to Charles Diamond, Morel's most formidable journalist opponent, and to the importance of the Bahr el Ghazal dispute in

Britain's Congo policy. Wolfe W. Schmokel concludes the volume with a hard-headed assessment of the Liberian independence crisis of 1929-1934, in a country that all agree has not and will probably never receive "its fair share of attention."

The African Studies Program at Boston University is to be complimented for its support of the seminars on African history and the publication of their papers. It is to be hoped that the alteration of the title of Volume I (*Boston University Papers in African History*) to *Boston University Papers on Africa*, Volume II, *African History*, is not the prelude to the partition of African history among the imperialist social sciences.

University of California, Santa Barbara

ROBERT O. COLLINS

FRANCE AND ALGERIA: THE PROBLEM OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL REFORM, 1870-1920. By *Vincent Confer*. ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 148. \$5.00.)

THE history of the French colonial effort in Algeria is rather drab. A military beginning and a military ending seem only to be separated by decades of hesitation, confusion, and ineffective compromise. Yet the French were conscious of the shortcomings of their Algerian policy and not infrequently considered feasible alternatives before nationalism became an ineluctable force. In the years clustered around 1900 debate was particularly lively, solutions proposed, numerous. This debate and its significance provide the theme of Professor Confer's short and straightforward study.

With painstaking care Confer reviews and criticizes the arguments offered by the Algerian reformers of the period, reformers who were divisible into two groups: those proposing social and economic reform, and those also proposing somewhat radical political reform in the sense of greater Algerian participation in the French-established electoral processes. In truth, much was said, much was proposed, but actual reform was minimal. The intransigent opposition of the *colons* in Algeria greatly confounded and vitiated the results, and the vacillations of the French governments added to this condition. The outstanding reform, that embodied in the Jonnart Law of 1919, introduced the dubious principle of a double electoral college, an institution that further bifurcated the Franco-Algerian community.

One concludes from Confer's analysis that the years of the second decade of the new century, particularly 1919, were something of a turning point when history failed to turn. The French might have effected changes that would have inspired confidence in the new generation of Algerians coming into their political maturity, and a more forceful government at home might ably have handled the obstreperous *colons*. In short, there was an opportunity for the French to compensate for weaknesses and disadvantages of previous policy.

France and Algeria has the value of sharply focusing our attention on the wordy debate over the Algerian question in these years of transition and indecision, years too often forgotten in light of the more dramatic decades that were to follow.

Grinnell College

RAYMOND F. BETTS

ALGERIA: A REVOLUTION THAT FAILED. By *Arslan Humbaraci*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966. Pp. xiii, 308. \$7.50.)

No people struggled more desperately for their independence in the post-1945 world than the Algerians. The intelligence and the courage of Algerian revolutionaries, ranging from the elite French *lycée* and university graduates to the young freedom fighters of the ALN, commanded the respect of practically everyone, including the many French scholars and journalists who observed them. When independence came, after the impressive self-control of the Muslim population faced with the wanton dead-end violence of the Secret Army, hope ran high that the new state would transfer its revolutionary devotion to the more prosaic task of development. Events soon proved this hope to be unrealistic.

The enormous gap between the objectives of the revolution and the ability of the new leadership to move toward these targets is the theme of Arslan Humbaraci's outstanding book. Humbaraci covered the North African area for *The Economist* and *The Observer* with utter devotion, and both his research and insights bear the imprint of the professional. There is no account in English or French that shows more clearly or more precisely how the Algerian revolution has thus far failed to advance much beyond that dearly bought independence. Algeria's failure must be the failure of leadership. No one expected a miracle from a people whose illiteracy was above 90 per cent in 1954.

Ben Bella surely captivated the imagination of many Algerians, but he lacked the talents necessary to launch his poorly educated nation toward the high goals enunciated at Soummam Valley or later in Tripoli. Obviously those goals were an extremely hard target for the people to shoot at, as were the goals of the American Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, or the Atlantic Charter. Friendly observers like Humbaraci know that such revolutionary aims are impossible to realize in a generation. What they object to is the inaction in even starting toward these goals, or, put another way, to their sacrifice upon the altar of political expediency or downright stupidity. Ben Bella finally succumbed politically to his own incompetence and to the obvious fact that he owed his presidency to the army whose chieftain, Boumedienne, he no longer satisfied.

This excellent, fair-minded book should prove helpful to students of revolution, to persons interested in the third world, and even to policy makers in world capitals, because the author relates Algeria to Cuba and Vietnam.

Oakland University

RICHARD M. BRACE

THE REVOLUTION IN EGYPT'S ECONOMIC SYSTEM: FROM PRIVATE ENTERPRISE TO SOCIALISM, 1952-1965. By *Patrick O'Brien*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966. Pp. xvi, 354. \$8.80.)

ACCORDING to most contemporary accounts, Egypt's revolutionary spirit is on the wane. Its goal of rapid economic development remains distant; its ruling elite has done little to share political authority with the people. Disillusionment with the regime has begun to appear and has caused certain individuals, mainly Left-wing Egyptians, to question the nature of the revolution itself. A new and important study of the changes in the Egyptian economic system since 1952 by Patrick

O'Brien will undoubtedly lend weight to this growing body of revisionist literature. The author questions both the socialist aspirations of the Nasser regime and the social content of its reforms. In arriving at these conclusions, O'Brien distinguishes three phases in the development of Egypt's economic system. From 1952 to 1956 the Free Officers allowed major aspects of the economy to run much as before the political revolution of 1952. A system of free enterprise with some governmental regulation prevailed. The regime's concern at the time was with political goals, most notably terminating Britain's presence in Egypt. The leaders generally lacked preconceived ideas of economic organization, although they did initiate the well-known land expropriation and redistribution scheme. Following the Suez crisis of 1956 the military government turned its attention more fully to economic matters. A phase of guided capitalism ensued, but was followed in 1960 by the third stage, which O'Brien calls "the demise of private enterprise" and the establishment of a socialist economic system.

The author particularly tries to explain why these changes were engineered in the economic system. They did not occur, he argues, for ideological reasons. The military rulers were not full-blown socialists at the time they came to power. Rather they were pragmatists who keenly wanted rapid economic growth, with emphasis upon industrialization, and found that the only effective way to move in this direction was through state controls and planning. Pursuing this argument, the author questions the social content of Egyptian economic changes. Although great disparities in wealth have been removed, the masses have been little affected by economic and social legislation. The beneficiaries have been a minority: landowning peasants, employees of large industrial firms, and the urban middle class.

It is unfortunate to have to conclude this review by noting that the book is exceedingly repetitious. Faulty organization is largely responsible. The author has tried to divide the book into chronological and analytical sections, but the material in both sections overlaps far too frequently.

Princeton University

ROBERT L. TIGNOR

ITALIAN COLONIALISM IN SOMALIA. By *Robert L. Hess*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 234. \$7.95.)

PROFESSOR Hess's well-organized and tightly written monograph closes one of the historiographical gaps in the study of European imperialisms and colonialisms in Africa. In the narrow sense, the book provides an excellent descriptive exegesis of Italian imperial activities along the Somali coast from the mid-nineteenth century until the recent independence of Somalia. In a broader sense, however, the author does not use the opportunity to speculate about the nature of Somali reactions to the different faces of Italian colonialism; nor does he completely assess the Italian legacy in government and culture. Hess's caution in these areas is, however, reasonable; his analysis is perforce limited by the official nature of much of his original materials. Furthermore, Italian colonial policies were almost always vague because Rome never really knew what to do with Somalia; the segmentary nature of Somali pastoral society mitigated against effective Italian administration; missionary interest in Somalia was limited; relatively few Europeans lived

in the dreary colony; few social scientists have worked in Somalia; and much of the available research has inevitably been biased.

Italian imperialism in Somalia seems to have been based on a scheme by Pasquale Mancini, the Foreign Minister in 1885, whose ideas centered around the possession of Massawah. "Once established in that port, the Italians would bar further French advances along the Red Sea coast and control that Ethiopian outlet to the sea. Occupation of the Eritrean coast would then enable Italy to join with Britain in the troubled Sudan. To the East and the South, the occupation of Harrar and Somalia would complete a pincer movement that would enclose Ethiopia and permit its peaceful penetration." Ethiopia was, therefore, the Italian Canaan, but no amount of wandering in the deserts of Somalia would, in the last analysis, bring the Italians to the promised land. Their visions were always unreal, and their Moses was a rogue. Dogged by the dream of the wealth of Ethiopia, Italian Somalia suffered from a lack of funds and poor administration, and, from Mancini to Mussolini, there was practically no progress in education and social development. The Italians did little to undermine traditional tribal institutions or to encourage political awareness.

When, however, Italy was given a ten-year colonial reprieve in 1950 by the United Nations, the government made a *volte-face* and worked effectively to prepare Somalia for independence. The story of Italy in Africa ended, therefore, on a positive note, even if, for most of the colonial period, Rome gave its colony little direction, affection, and understanding. Hess has admirably described the history of an imperial power that never really shouldered, nor understood, its colonial responsibilities.

Howard University

HAROLD G. MARCUS

AFRICAN TRIBES AND EUROPEAN AGENCIES: COLONIALISM AND HUMANITARIANISM IN BRITISH SOUTH AND EAST AFRICA 1870-1895. By *Ake Holmberg*. [Studia Historica Gothoburgensia, Number 6. Scandinavian University Books.] ([Göteborg:] Akademiförlaget. 1966. Pp. 409. Sw. kr. 48.)

THIS monograph adds a much-needed chapter to the history of British penetration into Southern and Eastern Africa during the late nineteenth century. The general over-all "imperial" view always speaks of the irritating commitments made by the "man on the spot," but without making very clear exactly what the man was thinking about that spot. Holmberg looks at imperial expansion through the eyes of the empire builders, rather than through the distant telescope of Whitehall. The results are quite astonishing in their revelations of rivalries, frictions, doubts, and hesitations on the part of empire builders from Rhodes through Lugard and Johnston. The intense pragmatism of these men often gives the impression of almost hand-to-mouth policies and a "feeling out" of what the imperial government would tolerate. Even a Rhodes had to move with circumspection, and theocratic missionary "states" (for such they were in Nyasaland) found the home bodies often cool.

What stands out about the men in the field is their own faith in imperialism as a positive "good," and the author misses the point here when he somehow

ascribes ulterior motives to them. None of the empire builders made money from their ventures; nor did they think that they would. All wanted governmental take-over of their ventures, but they found Liberals and Conservatives equally doubtful about Uganda, Nyasaland, and Matabeleland. There is also insufficient documentation relative to European government rivalries, with governments forced into competition by local pressure groups in Germany and France, quite as much as in Great Britain.

Finally, there is insufficient recognition of the fact that the African ventures by Europeans were in effect into power vacuums. It would be interesting to have a history of imperial thrusts from the viewpoint of Lobengula, even as it would be to have the comments of Montezuma.

University of Southern California

COLIN RHYS LOVELL

Asia and the East

INDO-AFGHAN RELATIONS, 1880-1900. By *Ram Sagar Rastogi*. (Lucknow: Nav-Jyoti Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 256. Rs. 16.50.)

IN Victorian India the British northwest frontier problem was a function of Russia's imperialist drive through Central Asia. John Lawrence and Canning thought it best to make a front of the old Sikh line while standing aloof from Afghan internal affairs and recognizing the *de facto* Emir. Lawrence, however, was willing to cross the border to discipline raiding tribesmen who were only nominally under the control of Kabul, but not to threaten Afghan autonomy. Lord Lytton, on the other hand, hoped to acquire a "scientific" frontier and to make Afghanistan a British buffer state. Dr. Rastogi's account covers relations between India and Afghanistan in the last two decades of the century, showing first how the Russo-Afghan border hardened, and then how the Indo-Afghan border developed.

Perhaps the best chapter is the one on the Durand boundary. The Durand line of 1893, as the author points out, temporarily pacified the frontier between India and Afghanistan. But it contained the seeds of many future problems. It was not based on sound topographic data and left some tribes on both sides of the border. Rastogi suggests that it should have been a tripartite agreement, including the tribesmen. These faults resulted in a renewed "forward" policy when the British had to reach over the line to keep the peace. The author hints that a proper "scientific" line would have served British interests well, but he does not really grapple with the problem of the "stationary" versus the "forward" policy.

Almost all the citations in this study are from British sources: government documents, the records of the Indian administration, memoirs of the sahibs, contemporary newspapers in English, and mostly from the *Proceedings* of the Foreign Department. Are there no Afghan documents in Persian that could illuminate the problem, to say nothing of Russian archival material?

Rastogi's style is straightforward and clear with only a few lapses. Sir Harry and Sir Peter would be amused to see themselves referred to as "Sir Lumsden," and Sir Frederick somewhat startled to find himself "Sir Roberts." In short, this

is a fairly routine performance with occasional analytical insights. The reader who seeks primarily an authoritative, factual statement will not be disappointed.

Los Angeles Valley College

MARK NAIDIS

TS'AO YIN AND THE K'ANG-HSI EMPEROR, BONDSERVANT AND MASTER. By *Jonathan D. Spence*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 85.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 329. \$7.50.)

It is easy to praise this book for tackling an understudied century of Chinese history. But it is also a complex, intelligent work. Very little of the domestic side of the K'ang-hsi reign (1661-1722) remains untouched, or indeed unprobed, as Spence relates his biography of Ts'ao Yin (the centerpiece of five generations of a family's rise and fall) to Ch'ing institutions. What it meant to be textile commissioner, salt censor, imperial host, imperial informant, general member of the upper class—all of this, in all its industrial, financial, administrative, and cultural implications—comes to life.

Spence has mastered a formidable number and variety of sources. Translations and felicitous paraphrase ("crops and robbers," for example, as the short version of subjects of one memorial) are smoothly woven into the text. With rare virtuosity the author shows both aesthetic responsiveness, as in his discussion of the printing of the *Complete T'ang Poems*, and analytical command of such processes as the purchase of copper and the distribution of rice. This is exactly the combination of talent and taste that the story requires, for the Ts'aos come in with the Manchu conquest, in grandfather's day, and vanish like a dream, in the grandson's Proustean masterpiece, *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. Spence is as sensitive and perceptive about the *Dream* (and its connection with real life) as he is sound and hard about the Manchu system of banners.

The theoretical contribution lies in the treatment of the Ts'ao's bond servant status, as Chinese bound to the Ch'ing service before the Manchu conquest. Spence's analysis confirms perceptions of the monarch's need, throughout imperial Chinese history, for a private coterie because of tension between the throne and its regular official-collaborators. What eunuchs had been for the Ming (or against the Ming eventually), bannermen were for the Ch'ing, especially Chinese bannermen, and bond servants, at the beginning, when the Manchus were still not entirely confident or competent, the ordinary Chinese not entirely trustworthy, and the eunuchs held in check. For the Chinese bond servants, Spence shows subtly how "at some indeterminate point servility became prestige." With equal subtlety he shows the convergence, in early Ch'ing, of "Sinifying" Manchus and "Manchufying" Chinese. And here, despite his surface emphasis on Chinese bond servants, he points up the essentially Manchu character (broadly conceived) of the Ch'ing's functional equivalent of eunuch personal bureaucracies. For he acknowledges, in discussing Liang-huai salt censors, that the term "Manchu" referred both to Manchus and to Chinese bond servants in official listings. As Manchus became more Chinese, the use of Chinese bond servants trailed off, indicating that such use was primarily for technical reasons under early postconquest conditions. Manchus, for all their ultimate Chineseness (accepted with confidence by K'ang-hsi from the late 1680's), remained Manchus, natural king's

men, kept and keeping. Their Chineseness, when it came, made them qualified to capitalize on their potential for preferment, a potential yielded by a dynasty not meaning, perhaps, to be partial, but needing its private coterie. And who could staff it better (once they *could* staff it) than men, however Chinese, who shared with the throne some Manchu vulnerability, making their loyalty to *their* emperor—theirs in a double sense—assured?

University of California, Berkeley

JOSEPH R. LEVENSON

CHINESE WARLORD: THE CAREER OF FENG YÜ-HSIANG. By *James E. Sheridan*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 386. \$10.00.)

THIS well-written, carefully organized biography traces the colorful "Christian General" in almost every public move and utterance from about 1896 to his death in 1948. It analyzes the essence of "warlordism." It also provides a firm pattern of events for a chaotic era—no mean achievement. In addition to Feng's voluminous writings and other Chinese materials, Mr. Sheridan makes good use of American missionary letters and consular reports as well as his own interviews. Japanese sources suggest that Feng's famous double-crossing of Wu P'ei-fu, when he seized Peking in 1924, was "actively supported, probably financed, and perhaps even conceived" by Japanese in China. Feng's complex relations with his rivals and with foreign missionaries and Christianity, the Soviet Union, the Kuomintang, and Chiang Kai-shek, are worked out clearly and in detail.

Sheridan sees warlordism emerging from late Ch'ing militarism and "personal armies" loyal to their commanders (the usual term "regionalism" seems to me confusing; personal armies moved about from region to region). He disregards the effect of the end of the monarchy in 1912 (this actually would require research into the Ch'ing polity as much as into warlordism). Feng rose from the illiterate coolie ranks, a big, able, ambitious fellow, recruiting his first battalion at the age of thirty in 1912. From 1914 he had an independent command and was a baptized Methodist. Stationed in seven provinces in the next eight years, always and everywhere he recruited and trained his troops. To build this army he used all sorts of schools, strenuous exercises, literacy classes, vocational training, patriotic indoctrination, Christian prayer (by 1924 half his thirty thousand men and four-fifths of his officers were Christian converts), hymns, training songs, plays, recreation clubs, frequent inspections, strict military justice, and a cult of concern for the common people. In his area he kept strict order, banned opium, gambling, and prostitution, built roads, planted trees, opened schools and athletic fields, killed flies, and so demonstrated his essentially Confucian belief that good government flows from the ruler's virtue. He began a "New Life Movement" in 1927. Yet, for all his moral reformism, "Feng never offered the public a clear political program." Bidding for power in the late 1920's, he identified himself with the national interest and taxed the people unmercifully; in the end "he was prepared to do anything to save the country and the people, even if it killed them." He never pursued class revolution or mass political organization, and history passed him by.

Harvard University

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

MAO TSE-TUNG IN OPPOSITION, 1927-1935. By *John E. Rue*. With the assistance of *S. R. Rue*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. 1966. Pp. viii, 387. \$10.00.)

THIS volume is a study of Mao Tse-tung in opposition within the Communist party and not of his participation in the struggle between the Chinese Communist party and the Kuomintang. It thus deals with Mao in opposition to the changing lines set mainly by the Comintern for the Chinese Communist party as well as his not infrequent opposition to the Chinese leadership itself. The appended bibliography of Chinese sources, Chinese Communist party documents, and Western-language studies and the care with which they, including Mao's rewriting of party history, are used, as shown in the extensive documentation of the study, serve to give the reader confidence in the author's conclusions.

Of current significance is Dr. Rue's conclusion that "The Maoist cult—the worship of Mao's ideology—grew out of a reaction to the doctrinaire, mechanical imposition of Stalin's formulas in revolutionary China." But the continuing importance of the book for the historian lies in Rue's detailed account of Mao's struggle to establish a position in a party intolerant of difference of opinion.

In the summarization of Mao's early party career, and of the part he played in the first united front period, he is characterized as a "Non-Bolshevik Revolutionary" who "though an active revolutionary throughout the 1920's, was much too busy to master the fundamental Marxist categories. He was a revolutionary before he became a Communist. A natural leader of men, he found it difficult to subordinate himself to the strict party discipline inherent in a Leninist democratic centralist regime." Thus, until he became the accepted party leader his role was that of an oppositionist within the party, especially as he began to develop his own independent lines in the course of the prolonged struggle in the Chin-kang Mountains against what the author characterizes as the "extreme left line adopted by the Central Committee Plenum of November 1927—the Plenum that expelled him from the Central Committee, the Hunan Provincial Committee, and the Front Committee." This meant opposition to Li Li-san and his successors who attempted to impose Stalinist lines on the party. From this opposition Mao emerged into leadership only after the Tsun-yi Conference, thereafter turning what had been flight into the successful Long March. The author thus finds Tsun-yi to have been "the great turning point in Mao's career." Rue's volume is a careful analysis of Mao's rise to the leadership of the Chinese Communist party.

University of Cincinnati

HAROLD M. VINACKE

ANCIENT HISTORIANS OF INDIA: A STUDY IN HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES. By *Vishwambhar Sharan Pathak*. (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1966. Pp. xv, 184. \$4.00.)

WERE there historians in ancient India? Was there even a sense of history in the numerous myths, legends, and tales of the gods and kings that abound in the source material available to us? We have to face such questions because privately and sometimes even publicly strong disagreements arise on these issues. Historians in this country, if they discuss the question at all, usually state that no

ancient Indian text can be properly classified as historical if for no other reason than its patent unreliability.

Dr. Pathak convincingly argues that if we are going to understand the historical traditions of these texts it must be according to the framework of what *their* authors considered history and not our own twentieth-century criteria. Indeed, he argues that unless we do this we shall miss not only an important historical perspective but also significant historical information. But what were ancient Indian historical perspectives and traditions? In this original contribution to Indian historiography, Pathak makes several viable suggestions. Since history is concerned with reality, he distinguishes the Indian philosophical concept of *satyam*, or absolute reality which is beyond change, and *nāma-rūpa*, name and form, which is constantly subject to change. Changes in relative reality are to be understood in terms of cause and effect. With this metaphysical perspective, history becomes essentially the sequence of change. While Time (*kāla*) is necessary for change, history, in this perspective, focuses not on the chronological sequence of time but rather on the sequence of change.

There is an element of brilliance in the analysis with which Pathak examines the *Harshacharita*, the *Viṣṇuśekhara*, the *Viṣṇuśekhara*, and the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya*. These texts are used as case studies to illustrate the formula that Pathak believes was involved in constructing historical narratives, especially those involving kings. The achievement of royal glory invariably developed, he suggests, in five stages: the beginning, the efforts, the hope of achieving the end, the certainty of achievement, and the achievement. This formula of ordered sequence fits many legends that we have remarkably well. The tendency of new aristocracies to identify themselves with the best traditions of the ancient *kṣatriya* order and consequently to depict the king as a probable or real incarnation of heroic figures—gods or men—is also well documented. With this perspective, we may more easily understand why there is often a historical thrust of divine victory over demonic forces.

The book contains remarkably few factual errors. It is one of the most original, provocative, and welcome contributions to the study of Indian history to appear in recent years.

University of Windsor

JOHN W. SPELLMAN

INDIAN ARMY THROUGH THE AGES. By *Gautam Sharma*. (Bombay: Allied Publishers Private, Ltd. 1966. Pp. 311. Rs. 26.50.)

MILITARY history is one of the less explored branches of Indian historiography. Several competently written monographs discussing some of the decisive battles do exist; there is also considerable material dealing with military organization through various ages scattered through numerous works on Indian history. There were few Indian military historians, if any, who were professional military men. Much of their discussion, therefore, was strictly of a theoretical genre. Gautam Sharma has served in the Indian Army for over twenty years, and his interest in the military history of India has resulted in an interesting survey of Indian organization and strategy through the ages.

The author is not an academic historian, and his approach to the subject is

more descriptive than analytical. Most of his material is gathered from secondary sources, and the citations, in many cases, are defective. The bibliography is ambitious but uncritical, and the index is of limited utility. These technical deficiencies do not, however, detract from the interest of the book. The narrative is in seven chapters: the first five deal with the development of Indian armies through the ancient, Sultanate, Mogul, Maratha, and Sikh periods; the last two describe British contributions to Indian military history. The material is organized under three broad categories—war as a policy of the state, the organization, training, and equipment of the armies, and the strategies followed in the major battles that shaped the course of Indian history. The account is brought up to date with the inclusion of sections on the Indian Army since independence. It is understandable why the author does not discuss the new relationships between civil authority and military leadership and the course of the brief war against the Communist Chinese on the Himalayan frontiers in 1962 since such information is still “classified,” and as a military career officer he is not expected to express opinions on “political” subjects. The author’s attempt at writing a handy volume containing relevant material gathered from a wide range of sources is to be commended. The work will prove useful as a convenient account of the long chronicle of India’s efforts in the pursuit of the theory and practice of war.

Wake Forest College

B. G. GOKHALE

THE MUGHAL NOBILITY UNDER AURANGZEB. By *M. Athar Ali*. (New York: Asia Publishing House for the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1966. Pp. x, 294. \$7.75.)

THIS study, an extension of the author’s Ph.D. thesis at Aligarh Muslim University, analyzes the nature of Mogul nobility and the changes that developed under Aurangzeb in their actual status—organization and traditions—during each of the two halves of his reign.

For the period from 1658 to 1678 M. Athar Ali has identified 486 *mansabdars* who held commands of at least 1000, and 575 who held similar commands from 1679 to 1707. In an appendix he has listed each of these *mansabdars* by name and title, highest rank held, country of birth, whether Indian, Turanian, or Iranian, the subgroup (Afghan, Rajput, Maratha) to which he belonged, and the nature of the kinship with any relative he might have had who was also numbered among the nobility. The authority who cited the individual has also been given.

A comparison of the differences that developed among the Mogul nobility during these two periods of Aurangzeb’s reign does go far not only toward revealing something of the nobility but also toward high-lighting the reasons behind the rapid decline of the Empire in which they lived. In the first period “foreigners” dominated the nobility, and the *mansabdari* system continued very much as it had under Shah Jahan; in the second period the effects of the Rajput War and the prolonged Deccan campaign are obvious. With the influx of Deccani nobles into the Mogul aristocracy, the size of the aristocracy increased, but the military potential, the whole *raison d’être* of the system, decreased: the military contingents that could actually be supplied by nobles whose *jagirs* were held in unruly

areas were often small. Thus the military strength of the Empire decreased as its aristocracy expanded, and neither the Emperor nor the aristocracy seemed to possess the elasticity of mind necessary to adapt to changed conditions.

All told, Athar Ali's analysis has not revealed anything that is new, but it has lent more solid support to existing conclusions, and it has provided us with the most minute study to date of the nature of the Mogul aristocracy.

Tufts University

FREELAND ABBOTT

INTERNAL MARKET OF INDIA [1834-1900]. By *Tarasankar Banerjee*. (Calcutta: Academic Publishers. 1966. Pp. xviii, 358. Rs. 20.)

PURPORTING to be an attempt "to trace the process of the integration of [the] internal market of British India," this book is, in fact, a collection of papers on selected topics in British-Indian economic history. Directly concerned with the internal market are chapters on the abolition of transit and town duties (achieved between 1836 and 1844), the development of railways, the attempt to standardize weights and measures, and the production of and trade in salt. Less relevant to internal trade are chapters on tariff policy and on opium and cotton production. Conspicuously absent from a book on the internal market is any discussion of the organization of domestic trade or of the indigenous banking system. Nor has the author attempted to trace trends in commodity movements or in the important internal trade in food grains. His heavy reliance on the voluminous governmental proceedings and special reports housed in the archives at New Delhi and Calcutta has inevitably deflected his research away from a description of internal trade and toward an analysis of governmental economic policy.

Instead of writing a book on the internal market, the author has provided a well-documented study of an irresponsible government obstructing the economic development of its own citizens. Each chapter contributes evidence to substantiate this implied, but never explicitly stated, thesis. The chapters on railway development and tariff policy show Indian commercial interests sacrificed to British. The government's apathy toward the standardization of weights and measures used in domestic trade contrasts with its success in standardizing those used in commerce with Britain. Its vigorous interest in raw cotton and opium production for overseas markets contrasts with its neglect of indigenous manufacturing for the domestic market. The cumbersome taxation scheme imposed on salt production was a resurrection of the chaotic and oppressive system of transit and town duties abolished earlier in response to British "free trade" interests. Because it denied itself the revenue that in time would have accrued from industrialization, the government found it necessary to resort to a hodgepodge of absurd taxes on peasant-produced commodities.

In view of the evidence he has amassed, Dr. Banerjee is much too gentle with the British. But the author's restraint, his careful scholarship, and his heavily documented evidence serve to strengthen the over-all impact of his book. Though its conceptual framework is weak, the book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of selected aspects of Indian economic history under British rule.

University of Illinois

BLAIR B. KLING

A HISTORY OF THE SIKHS. Volume II, 1839-1964. By *Khushwant Singh*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 395. \$12.50.)

THIS is the second volume of Khushwant Singh's two-volume history of the Sikhs. The first depicted the origin of Sikhism and the rise of the Sikh community to political dominance of the Punjab. Here the story of Sikh decline from the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839 is carried through to 1964. Together, the two volumes provide the most detailed history of the Sikhs written in recent times.

The theme of this second volume is "the Sikh struggle for survival as a separate community." The narrative describes the resistance of the Sikhs to British expansionism, their continuing opposition to Muslim domination, and, in independent India, their active resistance against absorption by renaissance Hinduism.

A history of such grand proportions, touched at so many points in the earlier period by intrigue among foreign powers, is full of pitfalls for the scholar. More than once the author, relying too exclusively upon contemporary British correspondence, has given fresh currency to nineteenth-century misconceptions. He could scarcely have repeated, for example, certain outdated conclusions on the border forays of the 1840's (involving the state of Kashmir) had he consulted recent studies, including the documents made available in *Himalayan Battleground: Sino-Indian Rivalry in Ladakh*, by Margaret W. Fisher *et al.* (1963).

Sikh history, punctuated as it is with incidents of agony and prolonged periods of suffering, would seem to argue against the political demand for a separate state as a means for preserving the identity of a community. Khushwant Singh portrays in clear detail the many divisions among the Sikhs themselves—divisions that become more significant as claims to a separate political entity are pressed forward in contemporary India. Among the effects of separatist demands is the abrasion of the secular commitment of the Indian Union. Khushwant Singh presents an important interpretation of these claims; for another approach, the reader may wish to consult Baldev Raj Nayar's *Minority Politics in the Punjab* (1966).

Among the assets of the present volume (which is an elaboration of the author's earlier book, *The Sikhs* [1953]) is the Sikh perspective on the Arya Samaj as a force in the Punjab. It also contains valuable genealogical data and insights into the complex leadership of the Punjab. This work is, however, both too detailed for the general reader and too inexact to satisfy the scholar. The definitive study of the intricate and challenging history of the Sikhs may be long in coming; meanwhile, Khushwant Singh focuses attention upon an indomitable people and paves the way for future scholars.

University of California, Berkeley

JOAN V. BONDURANT

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM IN INDIA: ECONOMIC POLICIES OF INDIAN NATIONAL LEADERSHIP, 1880-1905. By *Bipan Chandra*. (New Delhi: People's Publishing House. 1966. Pp. xv, 783. Rs. 45.00.)

THIS is a very significant and perceptive study of the thought of the first leaders of the Indian national movement on the economic problems of India. Dr. Chandra has read widely in the relevant materials. All important newspapers have been extensively used, and where the originals are lacking or in languages unknown to

the author, the "Reports on the Native Press" have supplied the deficiency. Chandra has planned his work with great skill, dealing with his main headings of "Industry," "Foreign Trade," "Labour," "Agriculture," and "Public Finance" in such a way that there is a minimum of repetition as the reader is led by these closely related paths through the same quarter century.

Perhaps the best chapter analyzes the "drain theory" of the transfer of wealth out of India in this period. Next in importance is the discussion of agriculture that should forever dispose of the notion that in advocating a "permanent" settlement of land revenue R. C. Dutt and other leading Indian economists wished to establish throughout India a replica of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal and the Bengal zamindari system. Chandra is especially to be commended for not sparing the national leaders from criticism they clearly deserve.

Although it provides the specialist in this period of Indian history with many a trenchant quotation from the works of Dadabhai Naoroji, G. V. Joshi, and D. E. Wacha, the book is far too long. Too much attention is given to the detailed exposition of Indian nationalists' views and too little to interpretation and reflection upon them. Chandra can never quite emancipate himself from the assumption that, if "foreign rule" had not existed in mid-nineteenth-century India, an indigenous government capable of preserving order and stability and dedicated to carrying out the economic policies he is analyzing would have ruled the subcontinent. This tends to make allocation of blame to the British for what actually happened general rather than precise. Chandra could have stressed more specific cases in which India's interests were clearly sacrificed to Britain's, and he could have been less dogmatic on larger and more controversial issues. The actual thought of the early nationalist leaders is sometimes not sufficiently distinguished from Chandra's own views on the issues involved.

The economic thought of the early nationalist leaders has been much neglected. Chandra's work helps to bring it into proper perspective and to explain why on the whole they accomplished so little and were succeeded by a group of men who stressed political rather than economic objectives.

University of Pennsylvania

HOLDEN FURBER

LALA LAJPAT RAI: WRITINGS AND SPEECHES. Volume I, 1888-1919; Volume II, 1920-1928. Edited by *Vijaya Chandra Joshi*. (Delhi: University Publishers. 1966. Pp. lxiv, 423; vi, 511. Rs. 25 each.)

By the beginning of this century Lajpat Rai had moved from the front ranks of Punjab nationalist and Arya Samaj leadership into the circle of all-India nationalist leaders. After World War I, which he spent in Japan and the United States, he was one of the more prominent Indian nationalists. These two volumes of selected speeches and articles give the reader an excellent view of his development through time and from rather parochial beginnings. The selections also exhibit his inconsistencies and the curious unevenness of his intellectual development. On certain subjects Lajpat Rai could speak in straightforward and incisive terms; on others he talked or wrote in generalities and in a circumlocutious manner. Withal he tended to be unduly prolix.

Of special interest will be the reflection in his papers of his many roles: Arya

Samajist, Congress leader, spokesman for nascent Indian trade-unionism, leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity, extremist, and also quasi constitutionalist—the gamut is broad. On occasion he tried his hand at a naïve brand of socialism; at other times he spoke with vigor for Indian small business. Amidst all of these themes—one is tempted to say twists—in his career, a few strands remain constant: his advocacy of self-reliance and self-help rarely flagged, and his distrust of British intentions almost never waned.

In all there are seventy-eight selections from among his speeches and writings in the two volumes. For the specialist this may gild the lily a bit, as there are redundancies; for the nonspecialist it is clearly too much. That is to be regretted, for there is much to be learned about the course of development of nationalism in India from careful perusal of Lajpat Rai's papers. Many a superficial and badly distorted idea current in this country about the genesis and nature of nationalism in countries like India could be clarified if greater attention were paid to collections such as this one.

V. C. Joshi has made our use of the writings and speeches of Lajpat Rai much easier and more fruitful by providing a good introduction and by including many explanatory footnotes, most of which contribute materially to the comprehension of the text by the nonspecialist. The footnotes, along with the selections, make the two volumes valuable for lay reader and specialist alike.

Duke University

ROBERT I. CRANE

PICKERING: PROTECTOR OF CHINESE. By R. N. Jackson. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 127. \$4.90.)

WILLIAM Alexander Pickering played an important part in events of the 1870's leading to the opening up of modern Malaya. A mildly eccentric Victorian, he acquired an *expertise* in the Chinese language while serving in the Imperial Maritime Customs and later as member of a commercial firm in Taiwan. Besides learning Chinese he taught himself to play the bagpipes; he carried them with him everywhere he went, sometimes wearing a Scottish kilt to add to the effect. When on leave in England he was offered the post of Chinese Interpreter in the Straits Settlements. Arriving in Singapore in 1872 he found that although most of the population was Chinese he was "the only European officer ever in the service of the Straits Settlements who could speak Chinese."

This was the moment when Britain stood on the brink of intervention in the Malay States. Pickering was fortunate in being the right man in the right place at the right time. When a new governor of the Straits Settlements arrived in Singapore in 1873 with what he took to be a green light from the Colonial Office for a forward move in Malaya, he immediately sent Pickering to Penang to negotiate with the leaders of the Chinese secret societies there, for they controlled the rival groups of Chinese tin miners who were causing serious disturbance in the Malay States of the interior. Pickering went off with his bagpipes and came back with an agreement. Without him the Pangkor Treaty of 1874, which led to the opening up of Malaya, might not have been possible.

Pickering had thus made his mark as a "Chinese expert." When a Singapore government commission recommended in 1876 that "European gentlemen con-

versant with the Chinese dialects" should be appointed as Protectors of Chinese in the Straits Settlements, Pickering was an obvious choice. He held the post of Protector of Chinese in Singapore until his retirement in 1890. With characteristic thoroughness he regularized immigration procedures, brought the secret societies under control, and attacked the difficult problems of gambling and prostitution.

The author of this study was himself the last Englishman to hold a Chinese Affairs post in the central government of Malaya, being thus in a sense the last of a line that Pickering founded. He has written a useful work of unpretentious scholarship that provides valuable insights into the early stages of social advance in modern Malaya.

University of Hong Kong

BRIAN HARRISON

THE RISE OF INDONESIAN COMMUNISM. By *Ruth T. McVey*. [Prepared under the auspices of the Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1965. Pp. xviii, 510. \$10.00.)

NEARLY four decades ago a Dutch colonial official, J. T. Petrus Blumberger, published the first book-length account of the rise of the Indonesian Communist party (PKI), and while in recent years there have been historical and contemporary surveys of the party, Dr. McVey is the first to go over the ground once covered by Blumberger. She has done so in far greater detail, however, and with more than 130 pages of footnotes and with Dutch, Indonesian, and Russian sources, her volume makes an imposing appearance. Essentially chronological in character the book covers only the first seven years or so of the PKI's history, from the early initiatives of Dutch Marxists behind its eventual founding in 1920 to the first major, if suicidal, display of PKI power, the insurrections in Java and Sumatra in 1926-1927. Throughout, however, close attention is paid to the international ramifications of PKI activity, and as an account of Comintern interest and involvement in Indonesian and Southeast Asian political developments, it will not be easily superseded. Also to be praised is the author's incisive analysis of the synthesis of Communist appeals and those of Islam and of traditional, nativistic, and messianic religious expectations, a synthesis that considerably widened the PKI's early impact.

But despite these assets this is an uneven and, in the end, an unsatisfactory book. Sloppy proofreading and more typographical errors than usual detract from its value. So does the existence of unexpected lacunae: for example, though an entire chapter is devoted to the Communist rebellions of 1926-1927, less than a paragraph appears there about the action in West Sumatra, so that one gets the erroneous impression that the insurrection was almost entirely a Java-centered affair. And nowhere does the author really confront the question of the viability of the PKI's support or the social composition of its following. We are told that "The principal PKI strength lay in the large cities of Java" because of the party's "proletarian origin" and because of its difficulty in organizing rural backing. Yet, at the same time McVey notes Communist influence in parts of the countryside, and she comments on existing peasant discontent and rural unrest, presumably

available for exploitation. We are even told that owners of small holder coffee plantations in Tapanuli were forced to join the party "to avoid being boycotted by their workers." What exactly the extent of the party's rural following was; why its appeals to the peasantry now were effective then again ineffective; whether, as petty intellectuals, the party leaders had any real identification with the untutored villager—these issues achieve no clarity here. McVey offers a torrent of heavily annotated detail, but the real dynamics of "the rise of Indonesian Communism" have, alas, eluded her.

University of Bridgeport

JUSTUS M. VAN DER KROEF

MALAYA: THE COMMUNIST INSURGENT WAR, 1948-60. By *Edgar O'Ballance*. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1966. Pp. 188. \$6.50.)

MORE than a detailed history of the guerrilla war fought by the Chinese Communist party against the British and Malays, this work is also a critical analysis of the tactics—military, political, and economic—used by each side, together with their effectiveness, and a study of the causes of the Communist defeat. This was owing in part to their own serious errors of judgment together with the negligible help given them by China and Russia, and in part to the shrewd efficiency with which the British improvised methods of waging a type of war almost unprecedented in 1948. The opening chapter summarizes the history of the Communist party in Malaya from its foundation in 1922 to 1941. This is followed by the activities of the MPAJA, the Communist-controlled guerrillas against the Japanese, and by the economic war of 1945 to 1948, when the aim was to subvert the British government by instigating strikes that would paralyze the recovery of the tin and rubber industries.

The principal reason for resisting the Japanese was to create an army controlled by the party that could be used subsequently for the forcible overthrow of the British government. Like the similar organization in Greece, the MPAJA avoided fighting against the Japanese, and its contribution to the Allied victory was minimal. The Communists concentrated on recruiting, training, and indoctrinating good material, and they emerged from the war with a well-trained force of about six thousand and a stock of arms hidden in the jungle. The guerrillas were recalled in 1948 and were the nucleus of the rebel army. The British, many of them urban conscripts, fought the enemy on his own ground by following him into the jungle, and in time they became more skillful guerrillas than the terrorists themselves. Major O'Ballance, however, insists that the principal reason for their defeat was that they were gradually cut off from food and information supplied by the Malayan peasantry, so that veteran terrorists had to spend most of their time in a farmer's purgatory—trying to grow food in a sunless jungle. Similarities and contrasts with the American and French wars in Vietnam are obvious, and it is regrettable that O'Ballance rigidly restricts himself to his chosen subject, the war in Malaya.

Wolfville, Nova Scotia

LENNOX A. MILLS

HELL IN A VERY SMALL PLACE: THE SIEGE OF DIEN BIEN PHU.

By *Bernard B. Fall*. [Great Battles of History.] (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1967. Pp. xii, 515. \$8.95.)

BERNARD Fall's untimely death in February 1967 deprived Southeast Asian scholarship of an outstanding and prolific contributor. Fortunately, he lived to see his three-year study of the siege and Battle of Dien Bien Phu, to which he brought unique qualifications, published.

No one but Fall could have written this monumental and grim story. His French nationality and service with the Free French forces inspired the confidence needed to open up for him France's secret military archives. Fall's first-hand knowledge of the terrain and the atmosphere prevailing during the final years of colonial rule in Vietnam provided him with an extraordinary background. His many years in the United States and his well-known assiduity have resulted in an analysis that is comprehensible and relevant to Americans who find themselves, thirteen years after the fall of Dien Bien Phu, fighting the same enemy as the French.

The greater part of the book is devoted to a day-by-day description of the battle, its strategy, and the men who vainly fought to defend the fortress against the Viet Minh. Despite its minute detail and the reader's foreknowledge of the outcome, Fall's account is not only readable, but builds up tension. So much emotion is conjured up by the very name of Dien Bien Phu that Fall set himself a difficult goal in aiming at dispelling the "myths and misconceptions" surrounding "one of the truly decisive battles of the 20th Century." He discusses the choice of the site, the extent and accuracy of French intelligence, logistical problems, the role of the air force and of the non-French defenders, and the allocation of responsibility among the French officers involved in the disaster.

Few would dispute Fall's conclusion that the political and psychological significance of Dien Bien Phu are of more importance to the present situation than is its military aspect. The defeat that terminated France's power in Southeast Asia was owing not to the exhaustion of French military resources but to the refusal of French public opinion to support continuance of the war. The Viet Minh's victory over a major colonial power enhanced Hanoi's self-confidence to a degree that the United States is only now beginning to comprehend. Probably the most controversial aspect of this book is the author's contention that the defeat of the French Union forces at Dien Bien Phu—after the American decision to let events there take their course—proved in the long run to be a political defeat for the United States.

University of California, Berkeley

VIRGINIA THOMPSON

AUSTRALIAN DICTIONARY OF BIOGRAPHY. General Editor, *Douglas Pike*. Volume I, 1788-1850, A-H Section Editors, *A. G. L. Shaw*, 1788-1825; *C. M. H. Clark*, 1826-1850. ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. xx, 578. \$23.50.)

THE appearance of the first volume of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* but a few months behind its Canadian counterpart, the *Dictionary of Canadian*

Biography, invites a comparison, one that reveals the disparity between the two historiographies. The *DCB* will run to twenty volumes, and the first deals with the years 1000 to 1700. The *ADB* will consist of twelve volumes, and the first two will bring the record—based upon the *floruit* dates of the entries rather than, as in the *DCB*, on death dates—from 1788 to 1850. The Canadian dictionary drew upon 115 contributors, nearly all affiliated with universities, from four countries; the Australian volume calls upon some 250 authors, all Australian or Australian-born. There are 594 biographical articles in the *DCB*, together with excellent introductory essays; there are 535 articles in the *ADB* which, being somewhat the shorter book, forces its contributors to be more concise. As a result, the essays in the Australian volume are a good bit less elegant, certainly less leisurely, and they provide shorter summaries of sources and no indication of an author's affiliation.

Within these constraints, the general editor, Douglas Pike, and his two section editors, A.G.L. Shaw and C. M. H. Clark, have performed their tasks very well indeed. The essays show a uniform and firm editorial hand; they are crisp and (except occasionally, as in the overly detailed discussion of John Batman) well balanced; and, above all, the choice of figures to be included has been full yet discriminating, as one may see by comparing the present first volume with the preliminary two-volume mimeographed "Biographical Register Short List" distributed in Canberra in 1963. Men central to the Australian story who did not visit the continent, such as Henry Bathurst, are included, but briefly; those about whom we wish to know the most, such as Sir George Arthur, William Bligh, and the Earl Grey, are given ample space; and yet the two aborigines, Arabanoo and Bennelong, are included, from the pen of the novelist Eleanor Dark. Unfortunately, some relevant explorers have been omitted, although Cook is present, and thus the dates are not to be taken literally. Some of the writing, especially by John M. Ward, by Shaw himself, and by Michael Roe, is distinguished, and all is more than ordinarily serviceable. There are also occasional side rewards, as when one learns of Martin Cash's assault upon a man whom he found embracing his mistress: "His claim that the ball wounded his rival in the buttocks may be thought to add some verisimilitude to the story." Since this volume breaks off with the letter *H*, one may with even greater force than usual say that we await the next volume with impatience.

Yale University

ROBIN W. WINKS

HIERARCHY AND DEMOCRACY IN AUSTRALIA, 1788-1870: THE FORMATION OF AUSTRALIAN CATHOLICISM. By T. L. Suttor. ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 344. \$12.50.)

T. L. SUTTOR, a historian turned theologian, examines Australian society up to 1870 through the experiences of the Catholic, essentially Irish, element, which provided 25 per cent of its people. The scope (1788-1870) is narrower than James G. Murtagh's *Australia: The Catholic Chapter* (1946). There are other significant differences. Murtagh studied the Catholic record in Australia's history to establish the importance and also the limits of Irish and Catholic contributions

to that continuum. Suttor works with an intensely local focus, parish by parish and diocese by diocese. Men and ideas stud his pages, but the major events of Australian development appear only dimly at the frontier of the readers' vision.

John Dunmore Lang, a Scottish Presbyterian preacher, who was radical in politics and mentioned only once in Murtagh, is examined as an external architect of Australian Catholicism in Suttor's book. The author traces the successive struggles within the Church against secular forces and for control of the Church in the new land, the English Catholics being turned out by the earthy, contentious Irish clergy. Then, among the latter, a division developed between the narrow Catholic Church in embattled Ireland and a more distinctively Australian Roman Catholic viewpoint.

The book, at its best, makes fresh and interesting interpretations. Suttor sees the Eureka fight as the event that married the Irish Catholics to social and political radicalism. He names the 1850's as the era when the masses abandoned Christianity (earlier than in England or Germany), sentimental religion or none replacing doctrinal belief. The pattern of Australian Catholicism, Suttor affirms, finally emerged in Brisbane, the National Church growing out of Irish Catholicism and aloof both from egalitarianism and from the ideas of England's century. The price was tribalism and a decline of Roman Catholic culture.

Suttor just avoids a history-as-it-ought-to-have-been by not quite insisting on Catholic values as the basic scale by which to measure Australia. The book becomes rather gossipy as the author probes the lives of priests and laymen, some of whom could by no standards be viewed as significant in the shaping of Australia. There is much emphasis on the Catholic forces which walled the Church off from Australian radicalism, routed the humanistic Benedictines, and cut the psychological ties with Europe to make Australian Catholicism, however inappropriately, a monument to the rebel Irish clergy.

Colgate University

CHARLES S. BLACKTON

ILLIBERAL LIBERAL: ROBERT LOWE IN NEW SOUTH WALES, 1842-1850. By *Ruth Knight*. ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 299. \$12.00.)

ANY study of Robert Lowe's career in New South Wales during the 1840's has substantial obstacles to surmount. On the purely practical side there is the paucity of manuscript material, the most notable gaps owing to Lowe's destruction of his own correspondence. Then there is the fact that decision-making power still rested in London, and that colonial politicians, however able and energetic, operated on the margins of that power. But above all there is the personality of Lowe himself. An able advocate of popular causes, a gifted lawyer, and a parliamentary orator of the highest rank both in the Legislative Council of New South Wales and in Westminster, he was also a man whom a political associate described as "a sort of psychological monster,—all head and no heart."

Considering these difficulties, Mrs. Knight has been on the whole successful in her account of Lowe's eight years in New South Wales. She has made admirable use of the letters of Lowe's wife to fill the gap left by Lowe's destruction of his own, and she has drawn on the records of the debates in the Legislative

Council, the minutes of the Executive Council, and the press and pamphlet material of the colony to obtain a fresh view of much of the political controversy of the period. It is somewhat surprising, however, that the author's citations do not include such standard works on the period as Roberts' *The Squatting Age in Australia* or Melbourne's *Early Constitutional Development in Australia*.

Many in New South Wales felt that Lowe was consistent only in his inconsistency. He supported and then opposed the squatters; he favored and then resisted the renewal of convict transportation; he sought and received the votes of the working classes of Sydney and then rebuffed their legislative program with chill brusqueness. Thus it was that, though he had championed many liberal causes, he left Sydney with few, if any, to regret his departure. Yet behind the seeming inconsistency there was a stern adherence to the doctrines of open competition and the open market, plus a predilection for a Benthamite meritocracy. The author might have given added dimension to her study had she stressed the conflict between Lowe's elitist views and the essential egalitarianism of Australian society emerging from the old exclusivist-emancipist quarrel. She has done, nevertheless, a more satisfactory job of explaining Lowe's conduct in his Australian career than any others who have written of it.

This book sells for \$6.00 in Australia; it is ridiculous that its price in the United States is almost twice as high.

University of Maryland

DONALD C. GORDON

Americas

THE NATIONAL UNION CATALOG OF MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS, 1965. INDEX 1963-1965. Compiled by the Library of Congress from reports provided by American repositories with assistance from the Council on Library Resources, Inc. [The Library of Congress Catalogs.] (Washington, D. C.: the Library, 1966. Pp. xxiii, 701. \$15.00.)

THIS fourth volume of the *Catalog* marks the first of what the Library of Congress intends as an annual publication. Until now the *Catalog* has been published irregularly. The initial volume, covering collections reported for 1959-1961, appeared in 1962. Those collections reported in 1962 were published in 1964, along with a separately bound cumulative index. The 1963-1964 supplement, containing its own index, came out in 1965 as the third volume. In this installment the admirably thorough index of names, places, and periods cumulates with that of the third volume.

The Library of Congress intends to follow this annual cumulative pattern so that a user would have to consult only the latest volume and that published in 1964 to have a comprehensive guide to the *Catalog*. While such a system may appear useful, one wonders if it is necessary or even feasible. This volume for 1965 contains 701 pages, only 229 of which list manuscript collections. If an index cumulated for only two volumes consumes two-thirds of the book, as further volumes appear the index will overwhelm the work. While the index apparatus gives such a publication its utility, it should not crowd out its *raison d'être*. It

would seem far more logical to have each annual volume contain its own index and to publish a separate index cumulation when the number of entries warrants it. Those who use the *Catalog* should not be in such a rush as to necessitate this costly annual index cumulation. The funds could be better spent in facilitating the reporting of manuscript collections rather than in repetitive indexing. And the user would certainly get more for his money if in each volume the ratio of reported collections to index were increased, which is not to say that the cost of any portion of the *Catalog* has been unreasonable.

The present volume lists 2,022 collections from 120 repositories, bringing the total collections described to 16,397, and the repositories included to 492. Among the sixty-seven repositories reporting for the first time is the National Archives, which lists some private papers. It probably surprises many American historians to learn that the National Archives has manuscripts unrelated to the official functions of the government. This point illustrates the great usefulness of the *Catalog* and similar finding aids in publicizing material in unexpected places.

National Historical Publications Commission

WALTER RUNDELL, JR.

CONSTITUTIONALISM IN AMERICA: ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF ITS FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS. By *Arthur E. Sutherland*. [Blaisdell Book in Political Science.] (New York: Blaisdell Publishing Company. 1965. Pp. xv, 618. \$9.50.)

BETWEEN 1927 and 1928, when Arthur Sutherland served as secretary to Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, and the present, when as Bussey Professor of Law at Harvard he publishes this history of constitutionalism in America, more than a hundred volumes have been added to the set of *United States Reports*, wherein the opinions of the Supreme Court are recorded. With new decisions shouldering old precedents aside so rapidly, the temptation among writers on constitutional questions is to treat the developments of the last few decades as if they had rendered the distant past all but completely irrelevant.

This is not Sutherland's view. This book begins with an analysis of Magna Carta, the text of which, newly translated by the author, is printed in full. The first hundred pages are devoted to the constitutional history of England to the end of the seventeenth century. The reader is more than halfway through the book before he reaches nineteenth-century America and the chief justiceship of John Marshall. This is a significant, even a courageous, redistribution of emphasis. It is one that I emphatically approve.

Nevertheless, Sutherland remains essentially a legal writer rather than a historian in the sense of Frederic W. Maitland, Charles H. McIlwain, or Edward S. Corwin. Where McIlwain and Corwin start with the ideas of Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, and go on to discuss the currents of thought that flowed across medieval Europe, Sutherland stays within the relatively narrower limits of strictly English legal history, tracing it through statutes, court decisions, and other precedents that lawyers are accustomed to recognize.

The second half of the book deals even more closely with traditional legal sources. The first fifty-six years of the nineteenth century, for example, are discussed in a single chapter entitled "National Government and Decline of State

Independence: 1800-1856," which concerns itself almost exclusively with the decisions of the Supreme Court under Marshall and Taney. The four-page summary of general history that concludes the chapter comes almost as an afterthought.

Occasionally also the author allows the present-mindedness of the legal profession to distort his otherwise sound sense of historical proportion. A lawyer with eyes focused on the present might perhaps consider the precedents created under Marshall and Taney entitled to five times as much attention as should be given to the shakier doctrines evolved in the less spacious days of Waite, Fuller, White, and Taft. The historian, however, cannot afford to dismiss so lightly the doctrines that eventually failed to meet the test of time. Their emergence and their temporary triumph are as much the stuff of history as their ultimate repudiation.

While too great a preoccupation with the present may subtly distort the interpretation of history, too studied a neglect of present implications can likewise destroy historical understanding. Skepticism becomes sheer nihilism when it begins to deny all real connection between past and present. Similar issues do recur, hidden under dissimilar sets of facts. History would have no continuity, the fabric of society no existence, were there not such linkages. Through the weight it accords to precedent, the law keeps these continuities of history at the forefront of attention. Writing as a lawyer, Sutherland brings to his task a mind professionally schooled to penetrate to the issues beneath the facts and to the similarities that exist among seemingly divergent situations. His pages are crowded with enlightening but little-known examples of the interplay between earlier precedents and current adjudication. Upon this aspect of history—its closely knit continuity—Sutherland's book casts steady, clarifying illumination.

University of Washington

ARTHUR BESTOR

AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL HISTORIES AND HISTORIANS. By *Robert Allen Skotheim*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1966. Pp. xi, 326. \$6.95.)

THE subject of this book is somewhat more narrowly defined than the title suggests. "Certain recurrent problems of method and characteristic themes of interpretation are selected for discussion," Mr. Skotheim explains in the introduction, "but no attempt is made to assess the accuracy or inaccuracy of the histories." The chief problem for twentieth-century intellectual historians, in Skotheim's view, has been the difficult one of accounting for the role of ideas, a task at which neither the progressives (Robinson, Beard, Becker, Parrington, and Curti) nor their critics (Morison, Miller, and Gabriel) have had notable success. At first glance progressive history seems to be characterized by the tendency to treat ideas as "creatures" rather than "creators" of environment. Yet a more careful analysis, says Skotheim, reveals that all of them in one way or another allowed for the operation of autonomous ideas: Robinson by distinguishing between "rationalizations" stemming from environmental influences and "creative ideas" to which he assigned an independent function, and Beard and Becker by employing similar devices for separating ideas of which they approved from those they did

not. Nor, according to Skotheim, have historians like Morison, Miller, and Gabriel, who have challenged the progressives' interpretation, always made a convincing case for autonomy. He concludes that "Morison's denigration of non-intellectual environmental influences was not accompanied by analyses of ideas in depth in his histories" and that in the second volume of *The New England Mind* Miller in fact "frequently tried to relate changes in ideas to changes in society." It comes as no surprise, therefore, to find that Skotheim's younger historians—Boorstin, Persons, Hofstadter, Goldman, and others—have not converged from opposite methodological poles, but have simply retreated from "the panoramic sweep *which is organized around ideas*."

Skotheim's analysis is marked by two limitations. First, his refusal to judge the results of differing approaches to the history of ideas and his preoccupation with methodology lead to conclusions like: "Curti may in fact be viewed, at the risk of losing sight of his individuality to be sure, as a composite of Eggleston, Robinson, Beard, Becker, and Parrington—a composite in which the common features of all are retained and the unique characteristics of each are missing." Parrington's portrait of Jonathan Edwards is set against Perry Miller's, Curti's sketch of William James against Ralph Gabriel's, without comment. No doubt substantive judgment would have involved the author in the difficult business of explaining his own views on the function of ideas in history, but without some measure of involvement on his part the essay loses much of its point. The second limitation of the book is its wearisome style. These two liabilities make *American Intellectual Histories and Historians* a disappointing book.

Brown University

JOHN L. THOMAS

AMERICA'S FRONTIER HERITAGE. By Ray Allen Billington. [Histories of the American Frontier.] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1966. Pp. xiv, 302. \$7.95.)

OVER the past twenty years historians and critics have turned away from the often futile debates about the Turner frontier hypothesis to speak instead of the frontier "myth" or "image" in American history or to stress the relation of the frontier to "mobility" and "abundance" themes. *America's Frontier Heritage* reflects this trend, for while it contains a useful, succinct review and bibliography of all the recent scholarly literature about the frontier concept, it is really a lively, witty, and intelligent dialogue between social scientists now writing on the subject and Ray Allen Billington, who is one of the most eloquent and respected defenders of the Turner thesis.

Although Billington focuses the book on two familiar questions—what was the frontier experience, and what has been its impact on the American character—he breaks away from Turner's often vague concepts and faulty methodology to give us his own more precise definitions of the frontier as specific place and process. He also never claims that the frontier experience offered more than one major explanation for American behavioral patterns in the nineteenth century. But most important and refreshing, he uses the language, concepts, and methods of the behavioral scientists themselves to discuss the two questions.

However new the terminology and method of analysis, some of the argu-

ments still echo or disguise Turner and other known scholars. Yet it is more accurate to say that Billington fair-mindedly questions, limits, and redefines virtually every claim made for the original frontier and safety valve theories. He finds, for example, that none of such so-called distinctive American traits as social and political democracy, nationalism, individualism, and wastefulness were peculiarly frontier traits, but he feels the frontier generally deepened or so exaggerated them until they were "observable to visitors from other lands." This exaggeration had the effect of making the pioneer seem "more American" and led Americans generally to associate these qualities with the West and to build a "myth" around them.

This example but illustrates the book's major theme: that the frontier experience created a difference of degree rather than of mutation. Billington concludes, therefore, that it is impossible to measure the frontier impact on American traits and institutions, but to me he relates the frontier experience to American character traits more persuasively than Turner without ever claiming that our character was a result of the frontier experience.

Inevitably the attempt to discuss so much in one volume results in questionable generalizations and omissions. But even if his coverage of all important questions is incomplete or lapses into stereotyping, Billington has done us a major service by breaking the old mold of debate about the frontier and moving the discussion into new and more fruitful channels. This achievement alone would make it a significant and welcome study. Any serious scholarly discussion of the frontier in American history must now start with *America's Frontier Heritage*.

Yale University

HOWARD R. LAMAR

THE CATAWBA INDIANS: THE PEOPLE OF THE RIVER. By Douglas Summers Brown. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 400. \$10.00.)

WHY Iroquois war parties went out relentlessly to fight the "Flatheads" or Catawba of the Carolinas and persisted until their near extermination is one of the unexplained facts of the eighteenth century. It is said that the French, to further expansion in the Mississippi watershed, inspired and armed the Iroquois to pin down tribes who traded with the English colonies east of the mountains. But why the Catawba, who fought most of the southeastern neighbors as well, carried raids for scalps or captives for torture to the headwaters of the Allegheny and the Susquehanna is scarcely explained by reference to colonialism. Indian warfare of the eastern woodlands had gained a momentum of its own. To ascribe the Catawba wars to trade or to colonial politics is like identifying Vietcong insurgency with Communist dreams of world domination and South Vietnamese factionalism with a search for democratic institutions, when intervention by a civilized state is equally powerless to stop guerrilla warfare.

The sources bearing on the near extinction of the Catawba in the former struggle have been assembled by Mrs. Brown from tidewater colonial documents in a thorough and faithful manner. Nothing has escaped her, be it folklore, historical tradition, archaeology, ethnology, or history; it is all there. But the book lacks structure and a point of view that would make Catawba history intelligible

to the reader. I kept putting the book aside until I began using it as a guide to sources on the afore-mentioned struggle. One finds a good account of the attempts of colonial governors of Carolina and New York to mediate the long-standing feud known as the Flathead war. They made two unsuccessful efforts to end it by bringing the warring parties to Albany in 1740 and 1751. Brown relies on Carolina sources without reference to the New York Colonial Documents or the Sir William Johnson Papers, and her account is valuable if you know the latter. From the same sources she attempts a life and times of the Young Warrior and King Hagler, both appealing characters who participated in the savage struggle. She follows the Catawba to their decline, dispersion, and recovery from the last living informant on Siouan speech to mention of their present mixed-blooded descendants. The book is replete with bibliography, index, maps, illustrations, and end papers, which are all exemplary.

New York State Museum, Albany

WILLIAM N. FENTON

THE REINTERPRETATION OF EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF JOHN EDWIN POMFRET. Edited by *Ray Allen Billington*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1966. Pp. viii, 264. \$7.50.)

THIS volume honors a man who was a founder of the Institute of Early American History and Culture and director of the Huntington Library. Allan Nevins has written a charming sketch of John E. Pomfret as a scholar and administrator; A. L. Rowse contributes a shorter, disappointing piece on the Huntington; and John M. Steadman has compiled a bibliography of Pomfret's writings.

Most of the other chapters are historiographical essays on aspects of early American history; together they provide a good introduction to the recent literature in this field as well as an unusual degree of unity for a volume of this sort. Edmund S. Morgan emphasizes the literature on Puritanism and intellectual history in his essay on New England; Frederick B. Tolles pays particular attention to recent biographical studies and research opportunities in the Middle Colonies; and Clarence L. Ver Steeg presents an ambitious and balanced evaluation of historical writing on the political, social, and economic history of the colonial South.

Other essays are topical: Lester Cappon writes on publishing, editing, and archives; Walter Muir Whitehill on historic sites archaeology; and Lawrence H. Gipson on the imperial approach to early American history. Gipson's brief piece is both a lucid explanation of this influential school and a tribute to Beer, Osgood, and Andrews. By means of a survey of revolutionary historiography from William Gordon to the present, Merrill Jensen presents a defense of the proposition that the American Revolution was revolutionary and a critique of some of the most recent revisionist writings. Jack P. Greene discusses colonial politics and political structures and again displays a special talent in the preciseness with which he evaluates the contributions and weaknesses of writings in this field. Finally, without reference to historiography, Douglass G. Adair analyzes the influence that the reading of history had upon the founding fathers, and Max Savelle places the settlement and diplomacy of the New World into the frame-

work of European affairs. The latter is a thoughtful and suggestive interpretive essay that merits the attention of students of both Europe and America between 1492 and 1763.

Lehigh University

JOHN CARY

THE GENTLE RADICAL: A BIOGRAPHY OF ROGER WILLIAMS. By *Cyclone Covey*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1966. Pp. viii, 273. \$5.95.)

On the title page this book is described as a biography. Actually, it covers less than half of Williams' long life and stops short of the year 1640. Hence it does not carry the story of Williams' role in the development of Providence Plantations beyond the first settlement; nor does it deal with the two trips to England, the debate with the Quakers, or King Philip's War. The controversy with Cotton over toleration is handled indirectly, as it may cast light on the earlier episode of the departure from the Bay Colony, rather than in the context of the actual publication of the *Bloudy Tenent*. For a biographical treatment of Williams' whole career, Ola Winslow's *Master Roger Williams* is much to be preferred. To be sure, in the first chapter, Mr. Covey avows a somewhat more ambitious goal for the book than a biography in the narrow sense: to use the career of Williams as an "integrative thread" for relating the major developments of the early decades of New England settlement. Edmund S. Morgan has shown in *The Puritan Dilemma* how effectively such an undertaking may be accomplished if Winthrop is used as the pivotal figure. But Winthrop was central to these developments in a way that Williams was not, and so the present book wanders off into a narration of Bay Colony history, and of Indian troubles in particular, in which the focus is lost because the role of Williams was peripheral.

Hence, despite the fact that the author is thoroughly knowledgeable with respect to his materials, the book is neither satisfactory as a biography nor successful as a reassessment of the times in which Williams lived. Furthermore, the absence of documentation limits its use by scholars.

Harvard Divinity School

CONRAD WRIGHT

A LOSS OF MASTERY: PURITAN HISTORIANS IN COLONIAL AMERICA. By *Peter Gay*. [Jefferson Memorial Lectures.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 164. \$4.50.)

It is the chief virtue of these essays that Peter Gay approaches colonial Puritanism as a historian of modern Europe who is neither a debunker nor a pious celebrant. If, as he finds, the colonial Puritans failed to produce a historiography comparable to that being written by their European contemporaries, it was a tragic failure attributable in part at least to the loss of contact with the fresh currents of European secular culture in the later seventeenth century. Of the three historians under review, the earliest, Bradford, whose history of Plymouth was a record of his own times, is found the most worthy of respect. The second, Cotton Mather, wrote his *Magnalia* with the pious intent of praising famous men and deploring the degeneracy of the times. The last, Edwards, in his *History of the Work of Redemption*, completed the tragedy by turning back from the

budding rationalism and empiricism of the eighteenth century to an outmoded supernaturalism consisting of the application of medieval periodization and Biblical prophecies to history.

Viewed from Gay's perspective, colonial Puritanism with its "mythical" style of thinking was unable to see the past in terms worthy of the attention of a modern critical historian. Relatively few of Gay's pages are concerned with the substance of Puritan historiography; most of them provide a general analysis of Puritan historical thought as a function of the mythical mentality. There is even some doubt whether Edwards' work should not more properly be regarded as theological eschatology rather than as history. But it serves Gay's purpose and clinches his case against the Puritans as historians.

These lectures raise again the old question whether American Puritanism may most usefully be viewed as the futile attempt to freeze a moment in time and preserve it to all eternity or as but a single phase in a process containing the seeds of its own transformation. By choosing the former interpretation Gay leaves as many questions as he settles. The historians may have remained loyal to the original Puritan objectives, but others were busily modifying them. Stoddard and Robert Calef, both innovators, flourished in the heyday of Mather's power, and the ink was scarcely dry on the *Magnalia* before John Wise was introducing Pufendorf to American readers. Chauncy considered himself to be a better Puritan than Edwards, whose evangelical zeal the Bostonian regarded as revolutionary. If these men were authentic products of Puritanism, why were the historians so consistently on the conservative side? Perhaps the answer to that question might also illuminate the reasons for the relatively minor role of history in Puritan thought.

Longer than any of the four lectures is an excellent critical bibliographical essay.

University of Iowa

STOW PERSONS

COLONIAL SOUTH CAROLINA: A POLITICAL HISTORY, 1663-1763. By M. Eugene Sirmans. Foreword by Wesley Frank Craven. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1966. Pp. xiii, 394. \$10.00.)

THIS thoroughly researched, carefully organized, and well-written monograph by the late Gene Sirmans (he died on August 30, 1965, at the age of thirty-one) is the best study that has appeared on the political history of colonial South Carolina. It is also one of the most scholarly studies of any American colony.

The book begins with a chapter on "English Background, 1663-1670," in which the author emphasizes the significant role of Lord Ashley in the promotion of what became South Carolina. He maintains that Ashley was not an impractical utopian "bent on establishing feudalism in a virgin land," but rather a practical man "trying to establish a balanced government." In contrast with older historians, Sirmans shows that the Fundamental Constitutions provided for a policy of religious toleration that profoundly affected the colony's history for half a century by attracting various religious dissenters to it and that the land

system proposed in the constitutions had far-reaching effects and hastened the development of a landed gentry in South Carolina.

Part I of the volume is devoted to "The Age of the Goose Creek Men, 1670-1712," during which Barbadian immigrants, settled near Goose Creek, a tributary of the Cooper River, dominated South Carolina politics. These men, members of the Church of England, consistently opposed proprietary policy, particularly that of religious toleration. They also engaged in Indian slave trade and trade with pirates, both of which were condemned by the proprietors. After 1700 the proprietors reversed their policy on religious toleration and attempted to establish the Church of England in the colony. This action revived factionalism and caused a realignment of parties, the dissenters going into the opposition and the Goose Creek men shifting to the side of the proprietors.

Part II, "Breakdown and Recovery, 1712-1743," deals with a very unsettled period, chiefly Indian wars and the rebellion that culminated in the overthrow of proprietary rule in 1719. Paper money, a minor issue before this date, became the major controversy in the mid-twenties and underlay much of the factionalism for the next two decades.

Part III, "The Rise of the Commons House of Assembly, 1743-1763," is a splendid analysis of the threefold struggle for power among the governor, council, and the Commons House of Assembly, with the Commons House gradually emerging as the dominant force in the provincial government.

Chapel Hill, North Carolina

HUGH T. LEFLER

THE REVEREND JOHN CLAYTON: A PARSON WITH A SCIENTIFIC MIND. HIS SCIENTIFIC WRITINGS AND OTHER RELATED PAPERS. Edited with a short biographical sketch by *Edmund Berkeley* and *Dorothy Smith Berkeley*. [Virginia Historical Society Documents, Volume VI.] (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Society. 1965. Pp. lxiii, 170. \$6.50.)

JOHN Clayton (1657-1725) was one of those clergymen-physicians with strong interests in natural philosophy and natural history who appear with some frequency in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England and America. This volume brings together his surviving writings and clearly ends the confusion between him and other John Claytons with Virginia connections, most notably the eighteenth-century naturalist who was the subject of an earlier study by the Berkeleys.

Clayton was not of first rank in the science of his time, but he corresponded with those who were, such as Robert Boyle and Nehemiah Grew. More than this, he participated in a number of interesting scientific studies. Clayton made improvements on Denis Papin's digester (the original of the pressure cooker or autoclave) and, with it, studied the pressure of gases at a time when Boyle's work was not widely known. He also followed Boyle in studies of specific gravity and, in further chemical activity, is accounted the first to distill illuminating gas from coal.

In the area of natural history Clayton contributed to Allen Moulin's anatomical studies of birds, although his most significant work lay in his accounts of

American phenomena, which were the result of a short stay in Virginia as rector of James City Parish. In these letters Clayton shows much less credulity than many early authors who dealt with American plants and animals. His criticisms of and suggestions for mending Virginia agricultural practices are particularly revealing.

Most of the items collected in this volume have been printed before in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society or, as is the case with Clayton's copy of the journal of Batts and Fallam, in a number of modern versions. The editors have used manuscript copies where they exist and have thereby eliminated a number of errors that had escaped or been created by their seventeenth-century predecessors.

The Berkeleys have done an admirable job, a model for others who undertake similar tasks. Their introduction gives a useful account of Clayton's life and places him in scientific perspective. The annotation is excellent for identifying obscure persons (although better-known Governor Leonard Calvert of Maryland is botched) and obsolete scientific terms. Students of early American natural history should be particularly grateful to the Berkeleys for bringing their skills as professional biologists to the identification of Clayton's plants and animals.

University of Delaware

GEORGE F. FRICK

HENRY NEWMAN'S SALZBURGER LETTERBOOKS. Transcribed and edited by *George Fenwick Jones*. [Wormsloe Foundation Publications, Number 8.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 626. \$12.00.)

IN 1731 the reigning prince-archbishop of Salzburg resolved to expel all Protestants from his domain. Before the exodus was over nearly a quarter of the population, between twenty and thirty thousand people, had been forced to depart. The large proportion of the exiles found haven in the territories of Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg and king of Prussia. A small number were persuaded to seek a new home in Georgia, where they arrived in four different contingents between 1734 and 1741. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, operating out of London, initially raised funds to aid these displaced Lutherans as they passed through Augsburg to other parts of Germany. When the Georgia project was adopted, the society, with Henry Newman as secretary, assumed responsibility for making the necessary arrangements, including financial support, to transport and settle Salzburg Lutherans in Georgia.

The present volume reproduces the voluminous correspondence that was involved. Much of the correspondence deals with routine matters, but in so doing illuminates many facets of day-to-day life in the eighteenth century. The introduction is brief, and the explanatory notes are limited in scope and number.

Colgate Rochester Divinity School

WINTHROP S. HUDSON

RELIGION AND THE AMERICAN MIND: FROM THE GREAT AWAKENING TO THE REVOLUTION. By *Alan Heimert*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 668. \$12.50.)

UNTIL the appearance of this book, we lacked a modern sustained study of the implications of the Great Awakening for the second half of the eighteenth cen-

ture. Other historians have made important suggestions about this subject, but none have approached it with Mr. Heimert's sweep, nor attained his penetration. Avowedly revisionist, this book holds that the central divisions in American thought for a generation or more after the revival of the 1740's developed over the issue of the Great Awakening. Two religious parties emerged in these years: "one consisted of the opponents of the revival, the other of its advocates, each of which over the succeeding years evolved a religious philosophy consistent with its involvement in and attitude toward the Awakening." This characterization of the religious history of the post-Awakening period is not new, but Heimert's analysis of the intellectual positions is. Advocates of the revival, the "Calvinists" in Heimert's terminology, took their inspiration and many of their ideas from Jonathan Edwards. Unlike many of their Puritan fathers, they rejected a cataclysmic history and urged instead a historical optimism that held that men can forward the progress of history and, by their own efforts, give momentum to the coming of the millennium. On this point Heimert's reconstruction of the post-millennial position is fresh and important. This millennialist impulse persisted, though transformed, throughout the remainder of the century, partly because the Calvinists thought of America as the ideal society playing a pre-eminent role in history. Heimert explains the Calvinists' conceptions of America and its promise largely through a discussion of their ideas about liberty and Christian union. His comments on these ideas are among the most suggestive in the book.

Opponents of the Awakening and of its continuing influence in America constituted the group Heimert designates as the "Liberals." They espoused a set of ideas in conflict with the evangelical scheme on virtually every score. Though rationalists in religion, they held a pessimistic view of human capacities. They did not share the revivalists' millennial expectations; nor did they admire the tendency of their social ideas.

The full implications of these positions, the author argues, were revealed in the years of the American Revolution. The Calvinist position, subtly transformed since the Awakening, had become by 1776 an ideology with strong revolutionary, democratic, and nationalistic overtones; the Liberal, an ideology of political conservatism and social elitism. In this account the heirs of Edwards gave the Revolution its justification and direction, and his analysis of their rhetoric suggests that the impulses of the Awakening and the values of the revivalists helped release the moral energies of Americans in their struggle for independence.

This brief account of Heimert's argument fails to convey its subtlety and to suggest the massive scholarship on which it rests. It also cannot enter in any detail reservations about Heimert's understanding of some of the evidence. Part I, "Awakening," seems most persuasive to me; Part II, "Revolution," while generally convincing, needs some qualification, since the writings of such men as Chauncy, Mayhew, and William Smith can yield different meanings from those found by Heimert. Nor can this review deal properly with much of Heimert's method—a suggestive analysis of rhetoric. What can be said with certainty is that this book is provocative in the best sense: it redefines the terms of major problems, it offers its own substantial answers to them, and it points the way for other investigations. All this is accomplished with verve and sensitivity.

University of California, Berkeley

ROBERT MIDDLEKAUFF

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S MAP MAKER: A BIOGRAPHY OF ROBERT ERSKINE. By *Albert H. Heusser*. Edited with an introduction by *Hubert G. Schmidt*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1966. Pp. xix, 268. \$10.00.)

As the annals of the Revolution continue to unfold, the remarkable range of George Washington's active interests emerges in bolder relief. Having been a surveyor in his youth, he was naturally concerned with this aspect of the war in a special way. During most of the conflict Robert Erskine was the surveyor general of the Continental Army, and more than one hundred of his colorful maps have recently been put on display by the New-York Historical Society.

This account of Erskine and his activities was written by Albert H. Heusser, a New Jersey historian who died in 1929. Professor Schmidt of Rutgers University has edited this manuscript and added pertinent notes. Although the book adds information on map making for the American side, it is marred by vague generalities, obscure local references, and such comments as "he must have learned," "in all likelihood," partly the result of a dearth of biographical material.

Robert Erskine was born at Dunfermline, Scotland, also the birthplace of Andrew Carnegie. Erskine was well educated; he settled in London and soon failed in business. But he became so well versed in mathematics and mechanics that he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, being endorsed for the honor by Benjamin Franklin, among others. Erskine was sent to America in 1771 as manager of the Ringwood Iron Mines in northern New Jersey, a task that he performed so well that he later came to the attention of George Washington. Perhaps proximity was the main reason why Erskine took the patriot side. His mines aided their effort, especially in helping to produce the huge chain across the Hudson River. He was able to continue his business activities and draw maps for Washington as well. His letters, set forth in the book, reveal interesting details of this technical side of the war. When Erskine died from a fever in 1780, Washington termed him "a useful and valuable officer."

New York University

NORTH CALLAHAN

1775: ANOTHER PART OF THE FIELD. By *Ivor Noël Hume*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1966. Pp. xxviii, 465, xii. \$8.95.)

THIS chatty, occasionally urbane, and very handsomely produced volume is a mixture of detailed political narrative and discursive comments on funerals, slavery, newspapers, child rearing, clothing, and other aspects of life in Virginia in 1775. As the author notes in the preface, it is intended not as a "history" but as a "chronicle" that would impart "some . . . impression of what it was like to live through the year 1775 . . . in Virginia." As a chronicle, it is largely successful. Based upon intensive research in a wide variety of sources, it provides the most comprehensive treatment ever published of Virginia's public life during 1775. As an account of the everyday life of revolutionary Virginians for the same period, however, it is less satisfactory because the author is largely concerned only with the external and manifest and never, therefore, manages to convey any sense of the tensions produced within Virginians by the stunning developments of that year.

Because it contains little factual or interpretive material not already familiar to students of early American history and no new hypotheses about why Virginians responded as they did to the crucial events of 1775 or how those responses and events related to the broader phenomenon of the coming of the American Revolution, the volume will primarily interest the lay reader.

Johns Hopkins University

JACK P. GREENE

THE SINEWS OF WAR: ARMY LOGISTICS, 1775-1953. By *James A. Huston*. [Army Historical Series.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army. 1966. Pp. xxiii, 789. \$5.75.)

"Logistics," asserts Hal C. Pattison in the foreword to this book, "is a subject which few people, including professional soldiers, have thoroughly understood. Yet logistics must support . . . tactical operations and the day-to-day life of the Army in the same way that a well-run household supports the people who live in it." An authoritative account of this key element in American military endeavor has long been needed.

Now, James A. Huston has creditably filled this lacuna with a large and able volume covering the logistical aspects of supply, transportation, service, and evacuation and hospitalization from the Revolution through the Korean War. And it is an important, even vital function of which Huston writes. "Today," he declares, "as a basis for decisions of public policy and military action, civilians as well as the military require some experience in military logistics."

This detailed study is strongest on the history of twentieth-century logistical efforts, although the formative experiences in the earlier periods are adequately discussed. The organization is perhaps overmechanical, and the style is occasionally stilted. In addition, the work is not as heavily footnoted as the scholar might wish, and a number of significant sources, monographs, and biographical studies are missing from the otherwise full bibliography. The author, by dealing with a few arbitrarily selected points, is quite critical of Washington, Eisenhower, and others—perhaps unfairly so.

Nevertheless, the book's assets are many. Huston is especially persuasive in elucidating the problems and imperishable achievements of Winfield Scott in the Mexican War; in illuminating the logistical feats accomplished in the Civil War by McClellan, Haupt, and Meigs; in assessing the seriocomic supply problems of the Spanish-American War and the massive ones of the AEF; in assaying the inexorable logistical difficulties encountered by the Western Allies in their push to the Siegfried Line in World War II; and in his analyses of similar problems, such as the efforts to overcome the ammunition shortage, in the Korean War.

Despite some shortcomings, this competent work should long remain the standard general survey of American military logistics from George Washington to George Marshall.

Pennsylvania State University

WARREN W. HASSLER, JR.

BENJAMIN LUNDY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO FREEDOM.

By *Merton L. Dillon*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1966. Pp. vi, 285. \$6.75.)

THE period between the American Revolution and the founding of the American Antislavery Society in 1833 is still "the neglected period of antislavery" in the United States. Sixty years ago Alice Adams wrote a volume covering most of the period; in 1964 Robert McColley published his *Slavery in Jeffersonian Virginia*. Professor Dillon's work is the first full-length study of the life and work of Benjamin Lundy, the most important figure in the antislavery movement before 1830. It fills in many of the long-existing gaps, especially in the years following the Jeffersonian presidency.

Lundy was a restless, impatient critic of every form of injustice, but his deep commitment to the cause of human freedom was so complete that he neglected everything else, including his family. He was a pioneer opponent of slavery, whose career represents virtually every phase of the antislavery movement. He was an early supporter of the program to colonize Negroes in Africa. Later, he favored settlements for Negroes in Canada, Mexico, or the western territories. Finally, he came to recognize the futility of all such schemes. For a time he was a gradualist, but before the end of his career he was an immediatist. At first he used his talents merely to persuade his fellow men that slavery was wrong, but he was one of the earliest advocates of political action to abolish slavery.

Dillon has succeeded admirably in portraying Lundy as a single-minded, selfless crusader against slavery. Early in his life he gave up all pretense of being a saddler and chose the unpopular career of abolitionist and reformer. Dogged by poverty and poor health, he regarded no sacrifice as too great for the cause he espoused. But he was no doctrinaire, intolerant crusader. Unlike Garrison, whom he inspired and under whose guidance Garrison became a crusading editor, Lundy acknowledged that his way was not the only way to fight slavery. In the pages of *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, which he founded, and in his writings and speeches, he invited others to fight slavery as they saw fit. Few of his own generation and still fewer in the next generation combined zeal and tolerance to the degree that he did. This work is a valuable addition to our understanding of the "neglected period."

University of Chicago

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN

THE ARTIST IN AMERICAN SOCIETY: THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1790-1860. By *Neil Harris*. (New York: George Braziller. 1966. Pp. xvi, 432. \$7.50.)

PATRONS AND PATRIOTISM: THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE FINE ARTS IN THE UNITED STATES 1790-1860. By *Lillian B. Miller*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 335. \$8.50.)

As contributions to the continuing rediscovery of American art in the nineteenth century, these two books are outstanding. Certainly the work by Neil Harris is one of the more significant recent studies of American culture, and Lillian Miller's monograph likewise adds considerably to our knowledge of the place of the artist in American society. Both books show the growing organi-

zational and institutional patterns of artistic support in the crucial years of American artistic "take-off," 1790-1860. The view that the fine arts could not develop in the United States because of hostile soil can no longer be held.

The thick-textured, massively documented, and wide-ranging *Artist in American Society* focuses on the development of art as a profession in the United States during the formative years, dealing with such topics as the romantic heritage and assumptions, the rhetoric of art discussion, art and nationalism, moral evaluations, European travel and Old World experiences, the domestic beautification campaign, patterns of artist life, communal patronage, alienation and identification, and professional self-consciousness. Here, then, is a study of the "lengthy and articulate process" of "the legitimization of artistic energies in America." Much of this work is devoted to the impact of Europe on American artists and their complex responses to what they discovered was the place of art and art achievements abroad. Harris knows how to formulate meaningful questions, and it is a pleasure for the reader to follow him as he searches for his answers; his book moves far beyond earlier discussions of the social aspects of American art not only in scope but also in penetrating depth of analysis. This is a seminal study that should stimulate further sophisticated research in this area.

Patrons and Patriotism, which is concerned with the more limited topic of the encouragement of the fine arts in the United States, provides a wealth of detail illustrating in what ways and to what extent federal governmental assistance, community support, and private and group patronage developed to the mid-nineteenth century. Miller also touches on problems of aesthetics, taste, local art concerns, and national ideals. Although she has, I feel, slighted the European aspects of American patronage, her book is both a veritable encyclopedia of artists, patrons, and organizations and a well-documented case study of the emerging public attitude toward the value of the fine arts. The work is clearly written, and, like Harris', usefully and pleasantly illustrated. One only wishes that the publishers of both volumes had seen fit to make them yet more enjoyable by providing footnotes rather than the cumbersome endnotes.

New York University

PAUL R. BAKER

YAZOO: LAW AND POLITICS IN THE NEW REPUBLIC. THE CASE OF *FLETCHER V. PECK*. By C. Peter Magrath. (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 243. \$6.00.)

PLACING the celebrated Marshall decision in *Fletcher v. Peck* in its socioeconomic setting and relating it to the politics of the early national period, the author has provided a model treatment of a constitutional case. The facts behind *Fletcher v. Peck* are in the best tradition of *opéra bouffe*. In a transaction involving the sale of 35,000,000 acres, nearly all of Alabama and Mississippi, for a mere half-million dollars, virtually an entire state legislature was bribed. Despite disavowals, the strong circumstantial evidence offered by Mr. Magrath makes the charge of bribery a thoroughly convincing one. Notions of conflict of interest being honored in the breach in those days, the only element that heightens the parade of colorful figures involved in the scandal is the lofty stations they

occupied. The backers of the new Yazoo companies included two United States senators, a United States Supreme Court judge, and a territorial governor, and no one in the end seems to have lost anything.

What gave the case a national dimension was that it was brought to the Supreme Court as a result of the efforts of the New England purchasers of Yazoo lands, and, as the author suggests, in some cases at least it is highly dubious that these Yankee buyers were entirely innocent. Some of them purchased knowing that they took the risk of the sale being invalidated for fraud. Complicating the regional politics of the Yazoo grants was the fact that the Jeffersonians, who might be expected to uphold a state legislature's absolutism, inherited New England's pro-Yazooish interest, which was to prove a divisive factor in Republican party politics.

What gives the case its long-term significance, according to the author, is that it not only broke new constitutional ground and stood as a leading precedent for regulating the relationship between government and business during most of the nineteenth century; it also showed how a potent interest group, whose values harmonized, or at least were not in conflict, with the values generally dominant on the Supreme Court, might count on succeeding in their litigation before the highest tribunal.

Marshall's decision indicates how much he was actually influenced by Alexander Hamilton's constitutional thought. Not only did Hamilton anticipate the Supreme Court's later assumption of powers for the federal government on the basis of the necessary and proper clause of the Constitution, the general welfare clause, and the commerce clause, but in a legal opinion rendered for a private client in 1796 he gave the first exposition of what eventually became a major constitutional interpretation of the contract clause: an act of a state legislature may have the quality of a legal contract, and it cannot be broken without violating the contract clause of the Constitution. While Magrath defends Marshall's application of the Hamiltonian contract line in this case on the ground that it did no violence to the national political consensus, he is far less critical of the legal reasoning behind the decision than other scholars. In holding that a grant made by a state and accepted by the grantee is in substance an executed contract, the obligation of which still continues, Marshall probably misconstrued the intention of the framers of the Constitution. Even granting that contracts entered into by a state came under the contracts clause, Marshall might well have in equity rescinded the contract for fraud.

Columbia University

RICHARD B. MORRIS

THE WAGONMASTERS: HIGH PLAINS FREIGHTING FROM THE EARLIEST DAYS OF THE SANTA FE TRAIL TO 1880. By *Henry Pickering Walker*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 347. \$5.95.)

Forty-five years ago I chose overland freighting as a subject for a Ph.D. dissertation, but upon investigation I concluded that the sources were too scant and scattered for practical utilization. Thus I took the overland mail as a topic, with

ample accessible material primarily in government documents and California newspapers.

Now comes an author with the hardihood and perseverance to take the freighting subject. Through the passing decades some new material has emerged, but primarily his has been a long, wide, and deep search to ferret out original primary sources. The result is the first comprehensive and satisfactory treatment of the important subject.

The book is well organized. A preliminary discussion of water transportation, the character of the inland waters, and the types of boats employed is followed by chapters on the outfitting and destination points; the men in the business—entrepreneurs, wagon bosses, bullwhackers, mule skinner; the various wagons that carried the loads; and the draft animals—oxen, horses, and mules—with the advantages of each. Other chapters treat freighting on the principal routes to Santa Fe, Salt Lake City, Denver, and the Montana mines. One chapter is devoted to the federal government as freighter or customer, and one to the Indians as they affected hauling.

The main title is rather appealing, but it covers only one aspect of the subject treated. Walker has developed such rare aspects of the topic as freighting to Montana from Los Angeles and from Canada. The book is concerned more with factual information than with literary presentation. Numerous good illustrations, an excellent bibliography, and a good index are included.

Brigham Young University

LEROY R. HAFEN

MILLSTONE AND SAW: THE ORIGINS OF NEENAH-MENASHA. By
Alice E. Smith. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1966. Pp.
viii, 208. \$5.50.)

STUDIES such as this are needed to understand better the extension of the American frontier. Just as taking up the land for farms was a step in that process, so the formation of towns was necessary in the growth pattern.

Millstone and Saw grew out of a project for the study of urban history, established at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in 1960, and Miss Smith is especially qualified as author because of her long and distinguished service to the society as a scholar and its director of research. It is a study of the growth patterns of a pair of typical small Wisconsin cities. Too often our information about urban development has concerned the big cities of America, which, starting as small towns, still had special advantages to make them grow large. Here we have two communities that have remained within their categories, and our evaluation of growth factors should, therefore, have greater validity than otherwise has been possible.

Neenah and Menasha are located at the lower end of Lake Winnebago where the Fox River divides and tumbles over twin rapids to form Doty Island. They are on the historic waterway traveled by Jolliet and Marquette on their first recorded passage from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi. Settlement began in the 1830's, and the two towns experienced all the troubles of frontier communities struggling for life. Transportation was a pressing need, and the city founders

struggled through successive stages of river improvement and plank and toll road building until the railroad solved their problem. With the exploitation of the power resources at the rapids, sawmills and surprisingly productive flour mills were built. As farming developed in the area, the towns took on more and more the color of service communities to supply the hinterland, although the wood products industry remained the backbone of community prosperity.

This volume carries the story to 1875; a second volume is planned to bring the account to current times. Its publication will be awaited with interest by all who are concerned with the frontier hypothesis in its application to urban development.

University of Minnesota, Duluth

ARTHUR J. LARSEN

TIGERS OF TAMMANY: NINE MEN WHO RAN NEW YORK. By *Alfred Connable* and *Edward Silberfarb*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1967. Pp. 384. \$6.95.)

THE authors of this volume are very knowledgeable about modern New York City politics: Edward Silberfarb is a reporter for a city newspaper; Alfred Connable was a writer for former Mayor Robert Wagner and is presently working for Eugene Nickerson, chief executive of Nassau County, Long Island. For the period prior to their immediate knowledge, they seem to have gone to respectable pains to get their facts straight and their interpretations up to date. The result is a rather predictable book about Tammany Hall: lively, anecdotal, at times overwritten, full of colorful quotations, and, with the possible exception of the very recent period, of little scholarly value. Considering the fact that they enjoyed the cooperation and assistance of many Tammanyites, including such leaders as Carmine DeSapio, Edward Costikyan, and J. Raymond Jones, it is a pity the authors did not essay a more penetrating analysis of Tammany's operations. And, in view of the speed with which men are departing nowadays who remember the years of Charles Francis Murphy, it is unfortunate they did not attempt more with that "golden" era of the organization's history.

To tell Tammany's story, Connable and Silberfarb have shaped their narrative around its nine "arrogant Bosses": Aaron Burr, Martin Van Buren, Fernando Wood, William Marcy Tweed, "Honest John" Kelly, Richard Croker, Murphy, DeSapio, and Jones. A chapter is devoted to each man. In addition, there is an opening chapter relating the legend of Tammany and the founding of the society, and a chapter narrating the years of the interregnum between the death of Murphy and the accession of DeSapio. The organization and development of the book make sense except for the fact that Van Buren was not a New York City politician, much less a boss of Tammany. But perhaps it is unfair to criticize the authors for this error since many professional historians make the same mistake, particularly those concerned with the entrepreneurial intentions of the Jacksonians and therefore must connect Van Buren with the interests of the city and the desires of Wall Street bankers.

The authors conclude that Tammany's bosses were "essentially lonely figures caught in the whirlwinds of conflicting cultures and values." With their passing

the qualities of government improved, but "the spice of political drama has almost disappeared. In the arena of politics there are few unashamed rascals left to corrupt us nor truly outraged reformers to save us."

University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

ROBERT V. REMINI

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. By *Martin Duberman*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1966. Pp. xxii, 516. \$8.00.)

JAMES Russell Lowell is remembered as a man of letters, a reformer, and a diplomat. But he does not loom large as a historical or literary figure because in none of his chosen roles did he achieve more than a secondary importance. In this definitive and well-written biography, Martin Duberman makes no real effort to dispute the conventional belief in Lowell's marginality. He seeks rather to rehabilitate Lowell as a man and as an intellectual and social type. "It is Lowell's qualities as a human being," he writes in his introduction, "which have most attracted me, and which most warrant rehabilitation." In the pages that follow he traces Lowell's career with style, candor, and discernment. Duberman is fully aware of the literary and intellectual shortcomings of his subject. Lowell was given, he admits, to a "judicious shutting of the eyes," or to "bland exhortation," when faced with difficult intellectual problems. In his prose, probably the most enduring side of his literary work, he "had trouble sustaining a point of view or working through a theme." In short, he had, in many respects, a second-rate mind. Yet Duberman finds much to admire in Lowell's career. He sees the ante bellum Lowell as embodying the best aspects of the antislavery consciousness. (He puts to rest once and for all the notion that Lowell became an abolitionist mainly to please his first wife.) Although Lowell's humanitarian feelings reached a peak in the 1840's and waned somewhat with passing years, he retained throughout his life a healthy interest in human betterment.

Duberman's portrait also reveals Lowell as a man of great warmth and personal charm, a social animal in the everyday as well as the philosophical sense. The most lyrical chapter in the book describes the refinements of human intercourse that characterized the social life of the literary "Brahmins." There is an especially vivid description of the meetings of the Saturday Club. Lowell, along with Oliver Wendell Holmes, was at the very center of this Boston-Cambridge milieu, and Duberman cites with apparent approval Lowell's rejection, in his life and art, of the fashionable extremes of romantic alienation and his ability to retain "something of the eighteenth century view of the cultivated man living in the world." Lowell's cluster of qualities—a sense of public responsibility and a thirst for humanitarian reform, combined with cultivation, personal style, and a gift for human relationships—was, Duberman suggests, characteristic of the "Brahmin" type in mid-nineteenth-century America. This proposition is not pushed very hard, but it is clear from the introduction that Duberman is engaged in a continuing effort to demonstrate the liberal values and admirable human qualities of the leading New England "Brahmins" of the Civil War era.

His portrait of Lowell is credible and convincing. But how representative was Lowell of the "Brahmin" intelligentsia? Not many "Brahmins" became

Garrisonian abolitionists. In the 1840's and 1850's, such archetypal Boston luminaries as Holmes and Francis Parkman were taking a strong stand against humanitarian reform and calling for a rejuvenated aristocracy. Another "Brahmin" conservative was Lowell's close friend Charles Eliot Norton, an early exponent of the elitism and distrust of the masses that would dominate the New England mind in the postwar era. It is possible, therefore, to appreciate Duberman's Lowell without changing one's belief that conservatism and class consciousness were the major elements of the mid-nineteenth-century "Brahmin" mentality.

Northwestern University

GEORGE M. FREDRICKSON

REMINISCENCES OF THE SECOND SEMINOLE WAR. By *John Bemrose*.

Edited by *John K. Mahon*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1966. Pp. 115. \$5.00.)

BEMROSE, an English youth apprenticed to a druggist, ran away in 1831, sailed to America, and enlisted in the United States Army. His five-year term as a hospital steward was spent mostly in Florida, a territory beset with conflict between the Seminole Indians and the white settlers. More than thirty years after returning to England he wrote his brief reminiscences, perhaps relying on notes taken in Florida and certainly borrowing freely from other raconteurs.

Bemrose emphasized events and personalities associated with the Seminole War. On the one hand, he criticized soldiers, Indians, and Negroes for their savagery; on the other, he praised them for their heroism. Although he blamed the white settlers for the war, he denounced the Seminoles as bloodthirsty liars and endowed them with unmerited skill as marksmen and fighters. Indian dances, marriage ceremonies, and other customs interested Bemrose, and he described them in readable prose. Since his duties kept him from the battle line, his best accounts detailed marches, the boredom and fear of the soldiers, and the care of the ill and wounded. Brigadier General Duncan L. Clinch was his hero among the American generals. The Englishman admired his commander's humanity, his Christianity, and his Spartan life, and he had the utmost confidence in Clinch's strategy and tactics.

The author's interests encompassed more than the war. His picture of Clinch's sugar plantation was carefully drawn, and St. Augustine, with its "handsome" Minorcan girls, distinctive amusements, courtship customs, and elaborate funerals, attracted him. But the public auction of slaves angered him: "To see the unfeeling buyers of blood cavilling over the qualifications of human beings, with the coarseness of [a] cattle jobber, is what one never forgets." He condemned a tyrannical master for the wanton killing of three slaves, depicted the inhuman working conditions of field hands on Clinch's plantation, and noted the baneful effects of slavery on the white populace.

Whenever Bemrose reported personal experiences, his reminiscences possess great value. Too often, however, he included accounts written by others and frequently accepted or reported errors in fact. Because the original manuscript has been lost, this book was based on a typescript in the Florida Historical

Society Library. The editing and footnotes enhance this account of the Seminole War.

University of Georgia

REMBERT W. PATRICK

THE CATSKILL MOUNTAIN HOUSE. By *Roland Van Zandt*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1966. Pp. xxii, 416. \$12.50.)

IN 1823 a modest cottage was built on the ledge of the northern Catskills overlooking the Hudson. After Thomas Cole visited the spot in 1825 and William Cullen Bryant and other authors celebrated its "sublime" splendors, hundreds took the stage road to Mountain House whose white colonnaded façade became world-famous by 1845. The author lovingly describes the maze of trails, glens, and vantage points. He exposes the popular error that this area was the locale of Irving's story of Rip Van Winkle.

Dr. Van Zandt claims that this region occasioned the "first literary and artistic glorification of the native American landscape." Perhaps the most famous evocation of this union was Asher Durand's "Kindred Spirits," which reflected the romantic spirit of the Hudson River school.

Mountain House outdistanced its rivals in adding electric lights, telegraph, and telephones. When Charles Beach, the proprietor, constructed the Otis Elevated Railroad up the escarpment in 1892, thousands came to ride its cars. But the elite found finer watering places in Europe, the Far West, and in New England, while the thousands of automobile owners preferred the seashore, the Adirondacks, and newer hotels. The hard-pressed owners sold out to the Conservation Department of the state of New York, which burned the ruined building in 1963.

The author has exhibited zeal in gathering every scintilla of local evidence. In addition, he has successfully related this hotel to the romantic movement. But his efforts to relate Mountain House to national economic trends and population movements seem forced. One looks in vain for a comparison with other resorts, especially Saratoga. Moreover, this Catskill area was hardly the "playground of the nation." The "masses" of New York City could not afford a trip to Mountain House or its neighboring hostelrys. Rather their travel was limited to a Fourth-of-July excursion on the North River, courtesy of George Washington Plunkitt and his Tammany braves.

The Rutgers University Press has turned out a handsome book with ninety illustrations, four in full color.

Hamilton College

DAVID MALDWIN ELLIS

RAILROADS AND AMERICAN ECONOMIC GROWTH: ESSAYS IN ECONOMETRIC HISTORY. By *Robert William Fogel*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 296. \$6.95.)

HERE is another entry into the polemics between the new and the old economic historians. The good guys call themselves "the new breed" or "Cliometricians" and dismiss the bad guys as "institutional" or "impressionistic" historians. The most pejorative phrase is "a mere narrative historian." Though Mr. Fogel uses

few of these terms and grants some usefulness to "impressionistic" history, his disclaimer is the usual ritualistic one always made in this controversy; as an operative principle it is generally honored in the breach. In any case Fogel announces in his introduction that the methodology of the new breed is an attempt "to reveal what actually happened in the past." He feels it has been successful.

Readers are bound to be distracted when they wake up in a world neither they nor any other American, except Fogel, ever made. This area of the mind demonstrates that the railroad was not "indispensable," and that until 1890 the country could have prospered and grown by using wagon hauls and navigable streams and canals. The author carefully defines the technical terms employed in his calculations, is prudent in the reservations he makes, and has the ability to hold to the thread of a complicated argument. These qualities, however admirable, are beside the point. The development he describes is not "what actually happened in the past." In spite of statistics and a map of conceivable water routes, the railroads actually did the work. Some of Fogel's procedures are questionable. To judge the effectiveness of the railroad on the basis of a portion of their traffic—transportation of agricultural products—is partial and, by Fogel's own admission, lazy. The assembly and analysis of data about other varieties of freight and about passengers are burdensome and may be impossible. Perhaps this defect is unimportant. This imaginary journey into what might have been is an exercise designed to show how wrong impressionistic historians have been and to determine how much the "social saving" of using railroads amounted to. "Careful study will yield an estimate for all commodities that is well below 5 per cent of gross national product." I infer this figure seems small to Fogel; to D. C. North, another card-carrying Cliometrician, "a social saving of 5 per cent is a very substantial saving." Apparently the new breed, in order to evaluate its measurements, has to resort to the use of subjective verbalisms.

In my scheme of things the determination of "what actually happened in the past" should result, when it is so scientific and explicit, in a measure of agreement. Instead the new breed is very quarrelsome about its findings. Fogel, in one of the most persuasive parts of this volume, analyzes the impact of the railroad as a consumer upon the iron industry. His conclusion that it was of minor importance strikes me as valid. In addition he falls upon W. W. Rostow, a member in good standing of the new breed. Apparently the latter's credentials are spurious. Fogel's analysis of the "take-off" and the quantifications involved leaves Rostow's concept, as applied to the United States, a shambles.

A brief review is too short for adequate comment upon other features of this volume and its role in Cliometrics. There has been quantification in economic history for many years, from the National Bureau of Economic Research and from Fogel's mentors to whom he expresses in his introduction a just homage of devotion. Their success in winning acceptance for their methods and findings has been spectacular. In essence this volume is a new manifesto which, if I get the message, threatens: "Retool, rethink, conform, or be plowed under." New are the assumption of infallibility, the all-or-nothing tone, the disdain for words and style, by inference a means of making error plausible. Every page, give or take fifteen, has a statistic but never a trace (beware, the implicit quantification!) of humor about either themselves or those who differ from them. In my esti-

mation this approach is not well designed to win friends or influence people or to further interdisciplinary cooperation, which the new breed also advocates.

Thetford, Vermont

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

GEORGE WASHINGTON JULIAN, RADICAL REPUBLICAN: A STUDY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY POLITICS AND REFORM. By *Patrick W. Riddleberger*. [Indiana Historical Collections, Volume XLV.] ([Indianapolis:] Indiana Historical Bureau. 1966. Pp. xiii, 344. \$5.00.)

PATRICK Riddleberger was no doubt as frustrated in writing this biography of George Washington Julian, Indiana congressman (1849-1851, 1861-1871) as the reader is in examining it. For Julian was always on the fringe of power, rarely in the heart of it. Overshadowed in state politics by Oliver Morton, he was unable to control more than his immediate constituency. Active in the Free-Soil party, Julian was not a key figure in the formation of the Republican organization and did not attend the 1860 convention. A member of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of War, he played little part in its proceedings; he wished to serve as one of the House managers of Andrew Johnson's impeachment, but was not appointed. Julian was not, moreover, an especially perceptive observer of events, and Riddleberger must frequently correct him. The congressman, for example, had no sense of Lincoln's strategy at Fort Sumter, never understood the President's case against General John Frémont, and sincerely believed that Mrs. Lincoln "absolutely rules her husband, even in his official concerns."

Still, the details of Julian's life might have exemplified and helped illuminate the history of the era. Unfortunately, Riddleberger turns inward rather than outward, failing to transcend the limitations of his material. He promises psychological insights, but the dynamics behind a sometimes nervous and shy, sometimes confident and cantankerous man do not emerge. Riddleberger more successfully analyzes the tensions between the reformer and politician in Julian and the connections between his religious and political radicalism. But at key moments in the narrative, Riddleberger does not test well-known hypotheses by the Julian example, but rather mechanically and unconvincingly labels his subject. Thus Julian first personifies Eric Hoffer's true believer, then Eric Goldman's patrician reformer, later Henry Nash Smith's agrarian utopian, and finally Richard Hofstadter's mugwump reformer. Perhaps if Riddleberger had told us how Julian maintained a local organization, or described the social and economic characteristics of his peculiar home district, or better explained why a great foe of slavery could so easily desert the Negro after the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment and by 1876 profess to love and admire the South, the particular might have forced us to rethink some of our general interpretations.

Columbia University

DAVID J. ROTHMAN

JACOB N. CARDOZO: ECONOMIC THOUGHT IN THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH. By *Melvin M. Leiman*. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 608.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1966. Pp. 263. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Leiman's *Jacob N. Cardozo*, despite a deplorable style, explores antebellum southern intellectual history as it needs to be done. Leiman, an economist,

presents Cardozo's economic thought in a high-level and fairly technical discussion and establishes a small place for him as a critic of Ricardian classicism and as a modest forerunner of Lord Keynes. Historians will, however, be primarily interested in the excellent analysis of Cardozo's place in southern life and thought.

Cardozo criticized most of the Ricardian system, including the labor theory of value, the law of diminishing returns, the inverse relationship between wages and profits, Malthusian population theory, Say's law, and of course the theory of differential rent, the implications of which were so dangerous to the landholding interest. He nonetheless accepted most of the Ricardian policy recommendations and vigorously defended the principles of *laissez faire* and free trade. He had unlimited faith in the ability of science and technology to overcome diminishing yields, and in other respects he was in the mainstream of American thought in his day. But he also was passionately committed to slavery and to the social order it had raised. His economic reasoning made him hail the South's commitment to specialized agriculture as rational, but, unlike so many current writers, he saw that this very specialization was politically dangerous to the southern social system. He ended as a secessionist, seeking to reconcile slavery with the development of an indigenous southern capitalism. As Leiman incisively observes: "The irony, however, was that the existence of a noncapitalistic labor market had the tendency to prevent the full evolution of a capitalistic commercial-manufacturing system. Here were the roots of the malaise of the South's economy, and its eventual denouement."

Cardozo was caught. He had inherited a body of bourgeois economic doctrine that in either its Ricardian or Malthusian form served southern problems and interests only superficially. Too often his scientific work and devotion to slavery, which he knew to be far more than an economic system, clashed. In the end he could criticize classical economic models, but offer little in their place. The special contribution of Leiman's thoughtful book is that it exposes and explores the antagonism between the scientific and ideological claims on Cardozo as a reflection of the antagonism between the bourgeois and prebourgeois elements in the southern economic and social structure.

Sir George Williams University

EUGENE D. GENOVESE

THE FAR SOUTHWEST, 1846-1912: A TERRITORIAL HISTORY. By
Howard Roberts Lamar. [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 12.]
(New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 560. \$10.00.)

THIS study sets out to fill a need in southwestern history: comparison of the territorial periods of the Four Corners states of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona. It would be difficult for a single person writing on the four states, all of which have a certain introspective dedication to their own individually interesting backgrounds, to please the students and scholars of all. Within each of the states many local partisans will disagree, sometimes violently, with Lamar's interpretations and presentation of their particular area of specialization, while simultaneously they will consider his treatment of the other three areas fully satisfactory. This is a danger that an author runs when he spreads his study over such a culturally diverse area. The book represents a Herculean

task and results in what is essentially a political history of the prestatehood era.

Lamar holds his reader's attention best when he stresses the differences rather than the similarities. New Mexico's struggle for statehood was lengthy because of a strong Hispanic flavor to its politics and because of ethnic and linguistic problems. Powerful outside enemies and an untidy situation at home prevented early recognition although population was always sufficient. Utah's prestatehood period was complicated by Mormon dominance and pretensions to extensive control over the destiny of the Great Basin. Particularly distressing were the stands on polygamy and the presence of federal troops. Arizona was penalized by isolation, lack of population, and close association with New Mexico. Colorado, on the other hand, achieved its early statehood as a result of proper political attitude and good timing. Beneath the surface in all movements runs the current of partisan struggle for power, complicated by the general low caliber of men sent by Washington as appointive administrators. Occasionally the rather sordid tale of their incompetence is relieved by the arrival of dedicated public servants in a remote land among peoples whose cultures were largely alien. But this was the exception.

Much research is spoiled by two notable weaknesses: a lack of familiarity with the Spanish language and culture when treating New Mexico and Arizona and the many typographical errors appearing in a work published by a press that enjoys a prominent reputation. The first drawback may have been overcome by considerable effort on Lamar's part, and this failure is his own responsibility; the latter might easily have been avoided, but is a joint responsibility of printer, publisher, and author.

University of New Mexico

DONALD C. CUTTER

GOLD FEVER: BEING A TRUE ACCOUNT, BOTH HORRIFYING AND HILARIOUS, OF THE ART OF HEALING (SO-CALLED) DURING THE CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH. By *George W. Groh*. (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1966. Pp. x, 340. \$5.95.)

Mr. Groh has come up with an unbeatable formula like that of the legendary author of *Lincoln's Doctor's Dog*: he has combined the subjects of medicine and the gold rush. When a man with a formula like this one is also a first-rate writer and storyteller, the result must be, as this book is, superior entertainment. The author has technical competence in medicine (although he might, for example, have distinguished more clearly between Asiatic cholera and cholera morbus) and has utilized well the materials on both medicine and the gold rush. In addition to such familiar incidents inevitably involving the vigilance committee and Belle, the lady of questionable virtue, from the immense forty-niner literature, Groh has utilized a respectable amount of manuscript material. Much of the book's appeal, as the author recognizes in his subtitle, derives from the generous use of primary sources.

One would not wish to apply standards suitable for a scholarly work to a volume designed for the general reader. Groh has written narrative, not analysis, and despite his use of primary sources he has not contributed in any significant way either to the history of the gold rush or to medical history (which often

gets lost after the first few chapters). The text is not annotated, although there is an incomplete bibliography that suggests the thoroughness of the author's research.

Gold Fever can be recommended as the ideal gift, even for those not quite in the *American Heritage* market. It is replete with suspense, pathos, humor, and more deaths per chapter than an evening of American television.

Ohio State University

J. C. BURNHAM

ROBERT E. LEE: A PORTRAIT (1807-1861). By *Margaret Sanborn*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1966. Pp. xii, 353. \$6.95.)

WE are seemingly about to enter a period of rekindled interest in Robert E. Lee. Why, in the age of the liberal triumph, authors and publishers should again take up this leader of the southern cause is something that should puzzle analysts of American culture. It may also puzzle American historians, who have thought that D. S. Freeman in his four-volume biography of the 1930's said all that needed to be said about Lee. But the new interest in Lee is plainly evident. Recently Clifford Dowdey brought out a thick biography. Dowdey felt called on to justify his book. He was exploiting material not available to Freeman, and he wished to remove Lee from the "delimiting" military context in which previous writers had placed him. Now we have another biography, and its author also feels that she has to justify her effort: she is writing not about Lee the soldier but Lee "the man."

Margaret Sanborn, according to the book jacket, has lived in California all of her life. She has been a "cinema critic" for a San Francisco literary magazine and has translated a volume of German fairy tales. Unfortunately she did not choose to reveal in an introduction why she was drawn to study Lee or why she considers him to be a figure worth studying. In her acknowledgments she says merely that she is presenting "the man." The jacket blurb, however, goes into somewhat more detail. This is the first volume of a "monumental" biography, carrying Lee up to 1861. The second volume, "The Complete Man," will deal with the war and postwar years. When completed the work will be the first full portrait of Lee the youth, husband, father, and so forth.

In pursuit of the human Lee, Sanborn engaged in wide research. She examined many manuscript collections, some of them not used or not extensively used by previous writers. The resulting portrait is full, intimate, and often franker than anything said by previous writers. Thus she has no compunctions about exposing the weak character of his father or the scandals in the Lee family. She all but says that Lee married his wife without being ardently in love with her. Mary Custis was the heiress to a large fortune, and for Lee the marriage was "a highly practical choice." She also expounds on Lee's lifelong admiration for beautiful women, who were to him necessary "symbols" of the "eternal woman." He had to play the role of the "gallant and perennial lover," and he played it with greater devotion after he came to realize that his wife was incapable of happiness except in her childhood home and with her parents.

These are shrewd observations, and although they are not necessarily correct, they do have the effect of making Lee into a more interesting person. But the

total effect of the book is not impressive. Most of the facts that Sanborn adduces to prove the "human" Lee are already known—that he liked cats, that he delighted to have his children tickle his feet, that he had a sly sense of humor. Nor are readers likely to be overcome by the author's revelation that he took a drink now and then. We do not have to be told by a biographer that there was a "Lee the man." What we need to know is why Lee was the kind of man he was, what forces in himself and his culture shaped him into what he became. This book is a pleasant account of the personal Lee, but except for some occasional observations it does not provide us with the answers we require.

Louisiana State University

T. HARRY WILLIAMS

TURNING POINTS OF THE CIVIL WAR. By *James A. Rawley*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 230. \$5.75.)

"The Civil War was a turning point in American history," the author writes. But there were turning points within the turning point, and this is the essence of this well-written series of essays on the crucial periods and events of the Civil War that may well have determined victory for one side and defeat for the other.

The turning points are given as: Kentucky and the borderland; First Bull Run; the *Trent* Affair; Antietam; the Emancipation Proclamation; Gettysburg and Vicksburg; and the election of 1864. The author's sources are almost entirely secondary, and there are no exciting new points of view expressed, but the essays are well done.

There are doubtless Civil War scholars who would differ from the author on the validity of his selections, but, after all, there is little consensus among these scholars on anything except that there was a war. I would, for example, quarrel a bit with the essay on the *Trent* Affair, feeling it would have been best to have written this essay on "The Failure of King Cotton Diplomacy" instead of making the *Trent* Affair the focal point. Retrospectively, it appears, the *Trent* Affair was only convincing proof that England was not going to intervene. The more basic factor of the failure of Confederate diplomacy was thus made obvious. Perhaps this is splitting hairs, but one can hardly read the late Frank Owsley's *King Cotton Diplomacy* without seeing that the *Trent* Affair was perhaps peripheral rather than vitally central.

Although not highly controversial in nature, the book would make an excellent discussion piece for a panel of Civil War historians. There would be hot dissent from some members and no general agreement from the others, but everyone would have a good time.

Tulane University

JOHN P. DYER

CONCEIVED IN CRISIS: A HISTORY OF LA SALLE COLLEGE, 1863-1965. By *Thomas J. Donaghy, F.S.C.* (Philadelphia: La Salle College. 1966. Pp. xi, 219. \$3.95.)

LA SALLE College in Philadelphia was founded in 1863 by the Christian Brothers. For many years its story was typical of the small, denominational college: inadequate financial resources, limited physical facilities, tiny enrollments, and an

overworked faculty. In the twentieth century the institution gradually evolved into a large and complex urban university, with laymen outnumbering brothers on the faculty and a significant increase in the percentage of non-Catholic students.

La Salle's history is reviewed in this volume by Thomas J. Donaghy, a Christian Brother and an associate professor of history at the college. It is very much of an "official" history. The book is published by the college, and the academic vice-president and other Christian Brothers are stated to have read the manuscript. In addition, the academic vice-president provides an epilogue.

Donaghy utilizes a number of original materials, mainly unpublished documents from the college's archives. There is little evidence, however, of familiarity with the existing literature on the history of higher education in America. As a result, the work rarely seeks to explain trends at La Salle in the broader context of American intellectual development.

Important issues of educational philosophy and strategy are mentioned, but never fully explored. The "Latin Question," for example, and the place of the natural sciences and alleged "scientific materialism" in the curriculum of a Christian college deserve fuller treatment. La Salle is shown to have been slower than many of its contemporary institutions to accept such developments as the elective system, a collegiate-type grading system, and a specialized departmental structure. Why was this so? The author does not say.

This general historical sketch is evidently designed to serve the needs first of all of "the La Salle family, its friends and neighbors." Those looking for a more searching evaluation of the American Catholic college, its reaction to urban society, and its place in American educational and intellectual history, will have to look elsewhere.

Fairleigh Dickinson University

WILLIS RUDY

HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN NEBRASKA. Volume II, THE CHURCH ON THE FADING FRONTIER, 1864-1910; Volume III, CATHOLIC CHAPTERS IN NEBRASKA IMMIGRATION, 1870-1900. By *Henry W. Casper, S.J.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company. 1966. Pp. xvi, 388; xii, 201. \$10.00; \$5.00.)

FATHER Henry W. Casper, S.J., narrated the story of the Roman Catholic Church on the frontier of old Nebraska Territory, 1838-1876, in an earlier volume. The second volume bears the dates 1864-1910 and is a continuation of the first, taking up the story with the appointment of the second vicar apostolic of the smaller Nebraska Territory, James O'Connor. Just as the Plains offered few natural wonders to the prospective settler, the story of the Catholic Church in the vicariate apostolic has an unusual evenness of common people who bought some of the fertile plains and tried to engage in successful farming. Some prospered, at least before the drought years; others gradually lost their whole investment. In the villages that formed along the railroad tracks there were likewise successful settlers and some failures. There seems to have been no notable difference between Catholic and non-Catholic on the Plains, and, if there is one deficiency

in these two volumes, it is the lack of accounts of the non-Catholic neighbors of these Catholic settlers. The author's narrative is made up of simple, frank accounts of the causes of failure, both clerical and lay, with fair praise for the more successful and more zealous ones. This simple narrative will not have to be told again.

The third volume of this history is devoted to three interesting colonization efforts. Although the living conditions in these immigrant projects were no different from those of individual settlers, the fact that they engaged in a group project dominated by religious and national feelings justifies the author's setting them aside in separate treatments. The activities of "General" John O'Neill give a natural center to the story of the Irish colonizations in Nebraska. There have been many abstract arguments about the reasons the Irish did not go to the frontier. In Holt and Greeley Counties, Casper has recorded the actual efforts to settle the Irish immigrant on the frontier and the successes and failures there involved. In the account of the Bohemian colonization project, the reader is brought into contact with the pioneers described in the novels of Willa Cather. The Polish colonization project was less of a national project than the Irish and Bohemian settlements.

University of Notre Dame

THOMAS T. McAVOY, C.S.C.

THE SOUTH SINCE APPOMATTOX: A CENTURY OF REGIONAL CHANGE. By *Thomas D. Clark* and *Albert D. Kirwan*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 438. \$7.50.)

In format, title, and expository style this volume appears to be a textbook, but it is not. The authors are concerned exclusively with recounting the changes that have taken place in the South over the last hundred years. The book, it is true, is not a work of original research, but an admirable synthesis of an enormous printed literature, primary as well as secondary. Unlike a textbook, it has a definite point of view and something like a thesis about the causes for the changes it treats. The point of view is that social, political, and economic change is both inevitable and desirable in the South. It is evident that the two authors favor economic diversification, improved educational opportunities, and civil equality for black southerners. Early in the book they set forth their conclusion that the seeds of change were already present in 1865; among the most important, in their judgment, were "the race problem, the demands of industry as against an agrarian economy, utilization and conservation of natural and human resources, a shifting political system, increased urbanization, and the drive for universal education." As a result, three chapters are devoted to the Negro, one to the TVA, another to urbanization, several to agricultural and industrial developments, four to politics, and two to education—the last constituting the best short treatment I have seen. Although the authors single out several large areas of change in the South, they are more descriptive than analytical in discussing them. The facts of change are amply set forth, but the causes and impact of those changes are only lightly touched upon. Hence, the book reads like a survey of the last hundred years rather than an interpretation or analysis of forces. It is in keeping

with the authors' purpose, however, that no chapter on religion appears, though in any mere survey of southern life it certainly would. Religion, they rightly imply, has not been a force for change in the South over the last century.

The book is packed with information, presented in a straightforward, lucid fashion; only occasional reliance is placed on statistics and none on statistical analysis, even for the most recent period, though such information is abundant and could have been used with profit. Unfortunately, there is some evidence of hasty publication, since there are a number of misspellings, including the names of well-known southern writers, and a misstatement of U. B. Phillips' central theme; also, the career of Tom Watson is somewhat confused as it is presented.

The authors authoritatively trace the changes of the last century, but they make it clear that the real alteration in the South began only with the New Deal and the Second World War. Not until then were the forces for change sufficiently strong to push the South out of its traditional agricultural rut. Hence almost half of the book's pages are devoted to the period since 1930. These years are presented in a fuller, more systematic manner than they were in Clark's *The Emerging South*, which appeared in 1961.

Vassar College

CARL N. DEGLER

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF GEORGIA. By *Alan Conway*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1966. Pp. vi, 248. \$6.50.)

THE Civil War, rather than Reconstruction, has been the popular American subject for such foreign historians as have chosen to write about our past. The intricacies of constitutional, political, and racial problems of Reconstruction would appear to have been too complicated or too parochial to attract them. W. R. Brock of Cambridge broke through these barriers a few years ago with a significant study of national politics of the period. Now Alan Conway of Aberystwyth has plunged into the underbrush of local history where it was thickest and come forth with a monograph on Georgia.

Referring to C. Mildred Thompson's book on the same subject published in 1915, Conway writes that "the present study is in no way an attempt to denigrate what is a very good piece of work," on some parts of which "it would be difficult to improve." He does deplore her rather "genteel cold-bloodedness" about the atrocities of the Klan, but his differences are described as "largely on points of interpretation."

On some of these points the disparity is not very striking. Conway praises General Davis Tillson, the conservative, Johnsonian, proplanter head of the Freedmen's Bureau, for his "commendable impartiality." He considers former Governor Brown's program of limited concessions to freedmen in 1866 "sound advice." He believes that "the education of the Negro would best have been undertaken by Southern whites" and evinces no firm conviction about the freedmen's capacities for self-government. While he finds evidence of widespread "racial sadism" by the Klan, he believes that "a majority of Georgians . . . may actually not have known or may well have been unwilling to learn" of these atrocities.

On the other hand, Conway thinks that "the hatred and invective which have been poured out upon this period have been excessive, irrational, and unjustified" and that this was especially true of Georgia, where the Radicals "inflicted little more than flesh wounds which quickly healed." Their failure he attributes to "the failure of belief by the Radicals themselves" in their own doctrine. Such revisionism as he professes consists largely in departures from the conventional demonology. He takes a somewhat more charitable view of the malfeasance of Radicals and places somewhat more emphasis on that of the conservatives. His methods, his sources, and his narrative mode of organization are those of conventional usage.

Yale University

C. VANN WOODWARD

CLAUS SPRECKELS: THE SUGAR KING IN HAWAII. By *Jacob Adler*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 339. \$8.00.)

CLAUS Spreckels was the dominant figure in the California sugar industry from 1870 until his death in 1908. The extension of his activities to Hawaii was but a tangent to his principal interests, which continued to be centered in San Francisco. Following ratification of the reciprocity treaty between the United States and Hawaii in 1876, Spreckels literally rushed to the islands. Within a short time he won the friendship of King Kalakaua and used that friendship to gain important water rights and extensive grants of land on Maui, where he developed the largest sugar plantation in a little nation whose economy depended almost exclusively upon sugar. He became the principal creditor of the King and of the kingdom, boasted that he could make and unmake ministries, and until a quarrel with Kalakaua in 1886 led to his undoing, he seemed secure in his self-appointed role as the uncrowned king of Hawaii. He has appeared in the pages of Hawaiian history as a sinister figure, concerned only with the aggrandizement of his own fortunes and adept at manipulating Hawaiian politics to that end. In short, he was Hawaii's "robber baron."

The present volume is the first full-length study of the activities of Spreckels in Hawaii. It is based primarily upon Hawaiian newspapers of the period and the manuscript collections of the Archives of Hawaii. Despite careful research, the author has uncovered little previously unknown concerning the Hawaiian career of Spreckels. He has confirmed some widely held assumptions about the power that the "Sugar King" wielded in Hawaii in the mid-1880's, and he has woven into his story accounts of some of the lesser known contributions of Spreckels to the development of Hawaii. Among those contributions were important technological advances in the production and manufacture of sugar, the introduction of electric power to the islands, the establishment of a bank in Honolulu that challenged the banking monopoly long held by the Bank of Bishop and Company, and the tight control of shipping between the islands and the West Coast of the United States. In his preface the author correctly states that posterity has remembered the arrogance and corruption of Spreckels rather than "his contributions to the development of the island kingdom." This book records both.

Vanderbilt University

HAROLD WHITMAN BRADLEY

GOLD IN THE BLACK HILLS. By *Watson Parker*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 259. \$5.95.)

A MILITARY exploring expedition under General Custer, the Jenney-Newton geological survey, and early prospectors all failed to find any notable amounts of gold in the Black Hills; yet a rush there developed major proportions and lasted five years. Interest was fanned by large amounts of enthusiastic publicity from surrounding towns whose merchants were eager to outfit passing gold seekers. The rush attracted farmers and city folk who had suffered disaster in the panic of 1873, western miners whose fortunes had taken a turn for the worse, and Pennsylvania coal miners seeking to avoid the Molly Maguire troubles. They hurried first to the central hills, later to the northern ones when the great discoveries at Deadwood were made. They traveled close to the area by railroad or steamship, then went a comparatively short distance by stagecoach or walking behind a freight wagon. Their wholesale invasion of what was part of an Indian reservation was the last in a series of events that drove the Sioux to war in 1876 and caused the Custer massacre.

At first the gold seekers exploited placer deposits and later turned to lode workings. Their turbulent life and the most important of their mining activities are described in this book. The great fire at Deadwood in September 1879 ended the rush; further development was the work of promoters, speculators, and engineers, rather than prospectors.

Professor Parker's book is the first to devote itself exclusively to the rush. It is primarily a work of synthesis, but he has also made considerable use of primary sources; his bibliography is thorough. On matters of controversy he has judiciously stated his conclusions, such as deciding that Jack McCall shot Wild Bill Hickok because he was "stone drunk and hoped to redeem his beardless manhood by killing the biggest gunman of them all." Parker's narrative is clear, entertaining, accurate, and well proportioned. His book will stand as the authority in its field for a long time.

University of Idaho

WILLIAM S. GREEVER

THE FLIGHT OF THE NEZ PERCE. By *Mark H. Brown*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1967. Pp. 480. \$8.95.)

COLONEL Mark H. Brown does a remarkable job of outlining the causes of the Nez Percé War and of describing the flight of the Nez Percé to the Canadian border in Montana. This is military history at its best. The book jacket calls it the definitive work on the subject, a claim that is certainly justified.

The military maneuvers and the movement of the Indian hostiles are well documented from contemporary newspapers and Indian agency files, and voluminous army records apparently have been thoroughly examined by the author. The inclusion of pertinent quotations enlivens the narrative without injecting the choppy character that mars much historical writing. The selection of source material as a basis for the story of the Nez Percé was based on the rules that evidence "must have been recorded at the time and on the spot by someone who was both knowledgeable and reasonably reliable," criteria the author seems to have followed carefully.

Of special interest is the author's summary of the controversy after the war between the military leaders—Howard, Sheridan, Miles, Perry, and Gibbons—a less than admirable squabble that finally had to be resolved by the commander in chief of the army, General William T. Sherman. The white settlers come in for their share of criticism, and one may detect a faint, but probably warranted, sympathy for an Indian people deprived of their homeland.

Brown concludes, along with other recent historians of the war, that Chief Joseph was not the prime mover for battle but that he did eventually become the leader when peace was necessary. Certainly history is well served with the memory of an Indian leader who struggled to force an indifferent government to honor its terms of surrender.

In an opening quotation from John S. Finerty, the reporter of the *Chicago Times* who had covered the Sioux War of 1876, the author reports: "Military life on the frontier is a mixture of mud and romance." There is mud in this narrative, to be sure, but the sad romance, if any exists, can only be associated with the name of a grieving Chief Joseph whose speech of surrender could have been made by any chieftain from Powhatan of Virginia to a courageous Nez Percé on the plains of Montana. "Hear me, my chiefs, I am tired. My heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more, forever."

University of Utah

BRIGHAM D. MADSEN

PULITZER'S *POST-DISPATCH*, 1878-1883. By *Julian S. Rammekamp*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 326. \$7.50.)

NEWSPAPER historians have long been familiar with the concept of the "New Journalism" of the 1880's and 1890's, whose hallmarks were increased emphasis on news reporting, crusading in the public interest, the introduction of a broad spectrum of news features designed to appeal to a mass audience, changes in format including the use of headlines and illustrations, and a lessening of personal influence as the daily newspaper came to assume a corporate character.

The central figure of Professor Rammekamp's book is the Joseph Pulitzer who was one of the most prominent exponents of the "New Journalism." The author asserts that his purpose in writing this book was: to examine the origins of Pulitzer's "sensational" journalism during the years of his St. Louis apprenticeship, and to consider the more general significance of his journalism.

In thus narrating the early history of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Rammekamp shows how Pulitzer's venture into the field of evening journalism quickly evolved from a political organ into an independent newspaper. As such, the *Post-Dispatch* became the spokesman for middle-class urban reformers.

From an economic standpoint Pulitzer's newspaper career in St. Louis was a rousing success. He merged the bankrupt *St. Louis Dispatch* with John A. Dillon's *St. Louis Post* and converted them into a flourishing enterprise. By 1883, when Pulitzer left St. Louis, the *Post-Dispatch* had a daily circulation of 23,000 and netted an annual profit of \$120,000. The youthful *Post-Dispatch* was somewhat less successful as an instrument of middle-class reform. Its reform efforts were inhibited both by its limited concept of the role of government in regulating

business and by the entrenched position in St. Louis of the allied forces of political corruption and economic privilege.

Although in St. Louis Pulitzer improvised journalistic methods that he further developed in the management of the *New York World*, Rammelkamp concedes that most innovations in newspaper publication at this time appeared first in the larger cities of the Atlantic seaboard. One could wish that this well-researched and generally well-written book had discussed at greater length how Pulitzer was influenced as a St. Louis editor by eastern journalistic practices and by those of contemporary midwestern editors like William Rockhill Nelson, Melville W. Stone, Edward W. Scripps, and Joseph B. McCullagh.

Chatham College

J. CUTLER ANDREWS

THE AMERICAN NAVAL REVOLUTION. By *Walter R. Herrick, Jr.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 274. \$7.50.)

IN 1865 the United States had a navy equal to most of its limited tasks, but public indifference, congressional penury, and lack of apparent purpose let the fleet decay. Political patronage demands, a caste-conscious officer corps, and interest in domestic problems hastened the decline. Until Chester Arthur entered the White House, wooden hulls and canvas rigging were the order of the day for a navy too weak to fight and too slow to run. By the mid-1880's, however, a new Navy Secretary, William E. Chandler, some powerful congressmen, officers like Admiral Stephen B. Luce and Captain Alfred T. Mahan, and new technology all combined to introduce armor plate, steam power, and new ideas.

To modernize, the navy also needed long-term civilian planning and a national reason to exist. Events gave it both of these. This is Professor Herrick's story: the reasons and plans behind the men who built the "New Navy." The book focuses events away from the familiar story of Mahan and technology, without slighting either. It shows clearly, though often without Herrick's saying so, that the navy was a logical and critical part of the whole movement for American diplomatic and economic expansion.

Herrick gives Chandler high marks as the first farsighted man to tackle the formidable problems of modernizing the fleet. He praises his successor, Democrat William C. Whitney, for his efficiency, but criticizes his lack of interest in ideas. Herrick's central figure is Harrison's Secretary of the Navy, Benjamin F. Tracy, who readily and somewhat unexpectedly grasped the importance of sea power in America's growing diplomatic activity and expanding commerce. He worked both for the future and the present and modernized almost every aspect of the service.

The author tells the internal political and administrative story well and is strongest in dealing with Tracy. But he falls just short of placing naval modernization clearly and fully into the era's simultaneous demand for expansion and security. Both the key men who developed the navy and an increasing amount of public opinion saw the fleet as part of the larger design of diplomatic and economic growth. Herrick also repeats too many of the clichés concerning America's growing international power. He leans too heavily on the conspiracy

theory that makes Roosevelt, Lodge, and the yellow press all-important. He uses terms like "imperialist," "jingo," and "isolationist" without definition and sometimes inaccurately, while further brief clarification of several matters like the Chilean imbroglio, the Brazilian revolution, and Hawaii would balance his story. The book was well worth doing, and reading; it is, however, more valuable for its political-administrative story than for its analysis and discussion of American expansion.

University of Texas

H. WAYNE MORGAN

HENRY GEORGE: DREAMER OR REALIST? By *Steven B. Cord*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1965. Pp. 272. \$6.00.)

THIS interesting and useful book, although essentially a critical study of the historiography of Henry George, also functions as an introduction to George's own ideas. In this regard, however, it does not purport to replace Geiger's volume on George's philosophy or Barker's definitive biography. What the author does is to summarize the judgment of George by his contemporaries in the field of economic thought and by later historians and economists. Hostility toward George was frequently more emotional than rational, especially among academic economists. But among both economists and historians there has been widespread misunderstanding of George's ideas and, in some cases, even of the facts of his life and career.

In his lifetime, and later during the progressive era, George's influence was demonstrated less through such economic ideas and solutions as the single tax than through his own role as a popular reformer who stressed the evils of the existing industrial society and the urgency of social change. In more recent years recognition of the validity of some of George's ideas has grown, and Cord is able to note, for example, their effect on such seminal thinkers in history and economics as Frederick Jackson Turner and John Bates Clark. Reform in land value taxation has won increasing acceptance in American cities as well as in other parts of the world. Yet, in economics, the growth of Keynesian theories has probably further dimmed the importance of George's general concepts.

The author has been most industrious in seeking out the large number of secondary works dealing with George. He amply demonstrates his conclusion that "Henry George's ideas were not well understood by American historians and economists." At times, however, he fails to appreciate that the authors of general works and textbooks may fall unavoidably into oversimplifications in their broad treatment of individual writers. Moreover, Cord himself seems to ignore the changes in George's thinking in regard to such phenomena as the population problem. Thus he occasionally falls into the same trap that has caught other scholars who have dealt with George. Cord's book, nevertheless, serves a valuable purpose in helping students "to clear up the historical record of Henry George and to remove the misconceptions and vagaries that surround his ideas."

State University of New York, Albany

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

THE ACADEMIC MIND AND REFORM: THE INFLUENCE OF RICHARD T. ELY IN AMERICAN LIFE. By *Benjamin G. Rader*. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1966. Pp. vi, 276. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Rader's book is not a study of "the academic mind and reform" in any general sense, nor is its overriding concern "the influence of Richard T. Ely in American life." The author makes no real effort to analyze the distinguishing characteristics of the large number of American academicians who involved themselves in popular reform endeavors in Ely's time, but rather limits himself to the consideration of a single such reformer. Rader, to be sure, is concerned with Ely's influence on American thought and on the development of economics as an academic discipline, but the principal focus of his book is on the life of its subject and the content of his ideas.

Ely's significant role in popularizing liberal economic thought and the social gospel has long been recognized, but he has not previously been the subject of a book-length study. Rader is not especially skillful in analyzing and evaluating Ely's ideas, and he tells us relatively little about this subject that has not been said before, but he does provide us with a much fuller treatment of Ely's writings after 1900 than has heretofore been available. After the middle 1890's, Rader points out, Ely largely withdrew from active participation in reform organizations and decided to concentrate on "scientific" investigations in an effort to enhance his reputation as an academician. He concluded, Rader tells us, that he could more effectively gain the esteem of the intellectual community, middle class in its social origins and sympathies, if he disassociated himself from agrarian and labor reformers. Rader implies that Ely's behavior was characteristic of the academician as reformer, but he fails to develop this generalization.

The most interesting portions of Rader's book deal with the details of Ely's life rather than with the substance of his thought. Basing his account largely on the Ely Papers, Rader provides us with fascinating material on Ely's "golden years" at Johns Hopkins, his long career at the University of Wisconsin, his academic heresy trial of 1894, his involvement in Wisconsin progressivism, his role as a superpatriot during World War I and the Red Scare, and his founding and leadership of the Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities. Ely, as Rader's account makes clear, was one of the first great American academic entrepreneurs. He was an organizer of associations and research projects and a successful fund raiser, and he knew how to use competing offers to his own advantage.

This is a poorly written book, and its title promises more than its contents deliver, but it is, nevertheless, an interesting study of a significant American academician and reformer. The book includes as an appendix the fullest bibliography available of Ely's voluminous writings.

University of Michigan

SIDNEY FINE

TOM WALSH IN DAKOTA TERRITORY: PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE OF SENATOR THOMAS J. WALSH AND ELINOR C. McCLE-

MENTS. Edited by *Leonard J. Bates*. With a preface by *Genevieve Walsh Gudger*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1966. Pp. xviii, 301. \$7.95.)

BEFORE settling in Montana in 1890, where he rose to prominence and in 1913 began his two decades of service in the US Senate, Thomas J. Walsh lived in Wisconsin and in the Dakota Territory. He was born in Wisconsin in 1859, taught in a school where he met fellow teacher Elinor C. McClements, and, after a year at the University of Wisconsin, became a lawyer.

In 1884 Walsh began law practice in Redfield, Dakota. Two years previously Elinor had transferred to Chicago. They carried on a very friendly correspondence, and after six years of formality the tone of their letters gave way to direct expressions of restrained affection. They married in 1889.

This is not a collection of poetic or passionate love letters. They are nineteenth-century period pieces, self-conscious and often inhibited. Not all their letters, however, are included in the book, for their daughter, Mrs. Gudger, culled the collection and destroyed some before they reached the editor. Interspersed in the plethora of friendly chitchat are bits of information about politics in the Dakota Territory and an occasional remark about national political affairs. Democrat Walsh expressed approval of Grover Cleveland, but he failed to elucidate upon the subject.

The most striking thing Walsh's letters reveal is the degree to which he was caught in an unrewarding existence and seemingly remained cheerful. But he finally decided that Redfield was not destined to become a place where he could attain affluence and find a satisfactory outlet for his political, scholarly, and cultural interests. For a while he planned to retrace his steps eastward and settle in Minneapolis or perhaps Chicago, but in the end the lure of the growing West won out. Thus, in 1890, with a wife, a four-month-old baby, some meager household goods, \$250, and train tickets, he embarked for Helena, Montana.

Professor Bates conscientiously applied his superior knowledge of Walsh to his assignment as editor of this hitherto unavailable collection.

University of Maryland

HORACE SAMUEL MERRILL

BEET SUGAR IN THE WEST: A HISTORY OF THE UTAH-IDAHO SUGAR COMPANY, 1891-1966. By *Leonard J. Arrington*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 234. \$7.50.)

THIS brief history of an important Latter-Day Saints-oriented enterprise was conceived, sponsored, and subsidized by the firm to commemorate seventy-five years of operation. Professor Arrington, economic historian of the Latter-Day Saints in the Great Basin, was a most appropriate choice to prepare the volume. But the company forced the author to work under unreasonable conditions, allowing him only nine months to complete the entire task, and, if the text is any indication, demanding that the volume conform in part to the canons of good public relations.

In spite of these formidable limitations, Arrington has produced a reputable company history. Detailing the history of Utah-Idaho Company from its begin-

ning at Lehi, Utah, in 1891, he charts the substantial growth of the firm, which has operated at thirty locations in Utah, Idaho, Washington, Montana, South Dakota, and Alberta, through trials produced by depressions, war, beet disease, overproduction, and the vicissitudes of federal tariff and agricultural policy. Arrington is especially effective in delineating the technical aspects of beet culture and processing, quite lucid in discussing the long battle against the beet leaf hopper, and impressively skillful in describing the research efforts that led to the production of disease-resistant strains of the beet and the perfection of monogerm seed. Finance within the firm is neatly described, and the close financial ties with the Church are clearly demonstrated. But management, decision making within the firm, labor-management relations, and beet grower-company relations are inadequately treated.

Moreover, the volume is episodic, the prose varies considerably in quality, and at least one passage reads like an advertising blurb. But the appendixes—brief plant biographies and elaborate tables and graphs of production, yields, and acreages—are important additions, and the bibliography is extensive. Despite its drawbacks, it is a worth-while book.

Carleton University, Ottawa

KAREL D. BICHA

THE UNITED STATES IN PUERTO RICO, 1898-1900. By *Edward J. Berbusse, S.J.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 274. \$7.50.)

IN 1898 Puerto Rico dropped into the United States imperial basket hardly noticed, like an undersized crab apple. Close to a million people ceased to be subjects of the Spanish crown and found themselves in possession of an article of questionable value: "Porto Rican" citizenship. The entity had no substance and practically no form.

Worst of all, "ever loyal" subjects who had spurned the Cuban example of armed uprising, traded the beginnings of autonomy under Spain for military government under a series of American generals. This lasted two years, until the passage of the Foraker Act in 1900, and it is this period that Father Berbusse ostensibly concentrates on. The story is worth telling and analyzing, for its own sake and as a case study in imperial ossification, and renewal on the part of a newer, more vigorous metropolitan power, one that presented a new cultural front to the colonial subjects.

Unfortunately, Berbusse's execution of the task leaves much to be desired. The opening section, devoted to background material on nineteenth-century Puerto Rican political development and to the autonomy commission, is perfunctorily handled, and one wonders how many readers ignorant of Spanish will tackle so special a monograph as this. This diffusion of focus shows up again in recurrent, disjointed sections on ecclesiastical affairs. Berbusse tries to be fair in these installments, though his account of Puerto Rican Church and state would have no trouble obtaining the imprimatur.

More important, the book is bereft of any thesis worthy of the name. Obviously, it describes a process of imperialism, first naked, then slightly clothed with the coming of civil government. But there is no attempt to relate the events

meaningfully to the American imperial venture as a whole or to the theoretical and polemical literature on imperialism. Perhaps such isolated treatment of the island's trauma is justified in a curious way, in view of the nonchalance of the American take-over. The book's failure does not stem from lack of diligence, however, for Berbusse has searched the pertinent collections and newspaper files. Surely we can expect more in portraits of the proconsuls and of the Puerto Rican leaders and their cohorts, but we do not get them. The account of the framing and passage of the Foraker Act tells us little that cannot be learned from the senator's memoirs and Walters' biography.

I submit that the initiation of the imperial experience in Puerto Rico, given its domestic imperatives, was extremely important. The importance lay not in the island itself but in the opportunity afforded the US for "Mini-Empire on the Cheap." Berbusse's final chapter, "Trends in Puerto Rican Evolution," defies all attempts at description, much less analysis.

University of California, Los Angeles

FRANK OTTO GATELL

AMERICAN AMBASSADOR: JOSEPH C. GREW AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES DIPLOMATIC TRADITION. By *Waldo H. Heinrichs, Jr.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1966. Pp. xii, 460. \$10.50.)

JOSEPH C. Grew's career bracketed the presidencies of Theodore Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, and American movement from relative aloofness to world involvement. The narrative marches on three levels: the expanding stature and experience of one of our most distinguished diplomats, his relationship to the developing Foreign Service, and the history of American foreign relations between 1904 and 1945. He served widely—Cairo, Vienna, Berlin, Versailles, Bern, Copenhagen, Washington (in two tours as Undersecretary of State), Istanbul, and Tokyo—matured slowly, and failed to earn the author's full marks as a professional, though he was repeatedly denominated a fine "craftsman." His failure was partly temperamental and partly, one may surmise, chronological. He operated most effectively in an atmosphere where calm and leisurely personal interchange could, by some semiosmotic process, eventuate into reasonable policy. He served too often in posts requiring more aggressive tactics and survived into a period ill-suited to his desultory approach; his last important tour was in Japan, where the tides ran too fast and where differences with Washington shunted him into a backwater at a time of supreme crisis.

He served, uncomfortably, as Undersecretary to Frank B. Kellogg (1925-1927). The deafness that plagued his career complicated relations with his chief; his wealth and family background aligned him naturally with the unpopular side in a controversy that threatened to disrupt the new Foreign Service created by the Rogers Act of 1924. Istanbul's more congenial atmosphere provided a welcome haven from personal and professional dilemmas, and here he performed his best work.

The author rightly devotes more than half of his pages to the Japanese assignment (1932-1942). The story is one of increasing ineffectiveness, of repeated wrong guesses as to Japanese intentions (an equally critical but less sympathetic

scholar could have drawn parallels between Grew and "Wrong-Horse Harry" Stimson), of growing divergence from his principals at home, and of inability to persuade them of the validity of his analyses. To the end he sought peace through negotiation, realizing, unhappily, that the time for negotiation had passed; back in Washington, he ended his career as Undersecretary, devoting himself, again unsuccessfully, to hastening surrender by reassuring Japan on the position of the Emperor as a means of minimizing Russian influence (which he greatly feared) in Far Eastern affairs.

Professor Heinrichs relates the man to his times with grace and occasional distinction, though the bulk of Grew's literary monuments too often tempts him into excessive detail on events with which Grew was either centrally or peripherally concerned and, conversely, encourages him to neglect matters in the great world with which those in Grew's bailiwick were significantly linked. The study's contribution, however, far outweighs the author's vulnerability to these occupational hazards.

Seton Hall University

L. ETHAN ELLIS

THE NEW YORK BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH: PIONEER IN GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION. By *Jane S. Dahlberg*. With a foreword by *Luther Gulick*. (New York: New York University Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 258. \$6.00.)

THIS is a narrowly conceived, unimaginative study of a very important institution. The New York Bureau of Municipal Research was a private organization, much copied elsewhere, which began in 1906 by making studies of the management of New York City. Based on its early success in proposing improvements, it soon enlarged its activities to analysis of other cities, New York State, and the federal government. Its leaders, William H. Allen, Henry Bruere, Charles A. Beard, Frederick A. Cleveland, and Luther Gulick, constituted a vital core of American governmental research, education, and administrative reform. Over the years from 1906 to 1921, from its founding until its transformation into the National Institute of Public Administration, the bureau led the drive for the creation of what we now know as modern American bureaucratic government. Its reform proposals were the major steps of our century: the strong executive, the budget method of administrative planning and legislative supervision, systematic accounting and auditing procedures, centralized purchasing, and a general respect for rationalization at all levels of the administrative process.

Miss Dahlberg chronicles the bureau's activities for each of these subjects. The book is thus, with its notes, a reference to the subject, but not more. Though the relation between business methods and the budgeting and accounting proposals of the bureau is mentioned, the subject is not investigated. Though measures of efficiency are treated at length, no awareness of the modern literature of the problems of pricing municipal services is shown. No suggestion of the tensions inherent in attempting to impose a uniform system of budgeting and management on such diverse institutions as a city hospital, a waterworks, a school department, and welfare board ruffles the narrative. The book is written as if nothing had happened to American cities, and as if nothing had been learned about them, since 1921. In short, all that is worth while in the subject—what excited the bu-

reau's pioneers fifty years ago and what makes the subject still important today—has been ignored, suppressed, or missed.

University of Michigan

SAM BASS WARNER, JR.

SHIPS THAT SAIL NO MORE: MARINE TRANSPORTATION FROM SAN DIEGO TO PUGET SOUND, 1910-1940. By *Giles T. Brown*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 287. \$7.50.)

THIS solid, well-documented study, the outgrowth of a doctoral thesis at the Claremont Graduate School (1948), emphasizes the passenger-carrying services of H. F. Alexander's Admiral Line (1907-1938) and its associates and competitors. As Brown says, geography is hostile to Pacific coastal shipping, which must travel greater distances than the carriers on land. The dominant railroad south of Portland, the Southern Pacific, long controlled the principal maritime lines so effectively that it could run its trains even more slowly than now. Effective competition began when the Santa Fe Railroad began fast service by its roundabout route from Los Angeles to San Francisco Bay via Barstow (1900). It quickened as steel and steam replaced wood and sail at sea and as Alexander developed coordinated service from Puget Sound to California in 1910. The Hill system began a short-lived rail and steamship service from Portland to San Francisco via Flavel (Astoria) in 1915. But the SP regained its advantage by building a new line through the Cascades (1927). By the time the last of the major coastal passenger carriers withdrew in 1941, trucks were dividing the freight traffic.

Drawing on trade journals, newspapers, and corporate records, Brown concentrates on the ships themselves, their competition for passengers between major ports, and their owners' problems in operating them. He says less of the larger settings of intercoastal and transpacific shipping, as described in Wytze Gorter and George H. Hildebrand, *The Pacific Coast Maritime Shipping Industry, 1930-1948* (1952-54), which he does not cite, or of labor's point of view, or of the minor ports, some of which still had no railroads in his period. An appendix gives specifications of the principal vessels in the trade, omitting some steam schooners that carried passengers, and summarizes their histories.

The illustrations will evoke memories of vanished comforts and adventures. But while Brown has not attempted the new economic history, his book also is no mere maritime counterpart to the antiquarian descriptions of rolling stock ("varnish"), adorned with anecdotes, that often pass for transportation history. He and the publisher have done their job well.

University of Oregon

EARL POMEROY

LANGUAGE LOYALTY IN THE UNITED STATES: THE MAINTENANCE AND PERPETUATION OF NON-ENGLISH MOTHER TONGUES BY AMERICAN ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS. By *Joshua A. Fishman et al.* [Janua Linguarum: Studia Memoriae Nicolai van Wijk Dedicata, Major Series, Number 21.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1966. Pp. 478. 64 gls.)

THIS impressive final product of a project commissioned by the Language Research Section of the United States Office of Education grew from that office's in-

terest in the process of language maintenance in the United States. With erudition and sensitivity, the ten collaborating scholars scrutinize immigrant efforts to maintain their linguistic identity. Statistical analyses of mother tongue and nativity in the American population and of the ethnic press from 1910 to 1960 and surveys of foreign-language broadcasting and organizational and leadership interest document the quantitative impact of language in twentieth-century America. Treatises on retentiveness of the mother tongue in the ethnic parishes, both Catholic and Lutheran, and in the ethnic group schools record the persistence of diverse traditions at the local level. Special studies of the Germans, of the French in New England, of the Spanish in the Southwest, and of the Ukrainians add historic depth and regional sensibility to our appreciation of ethnic complexity; special studies of the Hungarian and the Yiddish in the original report have been omitted, and the Chinese and the Japanese have been overlooked entirely.

Fishman's analytical and summary chapters and Nathan Glazer's lucid "integrative review" of the factors leading to the decline of language facility "in a supra-ethnic age" imply that we may be at the threshold of rediscovering the varied textures of our ethnic and linguistic heritages and unraveling their implications for the present. If "we have tended to be insulated from some of the most stirring cognitive and emotional processes within ourselves and throughout the rest of the world," it is but a recent tendency, for we have been obsessed with minimizing our own complexity. Heinz Kloss convincingly challenges John Hawgood's view of German America, but Hansen's "third generation" theory is contested on less plausible grounds.

Historians weary of the current dialectic and homogenized fare should turn to this refreshing volume; it may be their task to rekindle the sense of generous variety that has been America, just as it was the task of their predecessors to bring unity out of diversity.

San Francisco State College

MOSES RISCHIN

HISTORY OF THE CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE. By *Arvarh E. Strickland*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1966. Pp. 286. \$7.50.)

Dr. Strickland's study of the Chicago Urban League illustrates the problems and opportunities confronting the historian who attempts to assess a contemporary organization's philosophy, objectives, personnel, and policies. Strickland goes about his task in scholarly fashion and demonstrates his respect for the integrity of the historian's craft. He approaches his study chronologically and traces the development of the Chicago League from its early years during World War I to the 1960's. He utilizes a number of important primary sources, including the files of the Chicago Urban League and several collections of personal papers and manuscripts; he has also conducted over a dozen personal interviews and employed an impressive array of published and unpublished materials.

The inherent limitations for change that characterize an organization thrown upon the good will and endorsement of white, middle-class, business interests represent the central, recurrent theme of the study. Although dependable and solid, the book is dull and unsatisfying; it is organizational history written in a

vacuum. Only infrequently does Strickland cast the Chicago League in a larger framework as a part of the National Urban League or as an element in the emergent local or national civil rights movement. Nor does he often permit personalities to become real. Leading members of the Chicago League are pasteboard functionaries devoid of flesh and blood, as are the members of the Negro community with whom they deal. Too often the author verges on analyzing important inner- and intergroup dynamics, but retreats to the comfortable though arid womb of the Chicago Urban League's routine affairs. When Strickland does take a more comprehensive view, the Chicago League falls into the background only to reappear abruptly in summary fashion. The lines of transition are underdeveloped and relationships to broader issues allusive and unclear.

The closing chapters, which examine the Chicago League from the period 1955 to the early 1960's, suffer least from these deficiencies and indicate the high caliber of work that can mark the author's efforts. Before we are totally able to appreciate the strengths and weaknesses of the twentieth-century movement for improvement in the status and opportunities of the Negro in America, we shall need a great many studies of local and regional groups, such as the Chicago Urban League. Strickland has contributed to this understanding, but subsequent undertakings will, it is hoped, penetrate more deeply into the fiber of group activities and grasp more fully their environmental network than this book has.

Washington, D. C.

ROBERT L. ZANGRANDO

GOVERNING SOIL CONSERVATION: THIRTY YEARS OF THE NEW DECENTRALIZATION. By *Robert J. Morgan*. ([Baltimore:] Johns Hopkins Press for Resources for the Future, Inc. [1966.] Pp. xiv, 399. \$8.00.)

THIS book is largely concerned with the "extreme complexity of the struggle for political power in rural America" as centered in the work of the extension agents and officials of the soil conservation districts and of the Production and Marketing Administration. Readers have long been aware of the bureaucratic rivalries in which Herbert Hoover, Harold Ickes, and Henry Wallace were involved, but these were interdepartmental. Morgan's story is concerned with the struggles in Washington that swirled around the efforts of H. H. Bennett of the Department of Agriculture to develop support for and carry through demonstration projects to show how the loss of valuable topsoil could be checked. His work involved him and his agency, the Soil Conservation Service, in warfare with bureaus in his own department, as well as some in Interior, and with the Extension Service which had the support of the land-grant colleges and the American Farm Bureau. The author relates the rivalries, bickering, and infighting of the partisans of the different groups in much detail drawn from their correspondence in the National Archives and from some interviews he had with surviving protagonists. As a good social scientist, Morgan rarely displays his own views, though I did detect some disillusionment with Bennett who, long before 1933, was trumpeting the need for soil conservation practices in the use of farm- and forestland, and is regarded as the man above all others who warned the country of the tremendous losses it was suffering from reckless land use. Morgan shows that the jurisdictional issues were finally resolved between 1948 and 1953 by a series of political moves. The

second part of the book is devoted to an examination of the later functioning of the soil conservation projects, the roles played by the federal government, the states, and the districts. Some of the difficulties into which the small watershed program fell are explained. The new decentralization seems to mean that within broad areas Congress authorizes the centralized bureaucrats to determine major lines of activity and permits the local administrators in collaboration with other local agencies to carry out policies defined at the top level.

One of the few light touches in the study, which is a work of real merit and value to the specialist in agricultural policies and bureaucratic history, is the account of how President Eisenhower was induced to favor the Soil Conservation position against that of the Farm Bureau leaders, to the astonishment of his Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson.

Cornell University

PAUL W. GATES

GEORGE C. MARSHALL: ORDEAL AND HOPE, 1939-1942. By *Forrest C. Pogue*. Foreword by *Omar N. Bradley*. (New York: Viking Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 491. \$8.95.)

THIS second volume of Forrest Pogue's long-awaited authorized biography of General George C. Marshall has reached the period of Marshall's first three years as Chief of Staff, the turbulent era from 1939 through 1942 when Marshall initiated the vast expansion of the US Army for World War II. With the aid of the Marshall Papers at Lexington, Virginia, Pogue commences this volume at the moment in 1939 when the US still supposedly had all the time it wanted in which to prepare for war "but no money," a moment abruptly superseded upon the fall of France in 1940 with all the money in the world, "but no time."

To compound this formerly habitual pattern of American democracy, Marshall soon found that he had to reorganize the army root and branch in order to train and equip it effectively, to grant the air force *de facto* independence, to replace deadwood from his famed and feared "little Black Book" with younger and tougher officers, to resist at least some of the desperate Allied claims on the trickle of US military production, and to attempt to educate the President, the Congress, and the isolationists on the necessities and limitations of an army in modern times. It is fortunate that the US Army was not expected to fight as well in this precious interregnum of furious, not to say frantic, preparation before Pearl Harbor.

Pogue makes clear that Marshall's sympathies and efforts lay far more than has been generally appreciated with the exposed command of his predecessor, General Douglas MacArthur, in the Philippines. Infected with MacArthur's optimism regarding the effectiveness of the Filipino Army and with US Air Force delusions concerning the B-17 bomber, Marshall devoted much attention to building up MacArthur in 1941 rather than to dragging the US into war, as the isolationists subsequently charged. Indeed, in Pogue's interpretation Marshall appears about midway between the more Anglophile President and the Anglophobe US commander in the Philippines.

Pogue's analysis of the background to Pearl Harbor is the best balanced since Roberta Wohlstetter's and decidedly more coherent. There is no doubt, whatsoever, that, in common with the whole Roosevelt administration, Marshall expected

a Japanese strike in the Far East, probably including the Philippines, instead of the deadly raid on Pearl Harbor and, for that reason, was naturally more indignant over MacArthur's loss of planes at Clark Field after several hours' warning than over General Short's exhaustively debated losses in the Hawaiian Islands. In this connection Pogue is generous to Admiral Kimmel and to General Short, feeling they were no more responsible than many others involved in the disaster. Grave inadequacies in Marshall's command post in Washington and extreme overwork on the part of the Chief of Staff are Pogue's principal explanations for Marshall's personal derelictions vis-à-vis Pearl Harbor.

With the US at last committed to the war, Marshall now encountered overwhelming British policy pressures on behalf of the Mediterranean theater of operations. Resulting in what Pogue tactfully terms "a peculiar chemistry of history," this opportunist British response to "the pressure of events" has subsequently been depicted as a careful and long-range strategic plan for operations against the so-called soft underbelly of Europe. In reality, as Marshall was to sum up Roosevelt's capitulation on this matter: "The [soldiers] failed to see that the leader in a democracy has to keep the people entertained" with dramatic action of a seemingly offensive nature during war, a lesson that unfortunately applies to dictators as well.

Somewhat too gentle portraits of such prickly personalities as "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell, General George Patton, and Admiral Ernest J. King are balanced by long-overdue tributes to Field Marshal Sir John Dill and Henry L. Stimson, the last of the American Genro. Excellent footnotes and detailed appendixes, interviews, and bibliographical notes will ensure Pogue's *Marshall* a permanent place in US military history and biography.

Drexel Institute

TRUMBULL HIGGINS

CORREGIDOR: THE SAGA OF A FORTRESS. By *James H. Belote* and *William M. Belote*. Foreword by *Robert Leckie*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1967. Pp. xii, 273. \$6.95.)

LIKE the "impregnable" bastion of Singapore, the island fortress of Corregidor was designed to withstand attack from the sea. Its basic mission was to deny Manila Bay to an enemy fleet, and its defenses were aimed primarily at repelling warships. Measures to defeat assaults from its landward side and, indeed, from the air were generally neglected, largely, but not entirely, because of congressional unwillingness to provide the necessary funds. By December 1941 Corregidor's defenses, like Singapore's, were formidable but dangerously outmoded when opposed by new weapons and methods of warfare. In the spring of 1942 the "Gibraltar of the East" surrendered in the face of a determined Japanese assault. Three years later American forces regained the island.

This absorbing book tells the story of Corregidor's fall and recapture, with primary emphasis on the former. The authors recount in fascinating detail the long siege and unremitting pressure that forced capitulation at the war's beginning and the dramatic and difficult operation that retook the island in 1945. They base their work primarily on the records of both campaigns, on interviews with American participants, and on Japanese materials prepared after the war to meet

the needs of the official American historical programs. Well-written and illustrated, the book is nonetheless disappointing. The US Army's World War II historical series includes ample coverage of Corregidor. The primary contribution of this account would seem to lie in providing much additional color and detail and in collecting it all in a single volume. With the exception of two brief chapters about the prewar years, the authors have not added significantly to the official histories.

Industrial College of the Armed Forces

STANLEY L. FALK

TRUMAN AND TAFT-HARTLEY: A QUESTION OF MANDATE. By R. Alton Lee. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 254. \$7.50.)

THE Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, now a flickering political issue, was a subject of rancorous debate during the middle years of the Truman administration. Resulting from widespread resentment of union power, the legislation was conceived and guided by antilabor organizations and endorsed by many citizens who wanted Congress to correct the prolabor bias of the Wagner Act. In the largest sense, then, Taft-Hartley was a reaction against the New Deal and its mild extension of power beyond the big business community.

Yet, it is one of the ironies of these years, R. Alton Lee suggests, that Roosevelt's heir, Harry S. Truman, after encouraging these antagonisms against labor, reaped benefits from them: in the 1948 campaign he ignored his own responsibility for the "slave labor law" and successfully blamed it on the Republicans. Claiming credit for the Democratic victory, union leaders joined Truman in interpreting the triumph as a "mandate" for repeal of the law. But there was "no [such] popular mandate," concludes Lee (following Benjamin Aaron), and Truman and the labor lobbyists could not muster the votes to overcome the conservative coalition blocking repeal. Had the administration instead sought revision, writes Lee (again following others), Congress would have modified the law. The unions, however, rejected a compromise, and the administration would not risk adopting a strategy unacceptable to them. In addition, suggests Lee, Truman probably wanted to retain Taft-Hartley as an issue for the next election. But by 1952, hostility to the act was waning, for it was clear that the law had not significantly injured organized labor.

Concentrating on these events, Lee claims to present the early political history of Taft-Hartley as a case study of the "dichotomy in the national constituency," "the struggle between the agricultural and . . . [business] groups that dominated Congress and the laboring elements, that through the President, controlled the executive. . . ." Fortunately the author slips beyond this promised case study and generally avoids coercing the materials into such an ill-fitting theory.

Conceived first as a doctoral thesis, the book still bears the marks of limited research and restricted focus. It neglects the personalities and the organization of the administration, disregards its other efforts and programs, and overlooks the administration's general legislative priorities and strategies. By skimming past these larger topics, Lee, though occasionally critical of the Truman presidency, overlooks the issues raised by recent revisionist literature and some of the sources

it has exploited. Relying heavily on the materials at the Truman Library and occasionally on the files of the Department of Labor, he neglects some collections at the library and fails to use the records of the Bureau of the Budget and the privately held papers of Clark Clifford. Despite these shortcomings and some very careless editorial work (by the press), the volume is a useful study of the early political history of Taft-Hartley.

Stanford University

BARTON J. BERNSTEIN

FRANCE ET CANADA FRANÇAIS DU XVI^e AU XX^e SIÈCLE: COLLOQUE DE QUÉBEC, 10-12 OCTOBRE 1963. *Claude Galarneau* and *Elzéar Lavoie*, Editors. [Les Cahiers de l'Institut d'Histoire, Number 7.] (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval. 1966. Pp. 322. \$7.00.)

LAVAL University has for several years held an annual conference devoted to the study of an aspect of the history of French Canada. The subjects considered have included French-Canadian historiography and the role of the bourgeoisie and the role of power in French Canada. In the past the results of these conferences have been published in *Recherches Sociographiques*, the periodical of the sociology department of Laval. The present volume has been issued as one of the "Cahiers de l'Institut d'Histoire" of the same university. The conferences and the publications that followed, little known outside of Canada, deserve a better press. They are valuable documents, extremely informative on current trends, academic and otherwise, and on contemporary Quebec, a "province not like other provinces."

Three recent trends in French-Canadian studies are evident in the present publication: a concern with economic history; the mentality of social groups with a strong emphasis on a psychological interpretation; and a renewed interest in the influence, past and present, of France on French Canada. This is evident in the choice of French academics who were invited to participate: Ernest Labrousse, who presented a paper on prices of agricultural products in France; Alphonse Dupront who spoke on "Reflections on a History of Collective Psychology"; and Robert Mandrou whose subject was the relations between low-brow literature and the peasant mentality.

The conference was divided into two large areas: "Problems of Economic History" and "History of Mentalities." In the first area the French-Canadian participants presented the Canadian counterpart of the themes considered by the French academics. The second area was composed of the Dupront and Mandrou papers, as well as contributions by Luc Lacoursière, J. C. Falardeau, and Fernand Dumont.

It is obvious that scant justice can be done to the complex and varied themes presented. Of the three currents noted, that concerned with the relations between France and French Canada is weakest. There are striking similarities between the movement of prices in France and French Canada, but striking differences as well. There is also a case to be made for similar concerns in social studies, involving particularly the use of the collective and psychological approaches. The conference was successful; the editing by Claude Galarneau and Elzéar Lavoie is excellent; the book is highly commended.

Sir George Williams University

CAMERON NISH

HISTOIRE ÉCONOMIQUE ET SOCIALE DU QUÉBEC, 1760-1850: STRUCTURES ET CONJONCTURE. By *Fernand Ouellet*. Preface by *Robert Mandrou*. [Histoire économique et sociale du Canada Français.] (Montreal: Fides. 1966. Pp. xxxii, 639.)

PUBLICATION of this brilliant book is an event of the greatest significance in the historiography of French Canada. One is almost tempted to say that it is the most important French-Canadian historical work published since F.-X. Garneau's *Histoire* began to appear in the 1840's. The remark, however, requires qualification since Ouellet does not belong to the long tradition of nationalist historians fathered by Garneau. On the contrary, this book is a frontal assault, or rather a systematic refutation, of several of the central themes of nationalist writing, particularly as it is represented today by the Montreal school of historians led by Maurice Séguin and Michel Brunet.

For the nationalist historians, British conquest was a cataclysm. To this contention Ouellet replies: "Au lendemain de 1760, la vie se continue dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent et l'existence des hommes se déroule dans un paysage qui, en gros, reste la même qu'autrefois." This conclusion is reached only after some 550 pages of carefully documented analysis of the social structure, demography, economic and political life of Quebec between 1760 and 1850. In many ways the book follows D. G. Creighton's *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence* (1937). Both take, as a point of departure, the metropolitan, staple trade thesis. But where Creighton concentrated on the activities of the merchant classes, Ouellet examines more fully the other orders of society, particularly the French-Canadian mercantile, professional, and agricultural classes.

Ouellet rejects the nationalists' claim that the French-Canadian bourgeoisie was "decapitated" by the conquest. Instead he accepts the Hamelin conclusion that New France lacked a modern entrepreneurial middle class. What there was of a business class survived until nearly the end of the eighteenth century before it disappeared in the face of the competition of the new, English-speaking bourgeoisie. Ouellet interprets the emergence of French-Canadian nationalism after 1800 as the defensive reaction of a noncommercial professional class demanding a liberal form of government in order to defend a traditional social order against the changes being demanded and wrought by the capitalist class. Thus he sees the conflicts leading up to the abortive rebellion of 1837-1838 in class terms and rejects the nationalist "lutte des races."

These are merely the main theses of the book. Just as important are the vast amounts of empirical data concerning the economic and social history of Quebec over nearly a century. This book should spark a vigorous debate in Canadian, especially French-Canadian, circles. The onus is now clearly on the nationalist historians to attempt to produce an equally impressive documentation for their rebuttal.

University of Toronto

RAMSAY COOK

THE CLERGY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN QUEBEC (1896-1914). By William F. Ryan. (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval. 1966. Pp. 348. \$12.00.)

FATHER Ryan investigates one of the axioms of Canadian historiography: that the French-Canadian Catholic clergy of the province of Quebec was partially, perhaps largely, responsible for instilling an anticommercial bias in French-Canadian society. He sets the economic development of Quebec within the pattern of economic development in Canada, establishing statistically that it paralleled that taking place in other parts of the country. It is obvious, then, that if economic development in Quebec was on a level comparable to that of, say, Ontario, that the Church's influence, at the very least, did not retard what can be called normal growth.

The core of the book is in the second, third, and fourth chapters, where the author examines four specific areas: Grand'Mère, Shawinigan Falls, La Tuque, and the Saint Maurice River Valley. In Grand'Mère and Shawinigan Falls the formal erection of parishes followed the entry of industry; in the Saint Maurice Valley, the Church structures were built before the establishment of the industries studied in this work. In both cases Ryan decisively proves that the Church was not hostile to industrial development, but welcomed and assisted it in every fashion. Close collaboration between the bishop of the region, the local curé, and the managers or backers of the newly established industries is established by Ryan. In every industry that he considers the Church undertook actively to propagandize the benefits accruing to the community from the new industries. The churchmen also supplied the industries with what can only be called a docile labor force by fighting international unions and their involvement in the formation of Catholic unions, that is, company unions. On the other hand, the industrialists were sympathetic to the spiritual ambitions of the clergy: they often supplied land for churches and schools; they also actively supported Church endeavors through monetary contributions.

Some nagging questions are still left unanswered, however. For one thing, Ryan hedges so in his conclusion that it is difficult to disagree with him. He admits that the Church's main interest was not in economic development. To write that the Church did not oppose the entry of industry is not, however, to prove a relation between the Church and economic growth; it merely establishes that the Church did not always oppose economic development. Another matter that is not examined sufficiently is the role of the Church as a servant of the industrialists rather than as a servant of its own flocks. In many ways this is a disappointing book: it asks questions, but only partially answers them, and leaves too many issues unresolved. It should be read for what it has left unsaid and for what must be investigated before a more decisive answer can be given to the role of the clergy and economic growth in Quebec.

Sir George Williams University

CAMERON NISH

VIDA E HISTÓRIA. By José Honório Rodrigues. [Coleção Vera Cruz (Literatura Brasileira), Volume CIX.] ([Rio de Janeiro:] Civilização Brasileira. 1966. Pp. 278.)

THE distinguished Brazilian historian José Honório Rodrigues has produced another work on historiography. Part I, "Life and History," concerns various topics on history in general and also on revisionism and revisionist tendencies in Brazil. There is, he says, too little revisionism among Brazilian historians because the elite has always had an aversion to novelties. The conservative view of Brazilian history dates from Varnhagen.

"It is evident," he writes, "that revisionism presupposes an ideological revision that orients it, but it is also evident that the success of historical revision has a decisive influence on ideological renovation." The revisionist tendencies in Brazil today include the application of new instruments furnished by anthropology, sociology, and psychology to analyses of race and culture, Marxist interpretations, the interaction of history and biography, and nationalism.

Other essays in Part I concern the political thought of José Bonifácio, the needs for research, Capistrano de Abreu and Raimundo José da Cunha Matos, and characteristics of the population of Rio de Janeiro. Part II, "Foreign Historiography on Brazil," discusses the works of Martius, Sir Charles Webster, Pierre Monbeig, and Charles R. Boxer. In Part III, "History as a Question of Conscience," examples are taken from the works of Srbik, Burckhardt, Pirenne, Huizinga, Meinecke, Dewey, Santayana, and Walter Prescott Webb.

This book is evidence of the maturity and development of historiography in twentieth-century Brazil and of the wide range of knowledge and interest of Rodrigues.

Texas Christian University

DONALD E. WORCESTER

ROYAL COMMENTARIES OF THE INCAS AND GENERAL HISTORY OF PERU. In two volumes. By Garcilaso de la Vega. Translated with an introduction by Harold V. Livermore. Foreword by Arnold J. Toynbee. [The Texas Pan-American Series.] (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1966. Pp. xlv, 627; xlvii, 634-1530. \$17.50 the set.)

GARCILASO de la Vega is the best-known chronicler of early Peru, and this handsome edition is the fullest and most authoritative English version of his work. Garcilaso gave the title *Royal Commentaries* to the entire history, but at the time of the first publication in the early seventeenth century this name was reserved for the first part, and the second appeared as the *General History*. The first part deals with Inca history to the time of Atahualpa, the second with the Spanish conquest and colonial history through the administration of Viceroy Toledo. The two together make a continuous account of the rise and fall of one of the great non-European civilizations. Garcilaso's fame derives from the exoticism and drama of his subject as well as from the clarity of his exposition and the polish of his literary form. His writings have always ranked high among works of literature. Their appeal has been the greater because they reflect both the Spanish and the Indian traditions. As the son of a conquistador and a noble Inca woman and born

in Cuzco but responsive to the cultured society of southern Spain where he spent his mature life, Garcilaso epitomizes the refinements of mestization. His achievement demonstrates, perhaps most particularly to an audience that feels the need for such demonstration, the possibilities of a rich cultural interpretation of the Spanish conquest.

Statements like these are characteristic of the extensive commentary on Garcilaso. Sophisticated elaborations of them, together with some detailed information on Garcilaso's life and times, appear in the introductions to this edition by A. J. Toynbee and H. V. Livermore. It is curious that neither remarks on the radical changes in Garcilaso's reputation among historians of the twentieth century. It is surely of some importance that P. A. Means in 1928 could say that for three centuries Garcilaso's history "has been our chief authority" for Incaic times, whereas to J. H. Rowe in 1946 this same history seemed "entirely fanciful." Most students of the past twenty years have followed Rowe, but still more recent interpretations suggested by the Swedish historian Åke Wedin tend, in part, to rehabilitate Garcilaso. Thus some hard historical questions still confront the serious reader of the *Royal Commentaries*.

University of Michigan

CHARLES GIBSON

TADEO HAËNKE Y EL FINAL DE UNA VIEJA POLÉMICA. By *Laurio H. Destéfani* and *Donald Cutter*. Preface by *D. Humberto F. Burzio*. [Secretaría de Estado de Marina, Departamento de Estudios Históricos Navales. Historia Naval Argentina, Series B, Number 10.] (Buenos Aires: the Secretaría. 1966. Pp. vii, 9-163.)

THE polemic of the title of this monograph concerns the authorship of certain narratives of travel and scientific observation in eighteenth-century Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina. The accounts have been published with attributions to Tadeo Haënke (1761-1817), Bohemian-born botanist of the extended Spanish scientific expedition of 1789-1794, commanded by the Italian-born naval officer, Alejandro Malaspina.

Captain Destéfani of the Argentine Navy's History Section and Professor Cutter of the University of New Mexico have collaborated to prove that Haënke was not the author of the narratives; rather, they demonstrate that the accounts must have been the work of two naval officers of the expedition, Felipe Bauzá and José de Espinosa. The argument is based on analysis of the British Museum manuscript of the journeys and of printed works, from which the authors of the monograph establish itineraries that prove that Haënke did not make the journeys claimed for him.

The pro-Haënke contention that two of the scientist's letters, which exist only as copies of the alleged originals made by his brother, demonstrate that the botanist did indeed traverse the regions in question are deemed by the coauthors to be chronologically anachronistic and the forgeries of a weak, publicity-seeking brother.

Although many of the arguments of the polemic have been adduced by earlier writers, and the dispute is not precisely breath taking, this monograph is an addi-

tion to the important history of Spanish scientific endeavors in America. This study is not intended to diminish the estimable career of its subject, who continued his scientific labors in Bolivia to the end of his life; it is rather to correct historiographic error.

University of Texas

THOMAS F. MCGANN

CLASS PRIVILEGE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: THE CONSULADO DE COMERCIO OF GUATEMALA, 1793-1871. By *Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr.* [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume XLVIII.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1966. Pp. xviii, 155. \$2.50.)

By means of a guild, the rich merchants of Guatemala City monopolized the economic life of Central America during the last three decades of the colonial era; they did the same for Guatemala proper in the first half century of nationhood. Among the *Consulado's* responsibilities were the supervision of commerce, the improvement of the infrastructure, the administration of mercantile justice, and the development of the economy. Because of its quasi-governmental functions, as well as its financial resources, the guild also had a powerful voice in politics, siding exclusively with the Conservatives. Thus, the free-trading Liberals suspended its charter from 1829 to 1839, only to have it reinstated in the latter year when the Conservatives returned to power. The *Consulado's* record of accomplishments was substantial, and it might have been better if it had not been guided by the merchants' narrow interests. Lacking a national orientation, the guild alienated the outlying regions: Chiapas was lost to Mexico; the Central American Republic fragmented into five states; and the highlands of Guatemala (Los Altos) chafed under a city-dominated government. Furthermore, the *Consulado's* emphasis on one particular export at a time perpetuated the stamp of monoculture upon Guatemala.

A model of scholarship, this well-conceived monograph draws heavily from materials in Guatemalan archives. Professor Woodward carries out the topical organization with a minimum of repetition. Considering the time span involved, the author had to limit the treatment of the *Consulado's* political role. His discussion of the guild's relationship to the competitive *Sociedad Patriótica* is exemplary. For my own interest, I wish that he had provided a more detailed analysis of the *Consulado's* opposition to the Cádiz economic reforms from 1808 to 1814, from 1820 to 1821, and from 1821 to 1826 during the first years of independence. This might have tempered Woodward's views that the impact of the Enlightenment in Central America was tardy and limited as to base. My research findings challenge this standard interpretation; in fact, Woodward introduces evidence in his text that likewise undermines it. Be that as it may, this is a solid and meaningful contribution to the economic history of Guatemala.

George Washington University

MARIO RODRÍGUEZ

MEXICO AND THE SPANISH CORTES, 1810-1822: EIGHT ESSAYS. Edited with an introduction by *Nettie Lee Benson*. [Latin American Monographs, Number 5. Institute of Latin American Studies, The University of Texas.] (Austin: University of Texas Press for the Institute. 1966. Pp. 243. \$5.00.)

THE eight essays in this volume are the product of a seminar on Mexico and the Spanish Cortes, 1810-1822, directed by Nettie Lee Benson. Her introductory essay demonstrates how little attention has been given to the subject and lays the ground for the studies to follow. These deal, successively, with the election of Mexican deputies to the Cortes, the role of Mexicans in the drafting of the Constitution of Cádiz, municipal reform in Mexico under the Constitution, freedom of the press in Mexico in the constitutional periods, liberal efforts at Church reform, the status of the army of New Spain under the Constitution, economic reforms proposed and instituted, and, finally, efforts to put through reforms in order to quell the revolution for independence.

These essays contain much valuable information for those concerned with the history of Mexico's struggle for independence. The published records of the Cortes, the press in Mexico during the period, certain sections of the *Archivo General de la Nación*, and other manuscript sources have been carefully studied. The words and acts of the Mexican deputies to the Cortes have been thoroughly covered, as have the principal acts and statements of the Cortes that affected Mexico.

Less attention is given, in most of these essays, to showing how the constitutionalist system actually influenced Mexico during and after the struggle for independence than to stating what took place. The information presented is most useful and in many cases novel, but it would have been desirable to have developed the impact of these topics on later Mexican constitutional, legislative, and political life. The essays that seem to go furthest in this direction are James Breedlove's on Church reform and Neill Macaulay's on the army.

A certain amount of unnecessary repetition in these papers might have been eliminated. Most of the essays are pretty heavy going for the reader, except for the introduction and conclusion by the editor. It is possible that Benson, who thus generously facilitated the publication of the work of her students, might have herself written a more cogent book. The purpose of the publication is, nevertheless, clearly achieved. It will be impossible to neglect this subject in future studies of Mexican independence.

Vassar College

CHARLES GRIFFIN

INTERESSE NACIONAL E POLÍTICA EXTERNA. By *José Honório Rodrigues*. [Retratos do Brasil, Volume XLVI.] ([Rio de Janeiro:] Civilização Brasileira. 1966. Pp. 232.)

José Honório Rodrigues' concern with the methods and tools of historiography has shifted recently to a preoccupation with Brazilian national character, with enduring patterns of Brazilian history, and with Brazil's cultural and political world involvements. His newer interpretations, though not richly philosophic, have solid virtues. His lucid style, his ability to synthesize, his eye for critical

contemporary issues in their historical dimension, and his forthrightness in taking positions more than compensate for his occasional dogmatism and petulance.

As the author admits, this is not a "planned and organic" book but a collection of essays (some first published in English) on historical and contemporary aspects of Brazilian foreign policy. Their provisional character and frequent overlapping are pardonable, given the slight scholarly attention thus far paid to the internal forces that have shaped foreign policy in Latin American countries. The author's first three essays deal with precisely this subject for Brazil since independence. He traces what are for him the cardinal policy principles of his nation to origins in the last century, summarizing them as: pacifism, legalism, and preference for arbitration; defense of the territorial *status quo*; neutrality and nonintervention (suspended during 1851-1870, but restored after the Paraguayan War); self-determination; anticolonialism; avoidance of entangling alliances with strong countries; and, toward the United States, friendliness short of sycophancy. In our century, Rodrigues maintains, the valuable lessons of the Empire were forgotten as foreign policy fell prey to oligarchic self-interest and to "innocuous and sterile conservatism." An important symptom of this trend, discussed in an essay on Brazilian-American relations, was the abandonment of friendly reserve toward the US and a generally uncritical acceptance of its hemispheric hegemony.

Rodrigues' criteria for analyzing the recent and, in part, the more distant past are linked to the ideology of the short-lived Jânio Quadros regime of 1961. During that moment, he claims, policy was formulated in accordance with intelligently defined national interest, and Brazilian leaders began "to think intercontinentally, with respect to relations both with the Americas and with the entire world." That same year saw the publication of Rodrigues' *Brazil and Africa* (since translated into English), to which an essay in this book on the same theme serves as a footnote. Also included is a pioneer survey of the discontinuous relations, since colonial times, between Brazil and the Far East.

The author's political partisanship by no means obscures the historical vistas to which he calls attention. Indeed, it gives the book documentary value for the historical moment in which it was written.

Yale University

RICHARD M. MORSE

* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

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* * * * *Association Notes* * * * *

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The American Historical Association will meet at the Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, December 28-30, 1967. Louis Morton of Dartmouth College is Chairman of the Program Committee, and J. B. Conacher of the University of Toronto is Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.

RECENT DEATHS

John C. Andressohn, a life member of the Association, died in the summer of 1966.

Elizabeth P. Blegen, a life member of the Association, died in Athens, Greece, September 21.

Victor M. Cooper of Alexandria, Virginia, died November 3.

Fred J. Ericson, professor at Eastern Michigan University, died December 21.

Einar Joranson, professor emeritus at the University of Chicago, died December 29, at the age of eighty-three.

Richard G. Wood, a former director of the Vermont Historical Society, died January 25, 1967, at the age of sixty-six.

Walter D. Love, associate professor at the University of Bridgeport and managing editor of the monograph series "Studies in British History and Culture," died March 6.

Paul A. W. Wallace died March 8, at the age of seventy-five.

Robert La Follette and Briton Martin, Jr., both members of the Association, died recently.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The short comment the *American Historical Review* is allowing permits only minimal discussion of three points concerning the symposium on "Class in the French Revolution: A Discussion" (*AHR*, LXXII [Jan. 1967], 497). In the first place, by ignoring the original French text of *Quatre-Vingt-Neuf* (the title, in translation, *The Coming of the French Revolution*), the three commentators have missed important considerations and fallen into errors. The original volume published in 1939 was a tribute by Lefebvre to the sesquicentennial celebration of the beginning of the Revolution. Printed on *glacé* paper with famous pictures

of the great events of 1789, the volume was obviously written for a wide reading public. It contains the most readable prose of any of Lefebvre's extensive writing. He made the narrative more dramatic for the general reader by speaking of four phases or acts of the first year of the Revolution—aristocratic, bourgeois, urban workman, and peasant—and their interrelated and successive roles in 1789. Lefebvre used the terms with a broad class connotation, without implications of postwar Marxists and class structure specialists. He did not attempt to footnote the 247 pages (220 in the American translation), but proofs of his assertions could be found in his voluminous prior publication. The little volume's success in reaching a large reading public is attested by the translations into many languages and the paperback editions.

Second, while Mrs. Eisenstein devoted most of her attention to the first sixty pages—on 1788—all three discussants paid more attention to Robert Palmer's introduction than to Lefebvre's preface and conclusion. The conclusion merits careful reading and contains in simple language many interpretations of the Revolution, including the idea that it is a bloc, an interpretation overlooked by the three commentators. By this statement, Lefebvre was forecasting the rest of the Revolution and asserting that its development was patterned after the class roles and resort to violence exhibited in 1789. He was more concerned with the interaction of the social groups than with exact definitions of the "bourgeoisie." Mrs. Eisenstein ascribes laxity and imprecision to Lefebvre, whereas it seems more logical to consider the result as a conscious choice in view of the purpose and brevity of the book.

Third, Mr. Palmer omitted the final two paragraphs to Lefebvre's conclusion. These were an appeal to the youth of 1939 to heed the French Revolutionary tradition of liberty. The destruction of all but two hundred copies of the book at the command of the Nazis attested to the challenge of that tradition. Perhaps the omitted lines have as much pertinence today as in 1939!

Had Lefebvre written a learned treatise on the French Revolution, the volume would have been ignored in 1939 and probably never translated. His other works, articles, and book reviews are crammed with information and interpretations, written for the historian and specialist in the field. His short classic will long remain a challenge to lay as well as to professional readers.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Kostich raises an interesting point, and one that is new to me, in his review of Vladimir Dedijer's *Road to Sarajevo* (*AHR*, LXXII [Jan. 1967], 570). "While too many in positions high and low wish for the death of what the Archduke personifies," he writes, "his war party is too eager for a *casus belli* to provide effective security for him." I wonder if Professor Kostich might care to name some of the people who, if I understand him correctly, failed to provide adequate security measures for Franz Ferdinand on June 28, 1914, in order to have an excuse for war.

University of California, Santa Barbara

JOACHIM REMAK

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Remak queries the reviewer before, it seems, he has examined the work that is reviewed. The evidence he seeks is supplied amply and comprehensively in Dr. Dedijer's *Road to Sarajevo*, particularly in Chapter xviii, pages 401-419. Despite grave warnings, General Potiorek, Austrian governor in Sarajevo whose assurances of safety overrode the Archduke's hesitance to visit Bosnia-Herzegovina, refused to provide the customary cordon of troops, although men were readily available. Instead, the security along the entire four-mile route was left to about 120 local policemen. This may have been a matter of negligence, but a shadow of doubt at least is cast by the following two statements chosen among many similar ones: (a) General von Hörzendorf, chief of the Austrian general staff, expressing the Viennese war party's reaction to the Archduke's assassination, "[it was] . . . a godsend, or rather a gift from Mars"; and (b) Count von Giesl, Austrian minister in Belgrade, in a dispatch to Vienna, "[the assassination] has . . . created for us a fortunate moral position." Dr. Max Hohenberg, the Archduke's son, raised charges that are summarized in Dedijer's pages 420-421; they support the point questioned by Professor Remak, and they are worth reading at least.

Long Island University

DRAGOS D. KOSTICH

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

With a feeling of great surprise and dismay I have read Robert V. Allen's review of my book, *SShA v Voennye i Poslevoennye Gody (1940-1960)* [The USA during the War and Postwar Period, (1940-1960)], that appeared in the *AHR*, LXXII (Jan. 1967), 735.

Not only does Mr. Allen's treatment misrepresent the general idea of my book, but he quite incorrectly criticizes the book for being based on such sources as *Life*, *US News and World Report*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and "books written as campaign biographies of presidential candidates."

However, even a cursory acquaintance with my book could quickly reveal that it is based predominantly on official documents and sources and that it contains a vast amount of references to a great number of books of prominent American historians, to memoirs of some well-known public figures, and to various quite reliable and reputable magazines and journals, not to speak of leading American newspapers. There are 160 references to the *Congressional Record*, 72 to *Current History*, and 41 to *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*; over a hundred references to congressional hearings and official reports and papers and about as many references to memoirs and papers of such men as W. Churchill, A. Eden, C. Hull, H. Truman, and A. Vandenberg; about 300 references to works of well-known American authors; and many references to such journals as *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *Harper's Magazine*, *Department of State Bulletin*, *Magazine of Wall Street*, *Nation*, *National City Bank Bulletin*, *Business Week*, *American Economic Review*, the *London Economist*, and others.

Only on pages 444-445 do I refer to *Life* and, on page 530, to the *Saturday*

Evening Post. As to *US News and World Report*, I have frequently used it merely as a convenient source (because a complete file of this publication over a long period of time is available in our library) for references to such materials as presidential messages, addresses and speeches of leading statesmen and political figures, party programs, and other official statements.

Mr. Allen's review of my book creates the impression that he has either not taken time to acquaint himself even slightly with the book he undertook to review, or that his bias far exceeded his objectivity. I see no point, therefore, in entering into polemics with him over my approach and my interpretation of this period.

It is only to be regretted that such a flimsy treatment of a book should have appeared in a scholarly journal.

Moscow, USSR

V. LAN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It is an honored doctrine in law that he who appeals to a court of equity must come before it with "clean hands." Professor Lan's objections concerning my "bias" would therefore seem to be barred, in view of the multitudinous examples of misfeasance and malfeasance with which his book is filled. I do not deny that my review, which, from considerations of space, had to be a sort of drumhead court-martial, may not have given a statistically valid picture of his range of footnote references. However, the fact remains that Lan has filled many pages with startling and shocking charges about the United States government and its policies and about American public figures and social movements, and he has offered either no citations to back up his case or a single reference which, when examined, proved to be of a peripheral nature. It may serve as a definition of Professor Lan's frame of reference to note that the first citation in this book is to the documents of the Twenty-second Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union and the last to a speech by N. S. Khrushchev. Professor Lan's own assessments of the situations that he describes are so partial, so one-sided, so bitter, that, given the weak structure of evidence that he has mustered, it is almost impossible for any American who has been an often agonizing witness of the years to which this book is devoted and who knows something of the strengths as well as the weaknesses of his own country to read this volume without an unbidden welling up within one of that term which some Soviet historiographers seem so quick to use in writing about American or Western European works on the Soviet Union—*fa'sifikatsiia*. As Professor Lan may note from previous reviews of Soviet works on American history that I have contributed to the *American Historical Review* and other journals—indeed as may be seen in the case of one of the paragraphs of the review to which he takes exception—there are numbers of Soviet publications about the United States which, despite evident differences in outlook between the two countries, show more balanced points of view, as well as a diligent attention to the literature on the field, which this volume lacks. I see no reason for changing my opinion that Professor Lan has written little more than a political pamphlet.

Library of Congress

ROBERT V. ALLEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his review of my *Nevada: The Great Rotten Borough* (*AHR*, LXXII [Apr. 1967], 1098), William Lilley III writes, "The final chapters become so superficial that the author fails even to use the voluminous Pittman manuscripts in the Library of Congress. . . ."

Those voluminous Pittman manuscripts in the Library of Congress were indeed used by me, and this is indicated by the fact that they are repeatedly cited in the footnotes.

The thesis that Mr. Lilley presents at the opening of his review and again at the conclusion of it, that Nevada is analogous in its characteristics and problems to an urban ghetto, is entirely his own. I can think of no information in my book that would lead a reader to such an odd conclusion.

Michigan State University

GILMAN M. OSTRANDER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I regret Professor Ostrander's misunderstanding about my remarks on his use of the Key Pittman papers. While the author did cite those manuscripts in his book, he made no apparent use of them for the period when Pittman actually mattered (1912-1940)—and thus my criticism.

As for Mr. Ostrander's assertion that a reviewer can bring to bear no more knowledge than is contained in the book under review is in itself an odd conclusion.

Yale University

WILLIAM LILLEY III

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